

# SACRIS ERUDIRI

Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen



**XIX**

**1969-1970**

**UITGAVE VAN DE SINT PIETERSABDIJ, STEENBRUGGE**

**FIRMA KAREL BEYAERT**

**BRUGGE**



**N.V. MARTINUS NIJHOFF**

**'s-GRAVENHAGE**

**UITGEGEVEN MET DE STEUN VAN DE UNIVERSITAIRE STICHTING VAN BELGIË  
EN VAN HET MINISTERIE VAN NATIONALE OPVOEDING EN CULTUUR**

# CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM

CXLVIII: Concilia Galliae a. 314 - a. 506.

CXLVIII A: Concilia Galliae a. 511 - a. 695.

CLXII-CLXII A: Corpus benedictionum episcopaliū missae.

CLXXV-CLXXVI: Itineraria et alia Geographica.

Excerptum e uol. CLXXV: Itinerarium Egeriae.

Excerptum e uol. CXVII: Defensoris liber scintillarum.

## Continuatio Mediaeualis

I: Aelredi Rieuallensis Opera ascetica.

IV: Reimbaldus Leodiensis.

VI: Collectio canonum in quinque libris (lib. I-III).

VII: Rupertus Tuitiensis de diuinis officiis.

VIII: Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis.

IX: Rupertus Tuitiensis in euangelium s. Iohannis.

X: Petrus Venerabilis contra Petrobrusianos.

XI-XII: Petri Abaelardi Opera theologica.

XVI: Pascasius Radbertus de corpore et sanguine Domini.

XVII-XVIII: Ioannis de Forda Sermones.

XX: Constitutiones Ordinis Arroasiensis.

XXI: Rupertus Tuitiensis de Trinitate, I.

## *sub prelo :*

III: S. Cypriani Opera, I.

IV: Nouatiani Opera omnia.

IX A: Chromatii Aquileiensis Opera omnia.

XXVI: Optati Mileuitani Opera omnia.

LII: S. Augustinus contra litteras Petilliani.

LX: Quoduultdei Carthaginensis Opera omnia.

LXVIII: Prosperi Aquitani expositio psalmorum — Sententiae ex operibus S. Augustini.

XC A: Facundi Hermianensis Opera omnia.

XCVI: Cassiodori Variae — de anima.

CVIII B: Scotti anonymi commentarius in epistulas catholicas — Tractatus Hilarii in septem epistulas canonicas — Catechesis celtica.

CXVI: Iuliani Toletani Opera omnia.

CXXIII B-CXXIII C: Bedae Venerabilis Opera didascalica.

CXLI: S. Gregorii Magni regula pastoralis.

CXLIII-CXLIII A-CXLIII B: S. Gregorii Magni moralia in Iob.

CLIX: Sacramentarium Gellonense.

## Continuatio Mediaeualis

II: Aelredi Rieuallensis Opera homiletica.

VI A: Collectio canonum in quinque libris (lib. IV-V).

XIX: Gerhoh Reichenbergensis de nouitatibus huius saeculi.

XXII-XXIII: Rupertus Tuitiensis de Trinitate, II-III.



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# SACRIS ERUDIRI

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Gedrukt bij de FIRMA CULTURA, WETTEREN (België).

**Das Gebet aus dem Polykarpmartyrium  
als Kommuniongebet im «Brevier»  
des Abtes Oderisius von Monte Cassino**

VON  
LEO EIZENHÖFER O.S.B.  
(Abtei Neuburg)

I

In der Bibliothèque Mazarine zu Paris liegt als Nr 364 wohl das kalligraphisch prächtigste Werk in beneventanischer Schrift, das «Brevier» des Abtes Oderisius von Monte Cassino. Dieser führte dort den Abtsstab von 1087-1105 als Nachfolger des Abtes Desiderius, der von 1058 an Abt gewesen war und 1086 als Viktor III und Nachfolger Gregors VII den päpstlichen Stuhl bestiegen hatte. Unter Oderisius und sehr wahrscheinlich auch für ihn zu seinem persönlichen Gebrauch ist die Handschrift zwischen 1099 und 1105 in Monte Cassino geschrieben und illuminiert worden<sup>1</sup>. Sie ist also in der Zeit der höchsten Blüteperiode Monte Cassinos entstanden und gilt als das schönste aus dieser Schreibschule hervorgegangene Buch, «vielleicht das allerwertvollste Werk», das Monte Cassino auf dem Gebiet der Schreibkunst und Buchmalerei geschaffen hat<sup>2</sup>. E. A. LOWE hat vier Seiten aus

<sup>1</sup> V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* 2 (Paris 1934) 398-403 Nr 437. — E. A. LOEW, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford 1914) 357. 377. — E. A. LOWE, *Scriptura Beneventana* 1 (Oxford 1929) Plate LXXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Ph. SCHMITZ - L. RÄBER, *Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 2 (Einsiedeln 1948) 306.

dieser Handschrift im ersten Band seiner *Scriptura Beneventana* die Ehre der Farbtafel vor dem Titelblatt gegeben. Weitere Zierseiten und Miniaturen samt Schriftproben aus ihr sind z. B. bei Lowę, Tafel LXXIX, und bei V. LEROQUAIS im Tafelband seiner *Bréviaires* auf den ersten acht Tafeln abgebildet <sup>3</sup>.

Die Handschrift ist aber nicht nur für die Kunstgeschichte und Paläographie, sondern auch für die Liturgiegeschichte von Bedeutung, denn sie gehört zu den Vorstufen des *Breviers*, d.h. zu den interessanten ersten Versuchen, die verschiedenen Elemente des Choroffiziums in ein einziges Buch zusammenzufassen. In ihr stehen, wie ähnlich in anderen Handschriften jener Zeit, die einzelnen Arten der Bestandteile des Offiziums noch jeweils für sich in Sammlungen beisammen, wie sie ja in den verschiedenen Büchern (*Antiphonar*, *Hymnar*, *Lektionar*, *Kollektar*) vor der Vereinigung zu einem einzigen Buch beisammen waren. V. LEROQUAIS sprach sich gegen die Bezeichnung unserer Handschrift als « liturgischer Psalter, der auch Brevier- oder Ritualeteile enthält » oder als « liturgischer Psalter mit verschiedenen Supplementen » aus und entschied sich, wenn auch mit gewissen Bedenken, für ihre Einordnung unter die *Breviere*, weil gerade die meisten dieser Supplemente integrierende Bestandteile eines *Brevieres* seien (*Hymnen*, *Kapitel*, *Temporale*- und *Sanktoralekollekten*, *Totenoffizium*, *Commune Sanctorum* und *Ordo officii*). Das Buch, dem sich Cod. Mazar. 364 am meisten nähert, sei immer noch das *Brevier*. Es sei ein Offiziumsbuch besonderer Art, kein vollständiges *Brevier*, sondern ein Buch für den Abt, für den Vorsitzenden beim Choroffizium, der die Orationen spricht, den Leser segnet, die Kerzen- und Palmenweihe vornimmt, den Mönchen die Sterbesakramente spendet, ihre Exequien hält und ähnliche feierliche Funktionen vollzieht <sup>4</sup>. P. - M. Gy erwähnt die Handschrift in seinem für die Klassifizierung liturgischer Handschriften wichtigen Aufsatz « *Collectaire, Rituel, Processional* » unter den *Kollektaren* und nennt sie nach den aufeinanderfolgenden Hauptteilen « *Psalter-Hymnar-Kollek-*

<sup>3</sup> Siehe Anm. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Siehe Anm. 1.

tar»<sup>5</sup>. Dom P. SALMON stellt sie in seinem Buch über das Offizium im Mittelalter unter die «Collectaires enrichis» und nennt sie «Manuale»<sup>6</sup>.

Das mag hier zur Charakterisierung des Cod. Mazar. 364 genügen, denn wir wollen uns nicht mit der Offiziumshandschrift als solcher befassen, sondern nur mit einem Gebet, das sich in einem tatsächlich supplementären Teil dieser Offiziumshandschrift befindet.

## II

Bevor nämlich der Psalter beginnt, enthält das Buch, von dem Schreiber des Ganzen, nach geschichtlichen (fol 1-8) und kalendarischen Einträgen (9-18) zunächst eine Sammlung von Privatgebeten, nämlich Marien- (19-22), Kreuzverehrungs- (23-26), Kommunion- (26<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>v</sup>) und Offiziumsvorbereitungsgebete (30<sup>v</sup>-33).

Aus der Sammlung der Kommuniongebete, die eine vollständige Kommunionandacht darstellen (*Ordo ad accipendum corpus domini*) und die Dom A. WILMART vor 40 Jahren herausgegeben hat<sup>7</sup>, ist eines besonderer Beachtung wert, die es meines Wissens bisher noch nicht gefunden hat. Es steht nur in unserer Handschrift, nicht in der zweiten, eng verwandten Kommunionandacht, die WILMART aus einer anderen Handschrift der gleichen Zeit und Provenienz zusammen mit der unsrigen ediert hat. Beiden Gebetsordnungen hat J. A. JUNGSMANN in seinem Werk über die Messe «Missarum Sollemnia» bei der Behandlung der Kommunion des Priesters und der Gläubigen Beachtung geschenkt<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques 44 (1960) 447.

<sup>6</sup> P. SALMON, L'office divin au moyen âge. Histoire de la formation du bréviaire du ix<sup>e</sup> au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle = Lex Orandi 43 (Paris 1967) 58f., vgl. 19.

<sup>7</sup> A. WILMART, Prières pour la communion en deux psautiers du Mont-Cassin : Ephemerides liturgicae 43 (1929) 320-328. — Vgl. auch DERS., Les prières de Saint Pierre Damien pour l'adoration de la croix : Revue des sciences religieuses 9 (1929) 513-523, bes. 514-516.

<sup>8</sup> J. A. JUNGSMANN, Missarum Sollemnia II (3. Aufl., Wien 1952) 456ff. 614 s.v. Kommunionandacht v. Montecassino. — Vgl. auch B. LÖWENBERG, Kommuniongebete : Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 2. Aufl. 6 (1961) 412f.

Dieses Kommuniongebet der cassinesischen Handschrift, Nr 5 in der ersten Kommunionandacht bei WILMART, lautet <sup>9</sup> :

*Oratio ad deum patrem omnipotentem.*

*Deus dilecti et benedicti filii tui Iesu Christi pater, per quem tui agnitionem suscepimus, deus angelorum et virtutum et universae creaturae ac totius generis iustorum apud quem omnia vivunt, benedico et glorifico te, qui me peccatorem in hanc diem atque in hanc horam perducere dignatus es, ut particeps existerem COMMVNIONIS et CALICIS IESV CHRISTI FILII TVI in resurrectionem uitae aeternae animae ac spiritus mei, per incorruptionem spiritus sancti: in quibus suscipiar hodie in conspectu tuo tanquam sacrificium pingue et acceptabile. Sicut praeparasti et praesignasti, ita et fecisti. Verus es tu, et sine mendacio deus. Propterea in omnibus laudo, benedico et glorifico te per aeternum deum et pontificem uerum IESVM CHRISTVM FILIVM TVVM DOMINVM NOSTRVVM. Per quem et cum quo tibi et SPIRITVI SANC-TO GLORIA, et semper et in futura saecula. Amen.*

### III

Das ist nichts anderes als das nur sehr wenig adaptierte Gebet, das der Verfasser des Polykarpmartyriums den Heiligen vor seinem Tod sprechen lässt, und zwar in der lateinischen Fassung der Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius (IV 15, 33-35), die Rufin ihr gegeben hat. Die Entlehnung dieses Textes aus dem Polykarpmartyrium ist bei den Besprechungen unseres Kommunionordo, so weit ich sehen kann, noch nicht notiert, vielleicht gar nicht bemerkt worden <sup>10</sup>. Wir geben zunächst den Wortlaut Rufins <sup>11</sup> und setzen die Abweichungen

<sup>9</sup> WILMART, Prières pour la communion S. 323. Die in Versalien gesetzten Worte stehen so bei Wilmart, sind also offenbar in der Handschrift mit Majuskeln oder rot geschrieben, Wilmart sagt nichts dazu.

<sup>10</sup> WILMART, Prières 327f. sagt trotz mancher Bemerkung über die Herkunft der Gebete nichts darüber. Auch nicht M. ROTHENHÄUSLER in der Besprechung von Wilmarts Artikel im Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft 9 (1929) 278 Nr 266.

<sup>11</sup> Ausgabe von Th. MOMMSEN in: Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 9,1: Eusebius 2,1 (Leipzig 1903) 349 Zeile 4-16. Vgl. Band 9,3: Eusebius 2,3 (1909) S. CCXLVIIIff.

unseres Kommuniongebetes in die Anmerkungen, damit sie sofort auffallen. Wir werden uns später damit zu beschäftigen haben.

*deus dilecti et benedicti filij tui Iesu Christi pater, per quem tui agnitionem suscepimus, deus angelorum et virtutum et universae creaturae ac totius iustorum<sup>1</sup> generis<sup>2</sup>, qui<sup>3</sup> omnes coram te<sup>4</sup> vivunt, benedico<sup>5</sup> te, qui me<sup>6</sup> in hanc diem atque in hanc horam perducere dignatus es, ut particeps existerem martyrum<sup>7</sup> et calicis<sup>8</sup> Christi<sup>9</sup> tui in resurrectionem vitae aeternae animae ac spiritus mei per incorruptionem spiritus sancti, in quibus suscipiar in<sup>10</sup> conspectu tuo hodie<sup>11</sup> tamquam sacrificium pingue et acceptabile, sicut praeparasti et praesignasti, ita et fecisti. verus es tu et sine mendacio deus, propterea et<sup>12</sup> in omnibus laudo te<sup>13</sup> et<sup>14</sup> benedico te<sup>15</sup> et glorifico te per aeternum deum et pontificem Iesum Christum dilectum<sup>16</sup> filium tuum<sup>17</sup>, per quem et cum quo tibi in<sup>18</sup> spiritu<sup>19</sup> sancto gloria et nunc<sup>20</sup> et in futura saecula, amen.*

Maz. 364:           1-2 iustorum generis] generis iustorum  
<sup>3-4</sup> qui omnes coram te] apud quem omnia           <sup>5</sup> et glorifico  
 add.           <sup>6</sup> peccatorem add.           <sup>7</sup> martyrum] communionis  
<sup>8</sup> Iesu add.           <sup>9</sup> filii add.           <sup>10-11</sup> in conspectu tuo hodie] ho-  
 die in conspectu tuo           <sup>12</sup> et om.           <sup>13-14</sup> te et om.  
<sup>15</sup> te om.           <sup>16</sup> dilectum om.           <sup>17</sup> dominum nostrum add.  
<sup>18-19</sup> in spiritu] et spiritui           <sup>20</sup> nunc] semper

Das Martyrium Polykarps von Smyrna, das zu den ältesten Berichten über Martyrien gehört, d.h. der Brief der Gemeinde von Smyrna an die Gemeinde von Philomelium in Phrygien, alsbald nach Polykarps Tod, wohl im Jahre 155 oder 156, von einem gewissen Markion verfasst<sup>12</sup>, ist nicht nur als selbständige Schrift auf uns gekommen, sondern grösstenteils auch im Rahmen der Kirchengeschichte des

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. etwa O. BARDENHEWER, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur 2 (Freiburg i.B. 1914) 669-671. — J. QUASTEN, Patrology 1 (Utrecht 1950) 76-82. — B. ALTANER - A. STUIBER, Patrologie (7. Aufl., Freiburg 1966) 50-52. — J. A. FISCHER, Die Apostolischen Väter = Schriften des Urchristentums 1 (Darmstadt 1958) 227-233. — DERS., Polykarpos: Lexikon f. Theol. u. Kirche, 2. Aufl. 8 (1963) 597f.

Eusebius (letzte Fassung bald nach 324), da dieser umfangreiche Stücke des Schreibens seiner Darstellung im vierten Buch einverleibt hat. Das Gebet ist mit geringfügigen Varianten in beiden Überlieferungszweigen erhalten. Wir geben, damit man auch den Urtext vor Augen hat, den griechischen Text des Eusebius, im Apparat die Abweichungen des Martyriums<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατρός, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σέ <sup>2</sup> ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης <sup>3</sup> κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἡξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας <sup>4</sup>, προφανερῶσας <sup>5</sup> καὶ πληρώσας <sup>6</sup> ὁ ἀπειθήνης καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σέ αἰνῶ, σέ εὐλογῶ, σέ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου <sup>7</sup> ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ <sup>8</sup> ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν <sup>9</sup> πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

*Mart. Pol.* : <sup>1</sup> Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ *add.* <sup>2</sup> σε] σοῦ <sup>3</sup> τῆς *add.* <sup>4</sup> καὶ *add.* <sup>5</sup> προφανερῶσας] προεφανέρωσας <sup>6</sup> πληρώσας] ἐπλήρωσας <sup>7</sup> καὶ ἐπουρανίου *add.* <sup>8</sup> τοῦ *om.* <sup>9</sup> ἐν] καὶ

Mit den Fragen nach der Echtheit oder nach den Überarbeitungen und mit der Datierung des Martyriums<sup>14</sup> brauchen wir uns hier nicht zu beschäftigen, da wir es ja mit dem lateinischen Text des Rufin zu tun haben, der erst für das Jahr 403 festgelegt ist. Uns interessiert hier das Gebet Polykarps ja nur, insofern es Quelle für das Gebet Nr 5 der Kommunionandacht des cassinesischen Breviers ist.

<sup>13</sup> Ausgabe des Eusebius von E. SCHWARTZ in : Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 9,1 : Eusebius 2,1 (Leipzig 1903) 348 Zeile 3-15. — Ausgabe des Martyriums : K. BIHLMAYER, Die Apostolischen Väter = Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften, 2. Reihe 1,1 (Tübingen 1924) 127 Zeile 18-128 Zeile 8 ; vgl. S. XXXVIII-XLIV.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. besonders die in den Anm. 12. 13. 15 und 16 angegebenen Werke und die in diesen zitierte Literatur.



Vom Polykarmartyrium, d.h. von der selbständigen Schrift, gibt es auch eine alte lateinische, sehr freie und sorglose Übersetzung, aus der das Gebet hier zum Vergleich wiedergegeben sei <sup>15</sup>.

*Domine deus omnipotens, te benedico, te praedico, filii tui domini nostri Iesu Christi pater, per quem scientiam habemus et gloriam, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, resurrectio nostra solutioque peccati, rector elementorum omnium et totius habitaculi, omne iustorum genus qui in conspectu tuo vivunt protegens: te benedico, tibi servio, qui me dignum hac passione duxisti, ut percipiam partem coronamque martyrii in tuo calice per Iesum Christum in unitate spiritus sancti, ut completo sacrificio istius diei promissa tuae veritatis accipiam. ob hanc rem te benedico in omnibus et glorior per aeternum pontificem omnipotentem Iesum Christum, per quem tibi et cum ipso et cum spiritu sancto gloria nunc et in futurum in saecula saeculorum. amen.*

Man sieht sofort, dass das cassinesische Gebet mit dieser Übersetzung nichts zu tun hat, und erhält eine Bestätigung, dass es aus der Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius in der Übersetzung des Rufin stammt.

#### IV

Das Gebet Polykarps vor seinem Martyrium ist wegen seiner feierlichen liturgischen Formulierung schon lange aufgefallen, und seine Ausdrücke und Wendungen sind schon verschiedentlich auf nähere und fernere Parallelen in den alten Liturgien und in Väterwerken untersucht worden <sup>16</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Ausgabe von Th. ZAHN, Ignatii et Polycarpi epistulae martyria fragmenta = O. de GEBHARDT - A. HARNACK - Th. ZAHN, Patrum apostolicorum Opera, fasc. 2 (Leipzig 1876) 155-157; vgl. S. XLVIII-LV. — Derselbe Text: Acta Sanctorum, Januar II (1643) 706f. — Vgl. auch A. HARNACK, Die Zeit des Ignatius (Leipzig 1878), S. 75ff. Anhang: Zur Geschichte der Verbreitung der Passio S. Polycarpi im Abendlande.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. besonders J. A. ROBINSON, Liturgical echoes in Polycarp's prayer: The Expositor 9 (1899) 63-72 (mir unzugänglich). — E. von DER GOLTZ, Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit (Leipzig 1901) 238-240. 312-319. 332f. — H. LIETZMANN, Ein liturgisches Bruchstück

Wir wollen diese Nachweise und Darlegungen hier nicht wiederholen. Nur LIETZMANN'S Darstellung sei wegen ihrer grossen Nähe zu dem Kommuniongebet in ihrem für uns wichtigsten Teil als Beispiel wiedergegeben. H. LIETZMANN schreibt zur Erklärung des Polykarpgebetes: « Der Sinn dieser Stelle im Zusammenhang ist klar: Polykarp dankt Gott, dass er in der Schar der Märtyrer — denn ausser ihm werden noch elf andere zum Tode geführt (19,1) — trinken darf den Leidenskelch Christi, von dem dieser Mc 10,38f. (und Par.) gesprochen hat. Er bittet als Opfer angenommen zu werden, wie Gott ihm ja seinen Tod durch die Vision des brennenden Kopfkissens (5,2; 12,3) geweissagt und die Weissagung nun erfüllt hat. Aber eigenartig sind die Worte, mit denen dieser Gedanke ausgedrückt wird: ihr liturgischer Klang ist so auffallend, dass hier mehr vorliegen muss als die unvermeidlichen Reminiszenzen des an kirchliche Sprache gewöhnten Hagiographen. Eine Vergleichung der uns erhaltenen Liturgien zeigt, dass wir es wahrscheinlich mit einem der kirchlichen Liturgie entnommenen Gebet zu tun haben, das durch nur leichte Umänderungen dem Zwecke des Schriftstellers angepasst ist. Als sicheres Resultat ergibt sich, dass zum mindesten Bruchstücke aus Gebeten verwendet sind, die ihren Platz in den Messgebeten in der Gegend der Konsekrationssprüche hatten »<sup>17</sup>. Nachdem er die am engsten verwandten Parallelen angeführt hat, fährt Lietzmann fort: « Wenn also der Anfang wie der Schluss des Gebetes aus technischen Formeln der Liturgie besteht, so haben wir ein Recht, auch das scheinbar rein auf die Situation des Polykarp zugeschnittene Mittelstück § 2 auf etwaige Abhängigkeit von der gleichen Quelle anzusehen. Und in der Tat brauchen wir

des zweiten Jahrhunderts: Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 54 (1912) 56-61, wiederabgedruckt in H. LIETZMANN, Kleine Schriften 3 (1962) 43-47 (mit falscher Quellenangabe, vgl. S. 383 Nr 107). — W. REUNING, Zur Erklärung des Polykarpmartyriums (Diss. Giessen 1917, Darmstadt 1917) 31-43. — Oda HAGEMEYER, St. Polykarp betet liturgisch: Bibel und Liturgie 9 (1934/35) 189-195. — Zum Streit über die Doxologie vgl. J. A. JUNGEMANN, Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet = Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 7-8 (Münster i. W. 1925) 128 Anm. 11. — J. BETZ, Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter I, 1 (Freiburg 1955) 114-116.

<sup>17</sup> LIETZMANN 57 bzw. 43f.

aus dem ersten Satze nur die speziell auf Polykarp zielenden Worte ἐν ἁγίῳ μῶ τῶν μαρτύρων wegzulassen, um ein Vorbereitungsgebet auf den Genuß des Abendmahls zu erhalten... Den « Becher Christi » will der Hagiograph natürlich hier symbolisch als den Leidenskelch verstanden wissen, der dem Märtyrer die Auferstehung von Leib und Seele verschafft. Aber jeder Christ erwartete vom Genuß des Abendmahlskelches (und Brotes) das gleiche»<sup>18</sup>. Lietzmann führt Beweise für diesen Gedanken hauptsächlich aus den Liturgien an.

Der Bearbeiter unseres Kommuniongebetes hat Lietzmans Idee vom Weglassen der auf die Märtyrer bezüglichen Worte mehr als 800 Jahre vorweggenommen und durch den Ersatz von *martyrum* durch *communio* tatsächlich ein ganz klares Kommunionvorbereitungsgebet erhalten. Der Gedanke, ob uns etwa hier in der Pariser Handschrift das von Lietzmann postulierte Gebet selbst tatsächlich erhalten sei, scheitert natürlich allein schon an der Tatsache, dass unser Gebet der Übersetzung von Eusebs Kirchengeschichte durch Rufin folgt, also aus dieser entnommen ist.

## V

Die Art und Weise, wie dieses Gebet, das in seiner ursprünglichen Form im Martyrium Polykarps Gott Vater für die Anteilgewährung unter der Zahl der Märtyrer am Kelche Christi preist und um Aufnahme unter sie bittet, zu einem Preisgebet für die Kommunion werden konnte, verdient noch eine genauere Beachtung.

Wir bemerken in dem Kommuniongebet mehrere Änderungen an dem Text Rufins. Aber nur eine einzige davon ist entscheidend, alle anderen sind für die Umdeutung völlig belanglos. Diese eine ist der Ersatz des Wortes *martyrum* durch *communio*. Sie allein genügt zur Umdeutung des ganzen Gebetes. Diese doch immerhin erstaunliche Umdeutung durch die Änderung eines einzigen Wortes war in unserem Gebet möglich erstens wegen der inneren Verwandtschaft von Martyrium und Eucharistie, und zweitens wegen

<sup>18</sup> LIETZMANN 59 bzw. 45f.

der besonderen Formulierung des Gebetes durch den Verfasser und den Übersetzer.

## VI

Eucharistie und Martyrium sind eng mit einander verwandt und verbunden <sup>19</sup>. Die Eucharistie ist die sakramentale Vergegenwärtigung des Todesleidens Christi unter den Symbolen von Brot und Wein, über die nach dem Vorbild des Herrn das Preis- und Dankgebet gesprochen wird. Das Martyrium ist als reale Nachahmung des Todesleidens Christi der Nachvollzug des Opfers und der Selbsthingabe des Herrn am Kreuz durch den Blutzeugen. Durch die Teilnahme an der Eucharistie opfert sich der Christ wie Christus, in Christus, mit Christus und durch Christus und wird so mit Christi Opfer vereint. Dadurch, dass jeder Christ durch die Taufe auf den Tod des Herrn und durch die Speisung mit seinem geopfertem Leib und Blut mit Christus vereinigt worden ist, ist er auch zur äusseren Teilnahme am Leiden und Tod des Herrn im Martyrium bereitet worden. Ignatius von Antiochien, der mit Polykarp befreundet war († um 110), bezeichnet sich ausdrücklich als ein « Opfer für Gott » (Röm. 2,2) und als « Gottes Weizen », der durch die Zähne der Bestien zu einem reinen Brot Christi gemahlen wird (Röm 4, 1f.), « d.h. doch wohl so als ein Opfer dargebracht wird wie das eucharistische Brot in der « Messe » » <sup>20</sup>. Über Polykarp schreibt sein Martyrium 15,2, er habe inmitten des Feuers gestanden wie ein Brot, das gebacken wird <sup>21</sup>. Beide Stellen bringen den Märtyrer in engste Verbindung mit der Eucharistie. Das

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. zum folgenden besonders: J. KETTEL, Martyrium und Eucharistie: Geist und Leben 30 (1957) 34-46. — HAGEMEYER 190ff. — M. VILLER - K. RAHNER, Aszese und Mystik in der Väterzeit (Freiburg i.B. 1939) 29-40. — H. RAHNER, Die Märtyrerakten des zweiten Jahrhunderts = Zeugen des Wortes 32 (Freiburg i.B. 1941) 15-22. — W. DÜRIG, Pietas liturgica (Regensburg 1958) 47-49.80. — H. Frh. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche (2. Aufl., Göttingen 1964). — O. CASEL, Mysterium und Martyrium in den römischen Sakramentarien: Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft 2 (1922) 18-38.

<sup>20</sup> CAMPENHAUSEN 72. — Vgl. KETTEL 42.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. CAMPENHAUSEN 93 Anm. 3. — KETTEL 42.

Martyrium ist die äusserste Folge aus dem eucharistischen Opfer der Kirche, die Verwirklichung des sakramentalen Opfers im Opfer des Leidens und Lebens ihrer Glieder. Darum kann der Märtyrer vor seinem Tod ein Gebet sprechen oder es kann ihm literarisch ein Gebet in den Mund gelegt werden, das dem Lob- und Opfergebet der Eucharistie eng verwandt ist und aus diesem seine Gedanken und Ausdrücke entnimmt. Das Martyrium wurde von manchen frühchristlichen Märtyrern und gerade von Ignatius und Polykarp bewusst als feierliche Opferliturgie vollzogen und von den Christen als solche aufgefasst. Polykarps Gedanken und Worte können darum im Grunde die gleichen sein wie jene, die er als Bischof und Vorsteher seiner Gemeinde in dem Preis- und Opfergebet der Eucharistiefeier vorzutragen pflegte.

## VII

Ausser dieser Grundverwandtschaft zwischen Eucharistie und Martyrium sind, wie gesagt, noch einige Eigenheiten der Formulierung des Polykarpgebetes überhaupt sowie seiner lateinischen Fassung bei Rufin zu beachten, die eine Umdeutung zu einem Kommuniongebet begünstigten und nahelegen konnten oder mussten. Wir müssen diesen Stellen noch etwas Aufmerksamkeit schenken. Anschliessend werden auch die hauptsächlichen für die Umdeutung nicht belangvollen Textverschiedenheiten zwischen Eusebius und Rufin sowie zwischen Rufin und dem Kommuniongebet zusammengestellt, um so einen Überblick zu geben, wie sich die verschiedenen Fassungen zueinander verhalten, und es wird endlich auch auf die ohne Textveränderung notwendigen Umdeutungen im Kommuniongebet hingewiesen.

Bemerkenswert ist zunächst, dass das Polykarpgebet insofern zur Verwendung als Privat-Kommuniongebet nicht ungeeignet erscheinen musste, als es im Singular verfasst ist, was derartige Privatgebete zu sein pflegen <sup>22</sup>.

Das Gebet Polykarps konnte vor allem deshalb leicht zu einem Kommuniongebet umgestaltet werden und musste,

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. über die Privatgebete sogar in der Eucharistiefeier des Mittelalters JUNG-MANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* I 102f. II 428.

wenigstens in der Form des Rufin, wie wir gleich sehen werden, geradezu dazu reizen, weil es als Preisgebet für die Teilgabe am « Kelche Christi » formuliert ist. Der « Kelch Christi » ist einerseits ein Bild und steht so im Martyrium Polykarps symbolisch für Christi Leiden. Der « Kelch Christi » kann aber andererseits auch den tatsächlichen Kelch seines sakramentalen Blutes in der Eucharistiefeyer bedeuten. Christus selbst gebraucht ja in der Schrift das Wort Kelch in beiden Bedeutungen (Bild : Mt 26, 39. 42 Par. ; Mt 20, 22 Par. ; Joh 18, 11 ; Eucharistie : Lk 22, 20 ; 1 Kor 11, 25). Sein Kelch bedeutet in beiden Fällen sein Todesleiden. So ist der Grundgedanke der Anteilnahme am Kelche Christi, der das Todesgebet Polykarps beherrscht, im Kommuniongebet erhalten geblieben, der Lobpreis für die Anteilgabe am Kelche Christi ist in der Grundbedeutung gleich geblieben. Im Gebet Polykarps ist der Gegenstand des Preises die wirkliche blutige Anteilnahme am Leiden Christi durch die Angleichung im Tod des Märtyrers, im Kommuniongebet ist er die sakramentale Anteilnahme am Leiden Christi durch den Empfang seines Leibes und Blutes. Die Eucharistie ist ja die Anteilnahme am Leiden Christi. Das Martyrium ist also bildlich gesprochen die Anteilnahme am Kelche Christi im Leiden, die Kommunion ist die Anteilnahme am Sakrament des Leidens Christi. Kommunion ist Anteilnahme am geopfertem Leibe und Blute Christi. Sie ist natürlich nur sinnvoll und Gott angenehm, wenn ihr die Opfergesinnung des Kommunionierenden entspricht. Um solche Annahme bittet der Beter in dem Kommuniongebet.

Die entscheidende Änderung geschah, wie gesagt, durch die Ersetzung von *martyrum* durch *communio*. Wesentlich erleichtert wurde dem Bearbeiter dabei die Umdeutung dadurch, dass Rufin τοῦ λαβεῖν μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου übersetzt mit *ut particeps existerem martyrum et calicis Christi tui*, also die beiden ἐν parallel von λαβεῖν μέρος abhängig sein und ἀριθμός überhaupt unter den Tisch fallen lässt. So kann aus der Wendung, die einst hiess : « dass ich unter der Zahl der Märtyrer an dem Kelch deines Christus Anteil erhalte » werden : « dass ich an der Kommunion und an dem Kelch deines Christus Anteil erhalte ».

## VIII

Zwischen dem griechischen Text des Eusebius und dem lateinischen des Rufin sind einige weitere Veränderungen namhaft zu machen, weil sie mit dem Text Rufins in das Kommuniongebet gekommen sind.

Um eine Gottesanrede schon als erstes Wort des Gebetes zu haben und nicht mit einem Genitiv zu beginnen, eröffnet Rufin oder seine Vorlage das Gebet mit dem zugefügten *deus*. Auch schon das griechische selbständige Polykarmartyrium beginnt es mit einer vorangesetzten und sogar noch viel feierlicheren Anrede Gottes.

Bezeichnend für die späte Zeit mit ihrer Betonung der Gottheit Christi ist die Übersetzung des mehrdeutigen *παῖς* bei Rufin durch *filius* statt durch *puer* <sup>23</sup>.

Die Unzuverlässigkeit der Übersetzung des Rufin zeigt sich insbesondere darin, dass er *ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος* mit *animae ac spiritus* wiedergibt, also den ursprünglichen Gedanken spiritualisiert und damit verfälscht. Das ist die zweite Ungenauigkeit oder Sinnesänderung, die sich Rufin an dem Gebet zuschulden kommen liess, schwerer wiegend als die erste, eine absichtliche Verfälschung. Es sei denn, seine griechische Vorlage habe sie schon aufgewiesen. SCHWARTZ hat freilich keine derartige Variante notiert.

Schliesslich ist in der Doxologie schon bei Rufin, für die Spätzeit wiederum bezeichnend, zur Hervorhebung der Gottheit Christi *deum et* vor *pontificem* eingefügt.

## IX

Gegenüber dem Text bei Rufin sind im Kommuniongebet ausser der einen wesentlichen noch einige unbedeutende Änderungen festzustellen.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. A. HARNACK, Die Bezeichnung Jesu als « Knecht Gottes » und ihre Geschichte in der alten Kirche : Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1926, 212-238. — Joach. JEREMIAS, *παῖς θεοῦ* : Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament 5 (1954) 700f. 702 Zeile 29. 708f.

Aus einem mir undurchsichtigen Grund steht im Kommuniongebet statt *qui omnes* (sc. *iusti*) *coram te vivunt* die allgemeinere an Lk 20,38 anklingende Formel *apud quem omnia vivunt*.

Das Gebet fügt in liturgischer Plerophorie zu *benedico* noch *et glorifico*.

Sehr bezeichnend und charakteristisch ist die Einfügung von *peccatorem*. Diese Privat-Kommuniongebete sind ja in jener Zeit zum allergrössten Teil Apologien, persönliche Schuld- und Unwürdigkeitsbekenntnisse unter Anrufung von Gottes Erbarmen. Die Sündhaftigkeit wird, bald stärker, bald schwächer, immer und immer wieder betont <sup>24</sup>. Das Polykarpgebet steht in unserer Kommunionandacht mitten unter solchen Gebeten.

Bemerkt werden mag noch, dass der Redaktor des Kommuniongebetes statt *martyrum* nicht das als Entsprechung zu *sanguinis* zu erwartende *corporis*, sondern *communio* setzte. *Communio* bedeutet für ihn offenbar schon so sehr nur die Brotkommunion, dass daneben der Kelch noch eigens genannt werden kann oder sogar genannt werden muss, wenn er gemeint ist <sup>25</sup>. Der ganze Ordo heisst nur *Ordo ad accipiendum corpus domini*, obwohl in fast allen seinen Kommuniongebeten *corpus et sanguis* genannt werden.

Bezeichnend für die spätere Zeit sind die Änderungen in der Doxologie, besonders die Einfügung von *deum* und die Ersetzung von *in spiritu sancto* durch *et spiritui sancto*, wodurch die Gottheit Christi und des Heiligen Geistes betont werden soll <sup>26</sup>. — Schon bei Rufin ist deshalb, wie gesagt, gegenüber dem griechischen Text des Eusebius *deum et* vor *pontificem* eingefügt. Das Kommuniongebet setzt zu *pontificem* noch *uerum* und trennt so *aeternum* von *pontificem*. Jedes der beiden Substantive erhält sein eigenes Adjektiv: *aeternum deum et pontificem uerum*. Ein besonderer Grund ist mir nicht ersichtlich. — Beim Heiligen Geist bezeugen auch schon Handschriften der syrischen <sup>27</sup> und lateinischen <sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> JUNGSMANN, Missarum Sollemnia I 103-106. II 428ff.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. JUNGSMANN II 474-477.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. JUNGSMANN, Die Stellung Christi (siehe Anm. 16), bes. 151ff.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. die Eusebius-Ausgabe von SCHWARTZ (siehe Anm. 13)

348 App. zu Zeile 14.

<sup>28</sup> Ausgabe von MOMMSEN (siehe Anm. 11) 349 App. zu Zeile 15.



Übersetzung des Eusebius *ὁὐν* und *cum*, das Martyrium hat in den griechischen Handschriften *καὶ* <sup>29</sup> und in denen der lateinischen Übersetzung *et cum* <sup>30</sup>. Dieses *et spiritui sancto* kann schon in der Handschrift der Kirchengeschichte des Rufin gestanden sein, aus der unser Gebet entnommen ist. — Durch Weglassen zweier *et* und zweier *te* wird der feierliche Stil vereinfacht, so dass er einem mittelalterlichen Privat-Kommuniongebet besser entspricht. — *Dilectum* ist vielleicht gestrichen worden, weil es schon am Anfang des Gebetes steht. — Das Kommuniongebet fügt endlich das aus der Orationsschlussformel geläufige *dominum nostrum* zu.

In dem Kommuniongebet wird also gegenüber dem Text bei Rufin sicher die Sündhaftigkeit des Beters eingeführt, von der im Urtext und bei Rufin nicht die Rede war.

## X

An den beiden folgenden Stellen endlich hat sich am Wortlaut nichts geändert, aber die Beziehungen der beiden Sätze sind unklar geworden.

Das Relativum *in quibus* bezog sich im Gebet Polykarps auf die Märtyrer, in deren Zahl er als Opfer aufgenommen zu werden bittet. Worauf sich der Relativsatz jetzt im Kommuniongebet beziehen soll, ist dem Beter überlassen. Es scheinen sich vier Möglichkeiten zu bieten. Am nächsten liegt die Beziehung auf die nächstliegenden verbundenen Substantive *animae ac spiritus mei*, « hinsichtlich deren ich aufgenommen werden möchte », « mit denen ich aufgenommen werden möchte », « um deren Aufnahme ich bitte ». Eine zweite Möglichkeit besteht darin, dass man den Relativsatz über den *ut*-Satz hinweg, der ja bis *spiritus sancti* reicht, mit *in hanc diem atque in hanc horam* verbindet. Drittens kann man ihn sinnvoll auf Christus und den Heiligen Geist beziehen, welch letzterer ja dem Relativpronomen am allernächsten steht. Aus den Apostelbriefen ist klar, dass der wahre Christ « in Christus » und « im Heiligen Geist » lebt und von Gott Vater angenommen wird. Man trifft viertens vielleicht am

<sup>29</sup> Ausgabe von BIHLMAYER (siehe Anm. 13) 128 App. zu Zeile 8.

<sup>30</sup> Ausgabe von ZAHN (siehe Anm. 15) 157.

ehesten den Sinn des Bearbeiters, wenn man *in quibus* mit *communione et calicis* verbindet. Er hat ja *communione* an die Stelle von *martyrum* gesetzt, auf welche sich *in quibus* einst bezogen hat. Der Kommunizierende will in Leib und Blut Christi, die er Gott Vater dargebracht hat und jetzt in der Kommunion empfängt, d.h. er will im Opfer Christi, an dem er Anteil nimmt, selbst von Gott als Opfer angenommen werden. Solche Gedanken hatte Gregor der Grosse in seinen Dialogen, die hauptsächlich wegen der *Vita sancti Benedicti* im zweiten Buch in Monte Cassino im 11. Jahrhundert unter Desiderius und Oderisius bekannt und vorhanden waren <sup>31</sup>, im vierten Buch also formuliert: 58... *Debemus... Deo... quotidianas carnis ejus et sanguinis hostias immolare. Haec namque singulariter victima ab aeterno interitu animam salvat, quae illam nobis mortem Unigeniti per mysterium reparat, qui licet resurgens a mortuis jam non moritur, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur, tamen in semetipso immortaliter atque incorruptibiliter vivens, pro nobis iterum in hoc mysterio sacrae oblationis immolatur. Ejus quippe ibi corpus sumitur, ejus caro in populi salutem partitur, ejus sanguis non jam in manus infidelium, sed in ora fidelium funditur. Hinc ergo pensemus quale sit pro nobis hoc sacrificium, quod pro absolutione nostra passionem unigeniti Filii semper imitatur. Quis enim fidelium habere dubium possit, in ipsa immolationis hora ad sacerdotis vocem coelos aperiri, in illo Jesu Christi mysterio angelorum choros adesse, summis ima sociari, terrena coelestibus jungi, unumque ex visibilibus atque invisibilibus fieri? 59. Sed necesse est cum haec agimus, nosmetipsos Deo in cordis contritione mactemus, quia qui passionis dominicae mysteria celebramus, debemus imitari quod agimus. Tunc ergo vere pro nobis hostia erit Deo, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerimus* <sup>32</sup>. Gregor brachte so zum Ausdruck, was schon Augustinus im Gottesstaat ausgeführt hatte. Er spricht über das wahre und vollkommene Opfer: *Proinde verum sacrificium est omne opus, quod agitur ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo... Unde et ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus et Deo deuotus, in quantum mundo moritur ut Deo uiuat,*

<sup>31</sup> INGUANEZ (s. Anm. 40) Hs 85.

<sup>32</sup> GREGOR M., Dial. 58-59 (PL 77, 425-428).

*sacrificium est... Cum igitur uera sacrificia opera sint misericordiae siue in nos ipsos siue in proximos, quae referuntur ad Deum, opera uero misericordiae non ob aliud fiant, nisi ut a miseria liberemur ac per hoc ut beati simus (quod non fit nisi bono illo, de quo dictum est: Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est): profecto efficitur, ut tota ipsa redempta ciuitas, hoc est congregatio societasque sanctorum, uniuersale sacrificium offeratur Deo per sacerdotem magnum, qui etiam se ipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, ut tanti capitis corpus essemus, secundum formam serui... Cum itaque nos hortatus est apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora nostra hostiam uiuam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium nostrum, et non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in nouitate mentis nostrae... quod totum sacrificium nos ipsi sumus... Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum: multi unum corpus in Christo. Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re, quam offert, ipsa offeratur <sup>33</sup>... (X,20) Unde uerus ille mediator, in quantum formam serui accipiens mediator effectus est Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus, cum in forma Dei sacrificium cum Patre sumat, cum quo et unus Deus est, tamen in forma serui sacrificium maluit esse quam sumere... Per hoc et sacerdos est, ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio. Cuius rei sacramentum cottidianum esse uoluit ecclesiae sacrificium, quae cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum discit offerre <sup>34</sup>. Auch dieses Werk besass Monte Cassino um 1100 <sup>35</sup>. Kurz zusammengefasst sind diese Gedanken in der Oratio super oblata des Missale Romanum am Pfingstmontag, die aus dem Gregorianum stammt: *Propitius domine quaesumus haec dona sanctifica, et hostiae spiritalis oblatione suscepta nosmetipsos tibi perfice munus aeternum* <sup>36</sup>.*

<sup>33</sup> AUGUSTINUS, Civ. X, 6 (CSEL 40, 454 Zeile 25 bis 456 Zeile 30 HOFFMANN).

<sup>34</sup> AUGUSTINUS, Civ. X, 20 (CSEL 40, 480 Zeile 23 bis 481 Zeile 6 HOFFMANN). — Vgl. F. HOFMANN, Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus (München 1933) 390-413.

<sup>35</sup> INGUANEZ (s. Anm. 40) Hs 28.

<sup>36</sup> Das Gregorianum war um 1100 in Monte Cassino bekannt, vgl. K. GAMBER, Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores = Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 1 (Freiburg Schweiz, 2. Aufl. 1968) 239-248. — Zum Ganzen vgl. JUNGMAN, Missarum Sollemnia I 233-256.

Der Satz *Sicut praeparasti et praesignasti, ita et fecisti* bezieht sich im Gebet Polykarps, wie gesagt, auf seine Vision des Feuers und die nun bevorstehende Erfüllung durch den Feuertod. Was diese Worte in dem Kommuniongebet bedeuten sollen, wird nicht gesagt, da der Redaktor hier keinerlei Änderung oder Zufügung vorgenommen hat. Ihr Sinn muss jetzt sein, dass Gott den Beter zur Teilnahme an Kommunion und Kelch Christi und damit als Opfer vorbereitet und vorherbezeichnet und jetzt die Erfüllung gegeben hat. Der Bearbeiter hat diese Sätze — der nächste *Verus es tu et sine mendacio deus* gehört ja auch dazu — wohl stehen lassen, weil er sie als Ausdruck für die Führung Gottes zu dieser Stunde übernehmen wollte. Wenn er darüber nachgedacht hat, wird er wohl des näheren an seine Berufung zum Glauben, an Taufe und Firmung und an seine bisherige Lebensführung als Vorbereitung zum Eucharistieempfang gedacht haben, kurz an alles, was eben in den Worten *qui me peccatorem in hanc diem atque in hanc horam perducere dignatus es* eingeschlossen ist. Auf die Vorbereitung ist die Erfüllung gefolgt. Die Unbestimmtheit mancher Bezüge bei aller Fülle der Gedanken und des Ausdrucks gibt dem Gebet als Kommuniongebet einen besonderen Reiz. Allerdings ist das Gewicht der beiden Sätzchen *Sicut praeparasti* bis *deus* gegenüber ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung bei Polykarp jetzt im Kommuniongebet sehr gemindert, da die Beziehung zwischen Vorbereitung und Vorhersage und Erfüllung jetzt längst nicht mehr so deutlich und unmittelbar ist wie dort.

## XI

Wir wissen nicht, ob und wie lange vor der Niederschrift der Pariser Handschrift das Gebet etwa schon selbständig als Kommuniongebet verwendet worden ist. Es hat sich meines Wissens noch in keiner anderen Handschrift als Kommuniongebet gefunden <sup>37</sup>. Vielleicht tritt es hier zum

<sup>37</sup> In seinem handschriftlichen Initien-Index der lateinischen Orationen und Präfationen gibt P. SIFFRIN zu dem Initium unseres Gebetes nur einen einzigen Beleg: « Prec. lib. 59 (C VII 2) ». Dieses Gebet werden wir am Ende in einem Anhang betrachten.

ersten Mal in dieser Funktion auf. Die Jahre unter Desiderius und Oderisius bildeten nicht nur, wie wir am Anfang gesehen haben, die Blütezeit der Mal- und Schreibschule, sondern auch den Höhepunkt der Bildung in Monte Cassino. Der gelehrte Oderisius kann das Gebet in der Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius-Rufin gelesen und sich in seine Kommunion-andacht haben schreiben lassen. Sicher ist es ein Zeugnis für den hohen Stand des Eucharistieverständnisses und der Frömmigkeit dessen, der den Auftrag zur Änderung und Einfügung gegeben hat. Dass es in einen irgendwie vorgegebenen Kommunionordo eingefügt ist, sieht man daran, dass in diesem Ordo sich zwei Gebete an den Vater, aber nur je eines an den Sohn und den Geist wenden <sup>38</sup>. In dem von Wilmart edierten anderen verwandten Ordo von Monte Cassino richtet sich nur je ein Gebet an den Vater, den Sohn und den Geist. Monte Cassino war um 1100 im Besitz der Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius in Rufins Übersetzung, denn in einem Bibliothekskatalog des 11. Jahrhunderts (1019/22) wird eine solche Handschrift genannt <sup>39</sup>, und die Bibliothek besitzt heute noch eine aus dem 11. Jahrhundert stammende Handschrift dieses Werkes <sup>40</sup>, vielleicht ist es dieselbe.

## XII

Als Anhang sei noch eine andere Bearbeitung des Polykarpgebetes genannt und wiedergegeben, die ebenfalls Dom A. WILMART, leider ohne jeden Kommentar, veröffentlicht

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* II 457 Anm. 14. — Siehe auch WILMART, *Prières* 322 Anm. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. A. SIEGMUND, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* = *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie* 5 (1949) 76: *istoria ecclesiastica una*; vgl. 78. — M. INGUANEZ, *Catalogi Codicum Casinensium antiqui* (Monte Cassino 1941) war mir unzugänglich.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. M. INGUANEZ, *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus* 1 (Monte Cassino 1915) S. 95f. Hs 96 R (ext. 95 et 110): *Eusebii Caesariensis Historiarum libri latine Rufino interprete. Littera Beneventana saec. XI*. Diese Handschrift (Cass. 95) nennt auch MOMMSEN (siehe Anm. 11), *Eusebius* 2,3 (Leipzig 1909) S. CCLIII Nr 27.

hat, und zwar aus der um 805 wahrscheinlich in Köln geschriebenen karolingischen Handschrift 106 des Archivs des Kölner Domkapitels <sup>41</sup>. Auch dieses Gebet geht, wie der Wortlaut vielfach zeigt, auf die Übersetzung der Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius durch Rufin zurück. Übernommen wurde aber nur das Initium, doch nicht einmal die ganze Anrede Gottes, und die Doxologie. Der neue Mittelteil dankt Gott allgemein für seine Wohltaten unter Verwendung von Apk 4,11. Mit unserem Kommuniongebet hat diese wohl 300 Jahre ältere Bearbeitung keinen Zusammenhang. Das Gebet lautet:

*Deus dilecti et be<ne>dicti filii tui Iesu Christi, pater per quem agnationem [!] suscepimus, deus angelorum et universae creaturae, visibilium et invisibilium aequus conditor ac dispensator, — deus, gratias tibi reffero [!] quod mihi misero meisque omnibus humanoque cuncto generi tam inmerita, tam benigna tamque pia prestitisti. Cunctaque te insimul creatura laudet, quia tu creasti omnia, et propter voluntatem tuam erant et creata sunt. Idcirco in omnibus laudabo te et benedico te et glorificabo te per aeternum deum et pontificem Iesum Christum dilectum filium tuum per quem et cum quo tibi est et cum spiritu sancto gloria et nunc et in futura saecula amen.*

Von dem Polykarpgebet in der Übersetzung Rufins ist wohl auch noch wenigstens indirekt eine kurze Stelle abhängig, die sich innerhalb eines langen Gebetes (*Oratio post letaniam. Deus exercituum, deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Iacob, deus patriarcharum...*) des karolingischen Libellus Turonensis WILMARTS befindet (heute Paris, BNL 13388) <sup>42</sup>: *Sed tu domine deus dilecti et benedicti filii tui domini nostri Iesu Christi pater, per quem tuam cognitionem suscepimus, quem et laeti dixisse recolimus...* Eine weitere Anspielung auf unser Gebet kommt in dem langen Cento nicht mehr vor.

<sup>41</sup> A. WILMART, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini* (Rom 1940) S. 59 Zeile 14-24 Nr [VII] (2). Es ist das letzte Gebet aus dieser Handschrift und steht wohl auf fol 71<sup>v</sup>, vgl. WILMART S. 6. Vgl. unsere Anm. 37.

<sup>42</sup> WILMART, *Precum libelli* S. 85 Zeile 28-30.

## SUMMARIUM

*In Ordine ad accipiendum corpus domini, quem ex codice celebri Parisiensi Mazarino 364 pro abbate Casinensi Oderisio circa annum 1100 scripto A. Wilmart 1929 edidit, una oratio ex Martyrio s. Polycarpi secundum translationem Rufini desumpta est. Pro verbis « ut particeps existerem martyrum et calicis Christi tui » dicitur: « ut particeps existerem communionis et calicis Christi tui ». Quomodo haec adaptatio ex orationis eiusque translationis indole et ex propinquitate eucharistiae ad martyrium praeparata et quasi insinuata sit, scriptor demonstrat omnesque fere mutationes sive a Rufino sive a codice Casinensi factas explicat. In Appendice alias denique orationes aevo Karolino ex Polycarpi oratione factas ostendit.*

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## Note sur le traité *De Trinitate* de Novatien

par

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(Groningue)

Aucun manuscrit du traité *De Trinitate* de Novatien ne nous a été conservé. L'*editio princeps* de Mesnart (Paris 1545) doit donc servir de substitut du codex ou des codices perdus. Il est d'autant plus regrettable que Mesnart dise si peu sur leur compte. On trouve bien sur le verso de la page de titre de son édition : *Haec uero sequentia* <sup>1</sup> *opuscula nunc primum eduntur in lucem beneficio Ioannis Gangneii Parisini theologi (...) ex uetustissimo codice desumpta*. Mais Dekkers <sup>2</sup> a démontré qu'en réalité il ne s'agit pas d'un seul manuscrit, bien plutôt d'une collection de manuscrits : « Mesnart a disposé, en dehors de l'Agobardinus, du Trecensis, du manuscrit de Sainte-Geneviève et d'un exemplaire de la collection de Corbie, encore d'un ou, plus probablement, de plusieurs autres manuscrits. Ce qu'il décrit d'un mot fort laconique '*ex uetustissimo codice desumpta*' a été en réalité une opération bien complexe » <sup>3</sup>.

De tous ces manuscrits le *corpus Corbeiense* nous intéresse ici particulièrement. Les œuvres de Tertullien <sup>4</sup> nous ont été

<sup>1</sup> *De trinitate, De testimonio animae, De anima, De spectaculis, De baptismo, Scorpiace, De idololatria, De pudicitia, De ieiunio aduersus psychicos, De cibis Iudaicis, De oratione*. Il les ajouta à une réimpression de la troisième édition de Tertullien par Rhenanus (1539).

<sup>2</sup> E. DEKKERS, *Note sur les fragments récemment découverts de Tertullien* (*Sacris Erudiri* 4, 1952, 372-383).

<sup>3</sup> DEKKERS, *o.c.*, 381.

<sup>4</sup> *De Trinitate* de Novatien a été transmis pendant des siècles comme une œuvre de Tertullien. Pamelius a été le premier en 1579 à réintégrer Novatien dans ses droits d'auteur.



transmises en diverses collections. Grâce aux investigations de Lieftinck <sup>5</sup> et de Dekkers <sup>6</sup> nous connaissons maintenant aussi une petite collection, représentée par trois codices perdus, un de l'abbaye de Corbie, un de Cologne et le troisième originaire d'Angleterre, ayant appartenu à un certain Johannes Clemens, et dont Pamelius s'est servi pour son édition de 1579. Cette collection comprend les sept œuvres suivantes : *De resurrectione mortuorum, De trinitate, De spectaculis, De praescriptione haereticorum, De ieiunio aduersus psychicos, De monogamia, De pudicitia* <sup>7</sup>.

A Bâle, chez Froben, parut en 1550 une seconde édition du *De Trinitate*, publiée par Sigismond Gelenius. Cette édition a été revue sur plusieurs vieux manuscrits, nous assure-t-il au moins sur la page de titre : *ad complures ueteres e Gallicanis Germanisque bibliothecis conquisitos recognita codices, in quibus praecipuus fuit unus longe incorruptissimus in ultimam usque petitus Britanniam*. Au verso de la page de titre, Gelenius revient sur son manuscrit britannique : *Tandem ex ultima Britannia Ioannes Lelandus, uir antiquarius et feliciori dignus ualetudine, communicauit exemplar in Masburensi coenobio gentis eius uetustissimo repertum, in quo nihil desiderare posses amplius. Tanta erat integritas, nisi quod aliquot libri deerant. Continebat autem et omnia illa quae accesserunt ad postremam editionem Lutetiae*. Pour diverses raisons ces assertions de Gelenius ont fait naître beaucoup de soupçons <sup>8</sup>, surtout parce que dans la plupart des écrits publiés par lui, à part un certain nombre de conjectures plus ou moins réussies, on ne relève aucune trace de corrections qui pourraient prouver l'usage d'un ou de plusieurs manuscrits neufs.

Quant au traité *De Trinitate* de Novatien le cas est bien différent. Ici Gelenius corrige à plusieurs reprises le texte de Mesnart <sup>9</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> G. I. LIEFTINCK, *Un fragment de De Spectaculis de Tertullien provenant d'un manuscrit du neuvième siècle* (*Vig. Christ* 4, 1951, 193-203).

<sup>6</sup> o.c., passim.

<sup>7</sup> DEKKERS, o.c., 374 sq.

<sup>8</sup> G. F. DIERCKS, *Tertullianus De Oratone*. Bussum 1947, xvii-xxii.

<sup>9</sup> Je me restreins ici à quelques exemples. On pourra trouver les matériaux complets dans mon édition des œuvres de Novatien, qui paraîtra dans le *Corpus Christianorum*.

1. Gelenius comble des lacunes, parfois assez considérables : chap. 6,3 *tabernaculum clusus continetur. Sic et templum extruitur, nec tamen deus intra.*<sup>10</sup> ; chap. 19,20 *cum hunc eundem in puerorum horum benedictionem per sacramentum passionis digestum in figura manuum et deum et angelum intellegat inuocatum fuisse.*

2. Gelenius corrige Mesnart, là où celui-ci, de sa propre autorité, avait changé le latin de Novatien : chap. 18,6 *quae malum ratio est* (Mesn. : *quae ergo mala ratio*) ; chap. 20,7 *quae autem malum ratio est* (Mesn. : *quae autem mali ratio est*).<sup>11</sup>

3. Il le corrige encore là où celui-ci, pour des raisons théologiques, avait modifié le texte de Novatien : chap. 16,3.

GELENIUS<sup>12</sup>

*Sed si a Christo accepit quae nuntiet, maior ergo iam paracletus Christus est, quoniam nec paracletus à Christo acciperet, nisi minor Christo esset. Minor autem Christo paracletus Christum etiam Deum esse hoc ipso probat, a quo accepit quae nuntiat, ut testimonium Christi diuinitatis grande sit, dum minor Christo paracletus repertus ab illo sumit quae ceteris tradit.*

## MESNART

*Sed si a Christo accepit quae nuntiet, non est homo tantum Christus, a quo accepit paracletus deus non minor, quoniam nec paracletus a Christo acciperet nisi Deus Christus esset : Christus ergo se Deum esse hoc ipso probat, quod ab eo accepit paracletus quae nuntiat, ut testimonium Christi diuinitatis grande sit, dum ab illo paracletus sumit quae ceteris tradit.*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Il est évident que Mesnart a omis ce passage *per homoioteleuton*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Chr. MOHRMANN, *Les origines de la Latinité Chrétienne à Rome* (Vig. Christ. 3, 1949, 164) : « La présence inattendue dans cette langue de culture de certains éléments empruntés à la langue populaire donne au traité une saveur toute particulière. Je pense p. ex. au renfort *malum* 'parbleu' qui ranime de temps en temps l'argumentation théologique ».

<sup>12</sup> Pamelius déclare formellement que son *codex Anglicus* confirme le texte de Gelenius.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Jackson dans son édition de 1728 à Londres (119, n. 2) : *Hunc locum, quod ei uisus erat fauere haeresi pneumatomachorum,*

Il est notoire que Gelenius ne reculait pas devant des modifications dans les écrits qu'il a publiés, bien que celles-ci ne fussent pas avérées par des manuscrits, et qu'il n'hésitait pas non plus à camoufler,<sup>14</sup> ces changements par de beaux noms. « Et dans ce genre de travaux on ne peut lui dénier une certaine dextérité »<sup>15</sup>. Mais les corrections et les additions qu'il a faites dans *De Trinitate* sont telles et d'une si grande importance que l'on ne peut pas envisager comme possible que Gelenius eût inventé tout cela lui-même et ne l'eût pas pris dans un manuscrit<sup>16</sup>. Dekkers<sup>17</sup> remarque « que c'est uniquement dans trois traités<sup>18</sup> de la collection de Corbie qu'il apporte vraiment du neuf » et il pose la question : « Serait-on loin de la vérité en supposant que pour les seuls traités de la collection de Corbie il s'est servi d'un autre manuscrit que Mesnart, le Coloniensis ? ». Je suis d'avis qu'il faut répondre affirmativement à cette question et qu'il faut ajouter aux trois écrits de Tertullien le traité *De Trinitate* de Novatien, que Gelenius trouva dans un manuscrit de la même collection<sup>19</sup>.

La troisième édition du *De Trinitate* fut publiée à Anvers en 1579 par Pamelius. E.a. il y a fait usage d'un *liber manuscriptus Anglicus quidam, quem thesauri loco penes se adseruabat Ioan. Clemens Anglus*<sup>20</sup>. Dans la *Notarum explicatio* il en dit : *Anglicus codex antiquissimus Ioan. Clementis Angli, e quo VII castigati sunt libri*. Ces sept écrits sont, comme je l'ai déjà dit, les mêmes que ceux du *corpus Corbeiense*. En se servant de ce manuscrit, Pamelius a su enlever bien des

*audacter interpolauerat Gangneius*. Et Fausset dans son édition de 1909 à Cambridge (55, n. 11) : « John Gangneius altered the text into conformity with Catholic statement ».

<sup>14</sup> Cf. A. WILMART, *Un manuscrit du De Cibis et des œuvres de Lucifer* (*Revue Bénédictine* 33, 1921, 128, n. 1).

<sup>15</sup> DEKKERS, *o.c.*, 382.

<sup>16</sup> H. WEYER, *Novatianus De Trinitate. Text und Uebersetzung mit Einleitung und Kommentar*. Düsseldorf 1962, 16, n. 50.

<sup>17</sup> *o.c.*, 382.

<sup>18</sup> *De monogamia, De pudicitia, De ieiunio*.

<sup>19</sup> LIEFTINCK, *o.c.*, a démontré qu'en effet Gelenius s'est servi d'un tel manuscrit.

<sup>20</sup> Ainsi Pamelius dans son *Epistola dedicatoria*.

fautes, qui étaient restées là <sup>21</sup> ou que Gelenius avait faites pour la première fois <sup>22</sup>.

Il nous reste donc des traces de trois manuscrits. Ils doivent avoir été très étroitement apparentés. Ceci ressort déjà du seul fait qu'ils ont le même ordre de succession fautif des chapitres corrigé par Welchman dans son édition de 1724 <sup>23</sup>. En outre Weyer <sup>24</sup> attire l'attention sur quelques « Lücken » et « Korruptelen » communes. Aussi peut-on conclure que ces trois manuscrits ont fait partie du *corpus Corbeiense*, qui du reste est le seul, pour autant que l'on sache, qui nous a transmis le *De Trinitate*. On ne saurait rien dire avec certitude sur le rapport mutuel de ces trois manuscrits, ne serait-ce que parce que nous ne savons pas exactement de quelle manière les éditeurs se sont servis des ressources qui étaient à leur disposition <sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> P. ex. des lacunes communes de Mesnart en de Gelenius : chap. 24,7 *sed consequenter et in secundo loco* ; chap. 27,12 *hoc ipso quo Patre se minorem accipiendo ab ipso sanctificationem probat*.

<sup>22</sup> P. ex. des lacunes de Gelenius seul : chap. 13,6 *aut per hominem* ; 30,24 *dictus* ; 31,14 *idcirco*.

<sup>23</sup> Mais ceci avait déjà été remarqué auparavant par Cotelierius, grâce à un avertissement de Valesius ; voir JACKSON, *o.c.*, XXV, n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *o.c.*, 17, n. 53.

<sup>25</sup> WEYER, *o.c.*, 17 voit dans le *corpus Corbeiense* l'archétype « von dem der Coloniensis eine Abschrift darstellte, auf die wieder das Manuscript zurückging, aus dem John Clement die Variationen mitteilte ».

**« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie »**  
**source d' « Eusèbe de Gaule »**

par

J. LEROY (†) — FR. GLORIE

**I. L'ŒUVRE D'« EUSÈBE  
D'ALEXANDRIE »**

Le nom d'Eusèbe, tel celui de l'auteur, précédant certains extraits plus ou moins longs de ses œuvres, se rencontre assez souvent dans les recueils grecs de textes scripturaires et patristiques. Il se lit notamment quatre fois dans les *Capita theologica* de s. Maxime le Confesseur, deux fois dans les *Sententiae* d'Antoine Melissa <sup>1</sup>, vingt-deux fois dans les *Sacra Parallela* de s. Jean Damascène <sup>2</sup>, deux fois dans le *Pandectes* de Nikon 'de la Montagne Noire' <sup>3</sup>.

Mais surtout, le nom d'Eusèbe apparaît dans ces citations sans aucune autre précision <sup>4</sup>, de telle sorte qu'il a été longtemps impossible de savoir de qui il s'agissait, ou à quelle œuvre les passages en question étaient empruntés.

<sup>1</sup> MAXIMVS ABBAS, *Capita theologica* ; ANTONIVS MONACHVS ('MELISSA'), *Sententiae siue Loci communes*. — Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *Les homélies d'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie. Mémoire ... de licencié en Philosophie et Lettres* (dactylographié), Louvain, Université Catholique, 1966, p. 116-119. — Mais ces citations de Maximus et d'Antonius, attribuées à « Eusèbe » ne sont pas retrouvées dans les textes d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie. »

<sup>2</sup> IOANNES DAMASCENVS, *De sacris parallelis*. — Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 104-114 ; 119.

<sup>3</sup> NICON, *Pandectes*. — Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 115-116 ; 119.

<sup>4</sup> Sauf en un seul endroit des *Parallela Rupefucaldina*. Cf. la note de M. LEQUIEN, *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Damasceni ... opera omnia ...*, editio nouissima, Veneta, 1740, II, p. 666.

Il faudra attendre la fin du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle pour que P. Colomies <sup>5</sup> découvre la référence exacte. Comme d'habitude, en pareil cas, la tâche n'a pas été facilitée par les copistes, dont la négligence ou le zèle a fait porter quelques unes de ces instructions à l'actif de s. Jean Chrysostome ou de s. Cyrille.

Le nombre de ces instructions d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » est de quatre dans l'édition des *Opera* de s. Jean Chrysostome par H. Saville (*Sa*) <sup>6</sup>. Il est de cinq dans l'édition *Mo* de B. de Montfaucon (*Mo*) <sup>7</sup>, d'où elles sont passées dans *PG* l'édition de la PG de Migne (*PG*) <sup>8</sup> parmi les *spuria*, dans l'ordre suivant :

- *In sancta et magna Parasceue et in sanctam passionem Domini* (*Sa*, t. 7, p. 459-462 ; *Mo*, t. 11, p. 793-796 ; *PG*, t. 62, col. 721-724) ;
- *In triduanam resurrectionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (*Sa*, t. 7, p. 364-367 ; *Mo*, t. 10, p. 787-790 ; *PG*, t. 61, col. 733-738) ;

<sup>5</sup> Paulus COLOMESIVS, *Ad Guilielmi Cave canonici Windesoriensis Chartophilacem Ecclesiasticum Paralipomena ; item de Photii scriptis dissertatio, et Passio sancti Victoris Massiliensis*, Lipsiae, 1687, p. 6 : « Huius (Eusebii Alexandrini) homilias 18 mss. se reperisse testatur Turianus idem in Bibliotheca Cryptae Ferratae, quarum fragmenta non contemnenda adducit in defensione Epistolarum Pontificum ; prolixiore uero Iohannes Damascenus in Parallelis, quod nulli huc usque suboluit » (*Pauli Colomesii Rupellensis Opera... edita*, curante Ioh. Alberto FABRICIO, Hamburgi, 1709, p. 692). — Cf. notes 12, 13 et 16 ci-après.

<sup>6</sup> H. SAVILLE, *S. Ioannis Chrysostomi Opera, graece*, Etonae, 1612, tom. VII.

<sup>7</sup> Bernardus DE MONTFAUCON, *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi ... Opera omnia, quae exstant uel quae eius nomine circumferuntur, ad mss. codices ... necnon ad Sauilianam et Frontinianam editiones castigata, innumeris aucta ...*, Parisiis, 1718-1738, tom. x ; XI ; XIII.

<sup>8</sup> J.-P. MIGNE, *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opera omnia, quae exstant uel quae eius nomine circumferuntur ...*, I-XIII, opera et studio B. DE MONTFAUCON (*PG* 52-64).

- *Sancti patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi Sermo in sanctam assumptionem Seruatoris nostri* (Mo, t. 13, p. 247-250 ; PG, t. 64, col. 45-48) <sup>9</sup> ;
- *In secundum aduentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et de eleemosyna* (Sa, t. 7, p. 412-414 ; Mo, t. 10, p. 831-833 ; PG, t. 61, col. 775-778) ;
- *Quod oporteat eum qui gratiam quamlibet scientiae habeat illam ei qui opus habet impertire, et de Presbytero* (Sa, t. 7, p. 421-423 ; Mo, t. 10, p. 840-842 ; PG, t. 61, col. 783-786).

Petit à petit cependant, le nom et l'œuvre de l'énigmatique « Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » vont se préciser.

**Ga** En 1615, Tomaso Galetti (Ga) publie (en latin, d'après la traduction de Claude Fabien) une

— *Eusebii cuiusdam Oratio de commemoratione sanctorum* <sup>10</sup>, qui sera rééditée plusieurs fois, sans changement <sup>11</sup>.

**To** À peu près vers la même époque, le jésuite espagnol François Torres (To), dans sa défense contre les Centuriateurs de Magdebourg, à propos des Canons des Apôtres et

<sup>9</sup> Récemment encore publié, comme un discours inédit de s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie, par Chr. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, dans les *Mélanges publiés en mémoire de M. Lampros*, (*Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*), Athènes, 1935, p. 39-41.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas GALETTI, *Religiosus. Adnectuntur Sanctorum aliquot uaria opuscula nondum edita...*, Lugduni, 1615.

<sup>11</sup> a. *Magna Bibliotheca ueterum Patrum ...*, xv (Supplementum uel Appendix), Coloniae Agrippinae, 1622 : *Opuscula quorum aetas incerta* ;

b. *Bibliotheca ueterum Patrum et Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, siue Supplementum Bibliotheca Patrum ...* I-II (MARGARIN DE LA BIGNE), Parisiis, 1639, I, p. 826 : *Eusebii cuiusdam auctoris incertae aetatis Oratio de commemoratione sanctorum* ;

c. *Magna Bibliotheca ueterum Patrum et antiquorum Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum ...* (MARGARIN DE LA BIGNE), Parisiis, 1644<sup>5</sup> et 1654<sup>6</sup>, xv, p. 826-827 : *Sancti patris nostri Eusebii episcopi Oratio de commemoratione sanctorum* ;

d. *Maxima Bibliotheca ueterum Patrum ...*, xxvii, Lugduni, 1677, p. 479.

des Décrétales des Papes <sup>12</sup>, utilise comme argument, six passages empruntés notamment à des sermons d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie », qu'il avait trouvés, dit-il, parmi d'autres, dans un manuscrit ancien du monastère basilien de Grotta Ferrata, au pied des monts Albins <sup>13</sup>. En voici les références :

*Sermo de ieiunio* (To, p. 81 ; PG, t. 86-1, col. 324<sup>a</sup>) ;  
*In triduanam resurrectionem domini* (To, p. 166 ; PG, t. 61, col. 736) ;  
*In ascensionem domini* (To, p. 182 ; PG, t. 64, col. 48 ; 47) ;  
*De die dominico* (To, p. 518 ; PG, t. 86-1, col. 416<sup>b</sup> ; 421<sup>c</sup>) ;  
*De die dominica* (To, p. 519-520 ; PG, t. 86-1, col. 421<sup>a</sup>) ;  
*De commemoratione sanctorum* (To, p. 519-520 ; PG, t. 86-1, col. 357<sup>b</sup>).

Mais ce manuscrit de Grotta Ferrata (dont le cardinal Angelo Mai ne devait publier le contenu que trois siècles plus tard), est loin d'être le seul à recéler quelque pièce appartenant au soi-disant « Eusèbe d'Alexandrie ».

Al Dès 1664, parmi les manuscrits de la Vaticane, dont il était alors le bibliothécaire, Leo Allazi (Al) ne signalait pas moins de huit autres sermons sous le nom du même auteur, avec leur titre et leur incipit, à savoir <sup>14</sup> :

- *De Ioannis in infernum aduentu* (Al, p. 82) ;
- *In Christi resurrectionem* (Al, p. 82) ;
- *In prodicionem Iudae* (Al, p. 84) ;

<sup>12</sup> FRANCISCUS TVRRIANVS, *Aduersus Magdeburgenses Centuriatores, pro Canonibus Apostolorum et Epistolis Decretalibus Pontificum Apostolicorum, libri quinque*, Florentiae, 1622, I, XXI ; II, VI ; II, XII ; V, XVII. — Cf. note 5 ci-dessus.

<sup>13</sup> « Inter alios 18 eiusdem auctoris, quos nuper in libro uetustissimo bibliothecae Cryptae Ferratae reperi ».

<sup>14</sup> Leo ALLATIVS, *De Symeonum scriptis diatriba. Symeonis Metaphrastae laudatio, auctore Michaele Psello. Sanctae Mariae Planctus, ipso Metaphraste auctore. Eiusdem aliquot Epistolae*, Parisiis, 1664.



- *In dominicam assumptionem* (Al, p. 91);
- *De Christi baptisate* (Al, p. 91);
- *De secundo aduentu* (Al, p. 99);
- *In Christi natalem* (Al, p. 105);
- *De incarnatione Christi* (Al, p. 112).

Ces indications seront reprises fidèlement, quoique dans un autre ordre et sous un autre titre, par J.A. Fabricius<sup>15</sup>; et un peu plus tard, à deux exceptions près, par Guillaume Cave, dans la première dissertation publiée en fin de son 'Histoire littéraire'<sup>16</sup>.

**Ca** Mais Guillaume Cave (Ca) ajoute quatre nouveaux titres (nos 7 à 10 de sa liste) :

- *De eleemosyna, et in diuitem et Lazarum* (Ca, n. 7. « Habetur Gr. Ms. in Cod. Colbert 2493. Vide du Fresn., Ind. Auct., p. 26 »);
- *De ieiunio quadragesimali* (Ca, n. 8. « Exstat biblioth. Vindob. Cod. Theol.247 num.15, fol. 124 »);
- *De memoria sanctorum, die quodam festo coram Alexandro habita* (Ca, n. 9. « Ibid. num.21, fol. 169 ». C'est le sermon déjà publié par Galletti);
- *Encomium diei dominicae* (Ca, n. 10. « Ibid., Cod. Hist.63 num.4, fol. 39; iterumque, ut uidetur, Cod. 67 num.14; et biblioth. Bodleian, Cod. Baroc.263 ». C'est le sermon déjà publié par Janus).

**La** Un peu plus d'attention lui aurait permis d'en ajouter un cinquième, noté par Pierre Lambeck (La)<sup>17</sup> :

- *De astronomis*,

**Ja** noté également par J.G. Janus (Ja), qui précisément avait édité en 1720 (texte grec et latin), le

<sup>15</sup> Ioannes Albertus FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, ix, Hamburgi, 1719, V, xxxii, 20 : *Vitae, Martyria et Encomia Sanctorum, graece scripta*, pp. 86 ; 88 ; 90 ; 94 ; 95 ; 96 ; 101.

<sup>16</sup> Guilielmus CAVE, *Dissertationes tres*, Oxonii, 1743, I, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Petrus LAMBECIUS, *Commentarii de Aug. Bibliotheca Caesaraea Vindobonensi*, Vindobonae, 1665-1679, v, pp. 22 et 24.

— *Sermo de die dominicae Eusebii ep. Alex.*<sup>18</sup> (= *Ca*, n. 10),

*Gl* dont André Gallandi (*Gl*), à son tour, a fait son profit<sup>19</sup>.

Jusque là, somme toute, deux homélies seulement avaient été publiées sous le nom d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » : *Eusebii cuiusdam Oratio de commemoratione sanctorum* (*Ga*) et *Sermo de die dominicae Eusebii ep. Alex.* (*Ja*).

Avec le xix<sup>e</sup> siècle, au contraire, les publications vont se multiplier à une cadence extrêmement rapide.

*Au*<sup>a</sup> Coup sur coup, J.G.C. Augusti (*Au*<sup>a</sup>) commence par publier en 1820 :

— *Oratio in sacrum Parasceues diem*<sup>20</sup> (texte grec seulement, d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Vienne : codd. Theol.Gr.248 [307] et 176 [284]),

<sup>18</sup> Ioannes Guilielmus JANUS, *B. Eusebii episcopi, uulgo Alexandrini, Oratio de die dominico*, Lipsiae, 1720. — Pour en établir le texte, Janus s'est servi de deux manuscrits : l'un d'Oxford, Bibliothèque Bodleienne, Th.Roe 17 [Baroc.263], f° 203v-206 : *Eusebii ep. Alex. Sermo de die dominico*, provenant d'un legs de Thomas Roe, en 1628 (cf. Bernard EDWARD, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico*, Oxoniae, 1687, I, 1, pp. 36 et 370), dont il avait trouvé la copie dans un écrit de Gerhard Langbaine ; l'autre du Vatican, Palat.gr.63, f° 33v sqq. [n° 9] : *Eusebii episcopi ad Alexandrum Sermo in sancta dominica post dimissam concionem* (cf. Fridericus SYLBVRGVVS, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum mss. olim in Bibliotheca Palatina, nunc Vaticana asseruatorum*, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1701, p. 24), que Luc Holste avait déjà eu l'intention de publier, si l'on en croit son neveu Lambeck (cf. Petrus LAMBEIVS, *Comment. ...*, sup. cit., I, p. 112 ; dans son *Catalogus librorum ab Holstenio edendorum*, Lambeck dit que Luc Holste voulait éditer, entre autres : *Eusebii Alexandrini [Orationes] in passionem domini ; in secundum aduentum Christi ; dominica post dimissam concionem ; de memoria sanctorum*).

<sup>19</sup> Andreas GALLANDVS, *Bibliotheca ueterum Patrum antiquorumque Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum postremo Lugdunensi multo locupletior atque accuratior*, VIII, Venetiis, 1772, p. 252-255.

<sup>20</sup> I. Christianus Guilelmus AUGUSTI, *Eusebii Emeseni Oratio in sacrum Parasceues diem, e duobus codicibus Vindobonensibus ...*, Bonnae, 1820.

Au<sup>b</sup> qu'il réédite ensuite en 1829 (Au<sup>b</sup>) <sup>21</sup> en deux textes séparés :

- *Sermo de diabolo et orco* (d'après le cod. Theol.Gr.248 [307]), et
- *Contra Iudaeos syllogismos* (d'après le cod. Theol.Gr.176 [284]),

en y joignant deux autres instructions, qui se trouvaient également dans le cod. Theol.Gr.248 [307] :

- *Sermo de aduentu Ioannis ad inferos* (f° 49-50<sup>v</sup>), et
- *Sermo de proditiōe Iudae*.

Malheureusement pour lui, Augusti s'était trompé dans l'attribution de ses homélies. En une réplique pleine de justesse, d'ironie et d'érudition, J.C. Thilo n'allait pas tarder à le lui faire voir <sup>22</sup>. Sur la foi de la notice de Lambeck <sup>23</sup>, Augusti croyait avoir affaire à des productions d'Eusèbe d'Émèse ; Thilo lui démontrait qu'en aucun manuscrit, ce titre n'apparaissait. Augusti était persuadé que seuls existaient trois sermons de cet auteur ; Thilo en donnait une liste de 16, attestés soit par les manuscrits, soit par les *Sacra Parallela* de s. Jean Damascène.

<sup>21</sup> I. Christianus Guilelmus AUGUSTI, *Eusebii Emeseni quae supersunt Opuscula graeca* ..., Eberfeldi, 1829. — Cette édition a été reprise dans la PG 86-1, où elle constitue l'« editio altera » pour ce qui concerne le texte du cod. Theol.Gr.176 (Nessel 284), et l'« editio tertia » pour le texte du cod. Theol.Gr.248 (Nessel 307).

<sup>22</sup> Johann Carl THILO, *Über die Schriften des Eusebius von Alexandrien und des Eusebius von Emisa. Ein kritisches Sendschreiben an Herrn Consistorialrath Dr. Augusti zu Bonn. — Mit einem Anhange mehrerer bisher unbekannter Homilien des Eusebius von Alexandrien*, Halle, 1832.

<sup>23</sup> Iacobus Fridericus REIMMANNVS, *Bibliotheca acroamatica, theologica, iuridica, medica* ..., *comprehendens recensionem specialem omnium manuscriptorum graecorum, hebraicorum ... bibliothecae ... Vindobonensis, olim duumviris cl. Petro Lambecio et Daniele Nesselio congesta, nunc ... in hanc concinnum epitomen redacta et luci publicae restituta*, Hannoueriae, 1722, p. 315 : « Ms. Theol.Gr.176, n° 4 : Eusebii in Phoenicia episcopi Oratio contra Iudaeos, cuius Hieronymus in Lib. de S. Ec. 91 meminit » ; p. 376 : « Ms. Theol.Gr.248, n° 4 : Eusebii Emisseni in Phoenicia episcopi Homiliae siue Orationes tres ».

*Th<sup>a</sup>* Pour finir, J.C. Thilo (*Th<sup>a</sup>*) publiait l'édition critique de quatre sermons <sup>24</sup>, imprimés jusque là parmi les œuvres de s. Jean Chrysostome <sup>25</sup>, à savoir :

- *In sancta et magna Parasceue, et in sanctam passionem Domini* (*Th<sup>a</sup>*, p. 81-91) ;
- *In triduanam resurrectionem domini nostri Iesu Christi* (*Th<sup>a</sup>*, p. 91-99) ;
- *In secundum aduentum domini nostri Iesu Christi, et de eleemosyna* (*Th<sup>a</sup>*, p. 99-104) ;
- *Quod oporteat eum qui gratiam quamlibet scientiae habeat ei qui opus habet impertire, et de presbytero* (*Th<sup>a</sup>*, p. 105-112).

Deux ans après, J.C. Thilo (*Th<sup>b</sup>*) complétait son travail en donnant le texte critique d'un autre sermon d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » <sup>26</sup> :

- *De astronomis* (*Th<sup>b</sup>*, p. 18-21).

Si importante que fût la contribution de Thilo (dont un certain nombre de notes ont été reprises dans la *PG*), elle devait être cependant, à son tour, rapidement dépassée par celle du cardinal Angelo Mai, qui paraît avoir ignoré complètement le travail de son prédécesseur.

Angelo Mai (*Ma<sup>a</sup>*) a commencé par éditer en 1838, d'après un manuscrit du Vatican <sup>27</sup>, un

- *Eusebii archiepiscopi Alexandrini Sermo de secundo Christi aduentu* (*Ma<sup>a</sup>*, p. 595-600) ;

puis il a eu la chance de retrouver le manuscrit de Grotta Ferrata, dont Fr. Torres s'était servi.

Ce manuscrit se trouvait à la Vaticane, sous le n° Vat. gr.1633 (s. x-xi) ; le cardinal Mai (*Ma<sup>b</sup>*) en publia d'un

<sup>24</sup> Johann Carl THILO, *Über die Schriften ...* sup. cit.

<sup>25</sup> Voir ci-dessus, notes 6 à 8 : *Sa*, *Mo*, *PG*.

<sup>26</sup> Ioannes Carolus THILO, *Sacra Christi Natalitia ... Inest Eusebii Alexandrini Oratio de astronomis, quam praemissa De magis et stella quaestione, e cod. Reg.Par.1098 (f° 89v-94), Halae, 1834.*

<sup>27</sup> Angelo MAI, *Classici Auctores e Vaticanis codicibus editi*, x, Romae, 1838, p. 595-600.

seul coup les différentes homélies, sauf celles déjà imprimées parmi les œuvres de s. Jean Chrysostome ; il en modifiait d'ailleurs l'ordre pour plus de commodité<sup>28</sup>, et y ajoutait une autre pièce :

- *Sermo de epulo* (*Ma<sup>b</sup>*, p. 673-675, tiré du manuscrit  
• Vat.gr.1782, f° 235).

*Ma<sup>c</sup>* Enfin, Angelo Mai (*Ma<sup>c</sup>*), édita encore 2 sermons du même « Eusèbe d'Alexandrie »<sup>29</sup>, à savoir :

- *Sancti patris nostri Eusebii archiepiscopi Alexandriae Sermo de eleemosyna, et in diuitem atque Lazarum* (d'après le cod. Vindobonensis theol.gr.263, f° 66<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>) ;
- *Eusebii episcopi et monachi De astronomis* (d'après le cod. Parisinus graec.1098, f° 89<sup>v</sup>-94).

L'ensemble de ces textes (*Ma<sup>a</sup>*, *Ma<sup>b</sup>*, *Ma<sup>c</sup>*)<sup>30</sup> permet de se rendre compte désormais de l'ampleur et du genre des sermons mis au compte d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie ». L'œuvre de celui-ci (en prenant pour base le manuscrit du Vatican, Vat.gr.1633, et le manuscrit de Paris, Suppl.grec 407<sup>31</sup>), se présente ainsi, en respectant l'ordre de ces deux manuscrits (nous faisons précéder les titres par le n° des f°s et le n° de la pièce dans le ms. du Vatican Vat.gr.1633, suivi, entre parenthèses, de celui des f°s du ms. parisien Suppl. grec 407 ; puis, entre crochets, le n° d'ordre dans la *PG* — ordre suivi par G. Lafontaine — ; ensuite, en caractères gras, le nouveau n° des sermons) :

<sup>28</sup> Angelo MAI, *Spicilegium Romanum*, Romae, 1839-1844, ix, pp. 1-28 ; 672-713.

<sup>29</sup> Angelo MAI, *Noua Patrum Bibliotheca*, Romae, 1844-1854, ii, p. 501-528.

<sup>30</sup> Cette édition a été reprise dans la *PG* 86-1, col. 287-536, où elle constitue l'« editio prima ».

<sup>31</sup> Qui est une copie de Sirmond, de 1592, presque de tout point identique au premier. Voir : F. NAU, *Notes sur diverses homélies pseudépigraphiques, sur les œuvres attribuées à Eusèbe d'Alexandrie et sur le nouveau manuscrit de la chaîne Contra Seuerianos*, dans la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xiii (1908), p. 406-435.

- f. 326<sup>v</sup>-328<sup>r</sup>, n° 129 (f. 176 sqq.) [1].
- f. 328<sup>v</sup>-329<sup>r</sup>, n° 130 (f. 180<sup>v</sup> sqq.) [2].
- f. 329<sup>r</sup>-333<sup>r</sup>, n° 131 (f. 182 sqq.) [10].
- f. 330<sup>v</sup>-331<sup>v</sup>, n° 132 (f. 185 sqq.) [11].
- f. 332<sup>r</sup>-332<sup>v</sup>, n° 133 (f. 188<sup>v</sup> sqq.) [3].
- f. 332<sup>v</sup>-333<sup>v</sup>, n° 134 (f. 192 sqq.) [12].
- 333<sup>v</sup>-335<sup>r</sup>, n° 135 (f. 194 sqq.) [13].
- 335<sup>r</sup>-335<sup>v</sup>, n° 136 (f. 197 sqq.) [14].
- f. 336<sup>r</sup>-337<sup>r</sup>, n° 137 (f. 199 sqq.) [15].
- le texte manque ici, mais se trouve au n° 75 ; f° 350<sup>v</sup>, dans le 'pinax', la pièce est indiquée au n° 17 (f. 203 sqq.) [17].
1. *Περὶ νηστείας* — *De ieiunio* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 1-16 ; PG 86-1, col. 313-324 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo I ») ;
2. *Περὶ ἀγάπης* — *De caritate* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 16-21 ; PG 86-1, col. 324-328 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo II ») ;
3. *Περὶ τὴν Χριστοῦ Γέννησιν* — *In Domini Natiuitatem* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 675-679 ; PG 86-1, col. 365-372 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo X ») ;
4. *Περὶ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος* — *De Baptismo* [Domini] (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 679-684 ; PG 86-1, col. 372-380 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo XI ») ;
5. *Εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐνανθρώπησεν* — *De incarnatione Domini, et quam ob causam incarnatus sit* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 21-28 ; PG 86-1, col. 328-332 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo III ») ;
6. *Εἰς τὸ « Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν ; »* — *De uerbis : « Tu es qui uenturus est, an alium exspectamus ? »* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 685-688 ; PG 86-1, col. 380-384 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo XII ») ;
7. *Περὶ τῆς παρουσίας Ἰωάννου εἰς ᾗδην, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ ὄντων* — *De aduentu Iohannis in infernum, et de ibi inclusis* (Au<sup>b</sup>, p. 3-10 ; Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 688-692 ; PG 86-1, [col. 384 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo XIII »], col. 509-525 « Eusebii Emeseni Oratio I ») ;
8. *Εἰς τὴν προδοσίαν τοῦ Ἰούδα* — *De proditione Iudae* (Au<sup>b</sup>, p. 10-14 ; Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 693-696 ; PG 86-1, [col. 384 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo XIV »], col. 525-536 « Eusebii Emeseni Oratio II » ; Hi, p. 752-755 ; Ze, p. 142-146) ;
9. *Εἰς τὸν διάβολον καὶ εἰς τὸν ᾗδην* — *De diabolo et orco* (Au<sup>a</sup>, p. 9-19 ; Au<sup>b</sup>, p. 29-35 ; Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 696-703 ; PG 86-1, col. 384-406 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo XV » , <col. 536, not.\* « Eusebii Emeseni Oratio III » >) ;
10. *[Τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ] εἰς τὸ [ἄγιον] πάθος τοῦ Κυρίου* — *[In sancta et magna Parasceue, et] de [sancta] passione Domini* (Sa, p. 459-462 ; Mo XI, p. 793-796 ; Au<sup>a</sup>, p. 9-19 ; Th<sup>a</sup>, p. 81-91 ; <PG 86-1, col. 421 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo XVII » >, PG 62, col. 721-724 « Ioannis Chrysostomi Sermo spurius ») ;

- 337<sup>v</sup>-338<sup>v</sup>, n° 138 (f. 206<sup>v</sup> sqq.) [18].
- 338<sup>v</sup>-339<sup>v</sup>, n° 139 (f. 208<sup>v</sup> sqq.) [19].
- 339<sup>v</sup>-341<sup>r</sup>, n° 140 (f. 211<sup>v</sup> sqq.) [20].
- 341<sup>r</sup>-341<sup>v</sup>, n° 141 (f. 214<sup>v</sup> sqq.) [6].
- 341<sup>v</sup>-343<sup>r</sup>, n° 142 (f. 216<sup>v</sup> sqq.) [16].
- 343<sup>r</sup>-344<sup>r</sup>, n° 143 (f. 219<sup>v</sup> sqq.)
- 344<sup>r</sup>-345<sup>r</sup>, n° 144 (f. 222<sup>v</sup> sqq.)
11. *Εἰς τὴν [τριήμερον] ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου [ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ]* — *De [triduana] resurrectione Domini [nostri Iesu Christi]* (Sa, p. 364-367 ; Mo x, p. 787-790 ; Th<sup>a</sup>, p. 91-99 ; <PG 86-1, col. 421 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo xviii »>, PG 61, col. 733-738 « Ioannis Chrysostomi Sermo spurius ») ;
12. *Εἰς τὴν [ἁγίαν] ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου [ἡμῶν]* — *De [sancta] ascensione Domini [nostri]* (Mo xiii, p. 247-250 ; <PG 86-1, col. 421 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo xix »>, PG 64, col. 45-48 « Ioannis Chrysostomi Sermo spurius » ; Pa, p. 39-41) ;
13. *Εἰς τὴν δευτέραν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου [ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης]* — *De secundo aduentu Domini [nostri Iesu Christi, et de eleemosyna]* (Sa, p. 412-414 ; Mo x, p. 831-833 ; Th<sup>a</sup>, p. 99-104 ; Ma<sup>a</sup>, p. 595-600 ; <PG 86-1, col. 424 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo xx »>, PG 61, col. 775-778 « Ioannis Chrysostomi Sermo spurius ») ;
14. *Περὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων εἰς τὰς παγίδας* — *De mortibus improuisis* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 664-666 ; PG 86-1, col. 349-353 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo vi ») ;
15. *Περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας Κυριακῆς* — *De die Dominico* (Ja, p. 1-60 ; Gl, p. 252-255 ; PG 86-1, col. 413-421 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo xvi » ; Na, p. 414-415, 415-420) ;
- *Διήγησις ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν [καὶ πῶς ἐτελεύτησε]* — *Narratio quomodo ad sanctam ciuitatem profectus fuerit [et quomodo interierit]*<sup>32</sup> (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 710-713 ; PG 86-1, col. 305-309 « Eusebii Alexandrini Vita, iii ») ;
- *Τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐσεβίου Βίος πρὸ ἐπισκοπῆς* — *Sancti Eusebii Vita ante episcopatum* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 703-707 ; PG 86-1, col. 297-301 « Eusebii Alexandrini Vita, i ») ;

<sup>32</sup> Les trois titres, entre les sermons n° 15 et 16, constituent la 'Vita Eusebii Alexandrini', III-I-II.

- f. 345<sup>r</sup>-345<sup>v</sup>, n° 145 (f. 225 sq.) — *Περὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Εὐσεβίου, καὶ πῶς ἐπεστρέψατο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον* — *De episcopatu beati Eusebii, et quomodo Alexandrum ad saniora reuocauerit* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 707-709 ; PG 86-1, col. 301-305 « Eusebii Alexandrini Vita, II ») ;
- ici il y a une lacune dans le ms., et de ce fait le n° 146 manque (manque) [22].
- f. 346<sup>r</sup>-346<sup>v</sup>, n° 147 (f. 226<sup>v</sup> sq.) [7]. 16. *Περὶ ἀστρονόμων* — *De astronomis* (Th<sup>b</sup>, p. 18-21 ; Ma<sup>c</sup>, p. 522-528 ; PG 86-1, col. 452-462 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo xxii ») ;
- f. 346<sup>v</sup>-348<sup>r</sup>, n° 148 (titre et incipit seulement) [4]. 17. *Περὶ νεομηνίας καὶ σαββάτων, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ φνλάττειν φωνὰς ὁρνέων* — *De neomenia et sabbatis, et de non obseruandis auium uocibus* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 666-669 ; PG 86-1, col. 353-357 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo vii ») ;
- f. 348<sup>r</sup>-349<sup>v</sup>, n° 149 (titre et incipit seulement) [5]. 18. *Περὶ εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Θεῷ τὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰώβ* — *De gratiis Deo agendis in infirmitate, et de Iob* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 652-658 ; PG 86-1, col. 332-341 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo iv ») ;
- f. 349<sup>v</sup>-350<sup>v</sup>, n° 150 (titre et incipit seulement) [8]. 19. *Περὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος χάριν μεταδοῦναι τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι, καὶ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων* — *Quod is qui gratiam habet, imperitiri debeat ei qui non habet, et de presbyteris* (Sa, p. 421-423 ; Mo x, p. 840-842 ; Th<sup>a</sup>, p. 105-112 ; Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 659-663 ; PG 86-1, col. 341-349 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo v » = PG 61, col. 783-786 « Ioannis Chrysostomi Sermo spurius ») ;
- le texte manque ; f° 350<sup>v</sup>, dans le 'pinax', la pièce est indiquée au n° 21 (manque) [21]. 20. *Περὶ μνηίας ἀγίων* — *De commemoratione sanctorum* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 669-673 ; PG 86-1, col. 357-361 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo viii ») ;
21. *Περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης, <καὶ> εἰς τὸν πλουσίον καὶ [εἰς] τὸν Λάζαρον* — *De eleemosyna, et in diuitem atque Lazarum* (Ma<sup>c</sup>, p. 501-522 ; PG 86-1, col. 424-452 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo xxi ») ;

au total donc, la collection des instructions attribuées à « Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » — si l'on met à part les trois discours entre les nos 15 et 16 consacrés au récit de sa vie —, comprend 21 pièces, ou plutôt 22, si l'on y ajoute le sermon que le cardinal Mai (Ma<sup>b</sup>) a publié d'après le manuscrit du Vatican, Vat.gr.1782, f° 235 :



- [9]. 22. *Περὶ ἐσθιάσεως* — *De epulatione* (Ma<sup>b</sup>, p. 673-675 ; PG 86-1, col. 364-366 « Eusebii Alexandrini Sermo IX »).

Na Au xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, F. Nau (Na<sup>†</sup>) a publié deux autres révisions du sermon  
— *De die dominico* <sup>33</sup>.

Hi En 1925, l'archimandrite Chrysostomos Hippolytos (Hi) publiait, sous le nom de Jean Chrysostome <sup>34</sup>, le sermon  
— *De proditione Iudae* (d'après le cod. S.Sabas 30, de Jérusalem, f<sup>o</sup> 373-374<sup>v</sup>).

Ze Indépendamment du précédent, Joh. Zellinger (Ze) publiait, sous le nom de Sévérien de Gabala <sup>35</sup>, le sermon  
— *De proditione Iudae* (d'après le cod. S.Sabas 259, de Jérusalem).

Pa En 1935, enfin, Chr. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Pa) publie, sous le nom de Cyrille d'Alexandrie <sup>36</sup>, le sermon  
— *De ascensione domini*.

\*  
\* \*

Cette collection n'est pas primitive : on le conclut de l'interversion qui se rencontre dans la prétendue biographie d'Eusèbe, où la fin précède le commencement <sup>37</sup>. Mais son intérêt est de couper court à toutes les hypothèses formulées dans le passé sur la personne de son auteur et sur l'époque où il a écrit <sup>38</sup>. Deux choses entre autres apparaissent avec clarté.

<sup>33</sup> F. NAU, *Notes sur diverses homélies* ... sup. cit., dans la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XIII (1908), p. 414-415 ; 415-420.

<sup>34</sup> Chr. HIPPOLYTOS, dans *Néa Σιών*, XX (1925), p. 752-755.

<sup>35</sup> J. ZELLINGER, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala*, dans *Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie*, VIII, Münster, 1926, p. 142-146.

<sup>36</sup> Chr. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *a. c.*, p. 39-41.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 231.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 210-241.

D'abord la soi-disant *Vie d'Eusèbe* est une pure fiction, qui se heurte aux faits les mieux établis de l'histoire connue de l'église d'Alexandrie <sup>39</sup>. Il serait par conséquent inutile de chercher à découvrir la carrière alexandrine de cet Eusèbe <sup>40</sup>.

La seconde conclusion qui se dégage de la lecture de la biographie et des *Sermons*, est que l'auteur semble le même. Il se peut qu'il ait eu à sa disposition des sermons plus anciens, qu'il a ensuite retravaillés et édités. Mais, dans leur forme actuelle, ces différentes instructions ont été rédigées par celui qui a écrit la *Vie d'Eusèbe*, et qui se donne le nom de Jean <sup>41</sup>. Plus exactement, ce sont des didascalies, placées sous le nom d'« Eusèbe », soi-disant évêque « d'Alexandrie », par un certain Jean, qui se prétend l'ami et le notaire de ce personnage mythique, sans fournir d'ailleurs aucune autre précision valable, à propos de lui-même <sup>42</sup>.

Dans ces conditions, l'embarras n'est pas mince de vouloir déterminer, à partir de ces données fantaisistes, l'époque où ces instructions ont pu être rédigées. Pour y parvenir, il ne faut compter que sur les seuls éléments de la critique interne. Mais là aussi, on se heurte à un gros obstacle.

Les manuscrits, qui contiennent quelque homélie de la collection dite d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie », ne manquent pas <sup>43</sup>,

<sup>39</sup> D'après Jean, auteur de cette biographie, Eusèbe aurait occupé le siège d'Alexandrie pendant sept ans après s. Cyrille, et il aurait eu pour successeur Alexandre qui lui-même serait demeuré en place pendant vingt ans. Or il est impossible de trouver un évêque du nom d'Eusèbe à Alexandrie. Les successeurs immédiats de s. Cyrille ne sont ni Eusèbe ni Alexandre, mais Dioscore et Proterios. — Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 210 ; 242 ; 269.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 254.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 256 ; 269.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 243-250.

<sup>43</sup> G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 4-102, en énumère et décrit 200 (dont 4 du « recueil », 26 de « groupes d'homélies », 165 d'« homélies isolées », 5 d'« extraits de sermons »), et encore 5 autres avec les « Questions d'Alexandre ».

certes ; malheureusement le texte qu'ils contiennent est tellement différent de l'un à l'autre, que pour établir un jugement, il faudrait une sérieuse édition critique. La *PG* donne parfois jusqu'à trois révisions d'un même sermon. On pourrait en trouver bien d'autres <sup>44</sup>. Le prof. E. von Dobschütz († 1935) s'était bien proposé d'y mettre bon ordre, malheureusement son travail n'a jamais paru.

G. Lafontaine détermine <sup>45</sup> le *terminus a quo* : pas avant le début du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, et le *terminus ad quem* : pas après le vi-vii<sup>e</sup> siècle, et date le recueil « de la fin du v<sup>e</sup>, ou du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle » ; il rejette l'hypothèse d'un milieu alexandrin.

## II. EMPRUNTS OCCIDENTAUX À LA COLLECTION D'« EUSÈBE D'ALEXANDRIE »

Ce qui paraît certain, en tout cas, c'est que la collection d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » a été connue d'assez bonne heure en Occident, où les hommes du Bas-Empire et du Haut-Moyen âge paraissent avoir su apprécier son éloquence un peu fruste et théâtrale, mais qui n'est dépourvue ni de saveur ni de force.

Les témoignages de cette faveur et de cet intérêt ne manquent pas.

### A. BRUNO DE SEGNI.

Deux passages des sermons de Bruno de Segni († 1123), rappellent étrangement des instructions d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie ».

<sup>44</sup> Theodor ZAHN, *Eine altkirchliche Rede über die Sonntagsruhe, nebst Untersuchungen über ihren Verfasser*, dans *Zeitschrift für kirchlichen Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, v (1884), p. 516-534, a fait du même sermon une traduction allemande établie sur l'étude critique des manuscrits, qui diffère notablement du texte reçu ; cette traduction est reprise telle quelle dans Theodor ZAHN, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, Erlangen & Leipzig, 1894, p. 278-286 ; 1898<sup>2</sup>, p. 321-330. Le Dr. Zahn estime la pièce du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle et appartenant à Eusèbe d'Émèse.

<sup>45</sup> G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 259-261 ; 269.

Le sermon *In dominica tertia Adventus* de Bruno de Segni <sup>46</sup> correspond à l'instruction 6 *De uerbis* : « *Tu es qui uenturus est, an alium expectamus?* » d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie ». Le sermon *In dominica Resurrectionis* de Bruno de Segni <sup>47</sup> emprunte un assez long fragment à l'instruction 10 *In sanctam et magnam Parasceue, et de sancta passione Domini* d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » (ps.-Jean Chrysostome).

Mais la preuve est tardive, et il n'est pas sûr qu'elle soit irrécusable, car Bruno de Segni pourrait aussi bien s'être inspiré directement de l'évangile apocryphe de Nicodème, connu à cette époque en Europe, et dont « Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » s'était servi bien auparavant.

Toutefois il existe d'autres preuves, plus anciennes et absolument évidentes.

#### B. « SERMO DE CONFUSIONE DIABOLI ».

En octobre 1904, le professeur Edward Kennard Rand, de Harvard University, a publié, d'après le manuscrit Lat. 1370 (Rec. 3324) du ix-x<sup>e</sup> siècle (f<sup>o</sup> 107-120<sup>v</sup>), de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne, et provenant d'Orléans, un *Sermo de confusione diaboli* <sup>48</sup>, qui n'est autre chose qu'une ancienne traduction latine du texte combiné des deux homélies grecques, 9 *De diabolo et orco* d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » (ps.-« Eusèbe d'Émèse »), et 10 *In sancta et magna Parasceue, et de sancta passione Domini* d'« Eusèbe d'Alexan-

<sup>46</sup> BRUNO SIGNIENSIS, *Homilia iv, in Dominica iii Adventus* (PL 165, col. 752) = BRUNO SIGNIENSIS, *Commentaria in Ioannem*, I, 1, 3 (PL 165, col. 455-457).

<sup>47</sup> BRUNO SIGNIENSIS, *Homilia lxxviii, in Dominica Resurrectionis D.n.I.C.* (PL 165, col. 807) = BRUNO SIGNIENSIS, *Commentaria in Marcum*, VII (PL 165, col. 324-329).

<sup>48</sup> Edward Kennard RAND, *Sermo de confusione diaboli*, dans *Modern Philology*, II (1904-1905), p. 261-278 ; ce travail a été réédité par Oskar HEY, *Eine Predigt über Christi Höllenfahrt*, dans l'*Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, XIV (1905), p. 253-268. — Cf. A. SIEGMUND, *Die Überlieferung der griechische christlichen Literatur in der lateinische Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Abhandlungen der Bayerische Benediktiner Academie, V), München, 1949, p. 73 ; G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 120.

drie » (ps.-Jean Chrysostome).

D'après Rand, cette traduction latine remonterait au v<sup>e</sup> ou vi<sup>e</sup> siècle <sup>49</sup>.

C. « SERMO DE DOMINICAE OBSERVATIONE ».

De son côté, dom Germain Morin a édité un peu plus tard, d'après le manuscrit Addit. 30853 du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle (fo 291v-294v), conservé au British Museum, un *Sermo de dominicae obseruatione* <sup>50</sup>, dont le fonds est tiré de l'homélie 15 *De die Dominico* d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie ».

La première moitié a été seule utilisée, et il s'en faut que l'on puisse considérer la traduction comme fidèle. Par contre, vers la fin du premier alinéa, qu'offre la récitation de la PG, le traducteur a introduit tout un développement [lignes 16 à 44 de l'édition de dom Morin] sur les prérogatives du dimanche, la chute de la manne, la résurrection du Christ, et l'usage de l'Église, de prier debout, ce jour-là. Cela évoque, sur plus d'un point, des idées exprimées dans les homélies d'« Eusèbe de Gaule », surtout les homélies xvii et xviii (vi et vii de Pâques).

Le *Sermo de dominicae obseruatione*, édité par dom Morin, faisait partie du *Liber sermonum* officiel qui servait à la Messe, dans la liturgie de Tolède du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle <sup>51</sup>. Cela suffit pour garantir que, dès le vii<sup>e</sup> siècle pour le moins, les homélies de la collection d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » étaient connues et utilisées en Occident.

D. Ps.-Augustin, « SERMO IN PASCHA » [sermon Mai 37] (ps.-Jean Chrysostome).

Un autre témoignage du même ordre et non moins ancien est fourni par le lectionnaire romain du prêtre lombard Agimund, actuellement conservé à la bibliothèque Vaticane,

<sup>49</sup> Edward Kennard RAND, *a. c.*, p. 263.

<sup>50</sup> Germain MORIN, « *Sermo de dominicae obseruatione* ». Une ancienne adaptation latine d'un sermon attribué à Eusèbe d'Alexandrie, dans la *Revue bénédictine*, xxiv (1907), p. 530-534. — Cf. A. SIEGMUND, *a. c.*, p. 73 ; G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 121.

<sup>51</sup> Germain MORIN, *a. c.*, p. 530, note 2.

manuscrit Vat.lat.3835-3836, du premier quart du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (tom. I, f<sup>o</sup> 102-104<sup>v</sup>) : *Sermo in Pascha* attribué à s. Augustin <sup>52</sup>.

Ce sermon, que nous reproduisons en annexe (II), représente, d'une part, une imitation manifeste des instructions d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » sur le même sujet, en particulier l'homélie 10 *In sancta et magna Parasceue, et de sancta passione Domini* ; d'autre part, il ressemble comme deux gouttes d'eau, tant du point de vue du fonds que de la forme, à l'homélie XIII A : *De Pascha*, 1 d'« Eusèbe de Gaule ».

Ainsi nous passons à « Eusèbe de Gaule ».

### III. « EUSÈBE D'ALEXANDRIE » ET « EUSÈBE DE GAULE »

C'est d'un bout à l'autre que les correspondances existent entre les deux collections d'homélies, la collection d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » et celle d'« Eusèbe de Gaule ».

Il suffit, pour s'en rendre compte, de citer les exemples suivants <sup>53</sup>.

#### « EUSÈBE D'ALEXANDRIE »

#### « EUSÈBE DE GAULE »

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>De ieiunio</i> (PG 86-1, col. 322 <sup>p</sup> ) : | XXXII (31). <i>De Machabaeis</i> , 3 (lin. 48/49) : |
|--|---|

*Verumtamen uae illis : qui et Primum inquiramus quid sit : bonis operibus male utuntur* (τὰ male uti bonis operibus dei.

<sup>52</sup> Édité par le cardinal Angelo Mai, dans la *Noua Patrum Bibliotheca*, Romae, 1844-1855, I, p. 77-79, d'après les manuscrits du Vatican : Vat.lat.3835, f<sup>o</sup> 102-104<sup>v</sup> ; Vat.lat.3828, f<sup>o</sup> 157<sup>v</sup> sqq. ; Vat. lat.1270, f<sup>o</sup> 17<sup>v</sup> sq. (dans lequel le sermon est attribué à s. Sévérien).

<sup>53</sup> Pour « Eusèbe d'Alexandrie », nous nous référons à la traduction latine moderne contenue dans la PG ; il ne s'agit donc pas du texte original dont « Eusèbe de Gaule » peut avoir disposé. Parfois nous avons modifié ce texte latin, en l'adaptant à la fois au texte grec de la PG, et au texte latin d'« Eusèbe de Gaule » ; dans ces cas nous avons ajouté le texte grec entre parenthèses. Pour « Eusèbe de Gaule », nous reproduisons le texte de l'édition critique dans le *Corpus Christianorum*, CI-CIA.

καλά κεχρημένοις).

(col. 319<sup>v</sup>):

Vis bene ieiunare? Doce ieiunium linguam tuam, et oculos, et manus, et pedes.

Iamque tibi tradam quomodo debeas *oculos* edocere. Auerte oculos tuos ab alienâ muliere, nam: *Qui uiderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam* (Ὁς γὰρ εἰς ἐπιβλέψῃ γυναίκεϊ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν), iam moechatus est illam in corde suo. Rem alienam ne concupiscas; quod si aliquid habere cupis, incumbe ad operam: et labore proprio rem acquire, non illam proximi tui rapias neque inuideas. Sic uidelicet ieiunant oculi.

(col. 319<sup>c</sup>):

Qui ergo ieiunat, *linguam* in primis cohibere debet a *mendaciis* (φλυσίας), *falsis testimoniis* (δόλον), *maliloquiis* (καταλαλιᾶς), scurillitate atque conuicio.

(col. 319<sup>v</sup>-322<sup>a</sup>):

Doce quoque *manus* tuas ieiunare. Proximum, inquam, tuum, ne uerberes, ne rem alienam fureris, ne ad rixam manum tuam *extendas*. Manibus tuis operare ut iis quoque qui egent succurras.

(col. 322<sup>a-b</sup>):

Doce corpus uniuersum ieiunare,

(lin. 50/59):

Quam bene deus corporis humani membra disposuit, et tamen ad contumeliam sui sibi abutitur indultae pulchritudinis honore mens reproba!

Bonum opus dei est *oculus*, et tamen indignis concupiscentiis maculatur aspectus: nocte peruiigili maritorum somno insidiatur et luce ad quam factus est offenditur. Et propterea de eo dicitur: Fornicatio animae in eleuatione oculorum, et alio loco: *Qui uiderit*, inquit, *mulierem ad concupiscendum eam*. Et ideo: quam facile potest in puncto temporis euagari uelocitas oculi, tam sollicitè praecauenda est inuentis noxa delicti.

(lin. 60/61):

*Lingua* etiam tanti opificii decus, *mendaciis*, *maliloquiis*, *falsis testimoniis* deprauatur.

(lin. 62/65):

*Manus* bonum opus est dei, et tamen ad facinus iniquitatis, ad crimen peragendae fraudis *extenditur*; ad scelus exigendae salutis armatur et totus homo ad malitiam propriae perditionis accingitur.

LII (46). *De eo quod ait*:

« Vbi duo uel tres ... », 2

(lin. 9/15):

Vbi, inquit, *sunt duo uel tres*

necnon animam spiritumque, ut sint tres in unum congregati in nomine domini. Ibi quippe dominus erit, scilicet in medio ipsorum, sicuti praedixit idem dominus, quod nempe: *Vbi sunt duo uel tres* (*Ὅπου εἰσὶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς*) *congregati* in nomine meo, ibi ero in medio eorum. Huius rei gratia dixit: in nomine meo. Quamobrem benedictus quoque Paulus diserte orabat, ut integrum corpus et anima et spiritus sine querela in aduentu domini nostri Iesu Christi seruaretur.

3. *In Domini Natiuitatem*  
(PG 86-1, col. 366<sup>v</sup>):

Nobis igitur gentibus datum est mysterium incarnati domini. Nam propter nos *natus* est *ex uirgine*, et *datus est nobis* (ἐδόθη ἡμῖν) iuxta illud prophetae, quia: *Paruulus natus est nobis*.

4. *De Baptismo* (PG 86-1, col. 378<sup>v</sup>):

diuinitatem *latuit* (ἐκρυπεν), ut *supplantatorem* (τὸν ἐχθρόν) *irretiret* (μὴ φνυγαδέσῃ).

5. *De Incarnatione Domini*  
(PG 86-1, col. 330<sup>A</sup>):

Nisi *deus* ex uirgine prodiisset incarnatus deitatemque *carne* (σαρκὶ) *abscondisset* (ἐκάλυπεν), mundus quidem conspectum eius deitate fulgentem non *sustinuisset*.

*congregati*. Cum ergo ... hoc sermo diuinus de duobus aut tribus dicendum esse iudicauerit, ego puto quod et de uno possit dici, quia in domum dei debeat congregari, id est: ut ad exorandum deum non solum exteriori sed etiam interiori, sensibus et desideriis, fide et operibus, totus introeat.

LIV (71). *De eo quod ait*, III, 5-6 (lin. 62/63. 76/78):

Secundum haec autem, si interiori respiciamus, adhuc et anima et corpus fratres sunt. ... Isti duo in unum habitant: quando uno sensu atque eodem desiderio aeternam uitam competunt.

I (1). *De Natale Domini*, I, 2 (lin. 11/13):

Quid ergo est: *Paruulus natus est nobis*, filius *datus est nobis*? Natus est nobis qui sibi erat. Datus est ergo ex diuinitate, *natus ex uirgine*.

XIX (22). *De Pascha*, VIII, 6 (lin. 103/104):

sub abiectione formae seruilis *latuit* deus: ut *dolosum supplantatorem* suis uicissim fraudibus *irretiret*.

I (1). *De Natale Domini*, I, 3 (lin. 20/21):

(formam serui ...) sed *abscondita* maiestate suscepit, ut et *sustineri* humanis oculis posset et *seruum* domini claritate uestiret



**XIX (22). De Pascha, VIII, 5**

(lin. 92/95) :

quare *deus* sub habitu humanae  
*carnis absconditus* ... ut splen-  
 dor ille diuinus, ut diuina illa  
 potentia, et ab homine facilius  
*sustineri* ...

**XVIII (17). De Pascha, VII,**

4 (lin. 76/79) :

(col. 330<sup>b</sup>) :

*Sed forte (ἐπειδή) dices : « Quid ?  
 nonne deus ante aduentum et in-  
 carnationem satanam debellare  
 poterat ? ».*

*Sed forte hic aliquis in corde suo  
 dicat : « Quid est hoc, quod seme-  
 tipsam diuinitas humiliavit ? non  
 poterat per uirtutem et poten-  
 tiam brachii sui liberare a potes-  
 tate diaboli hominem suum, ut  
 necesse non haberet humanum  
 corpus assumere ... ? ».*

**XIX (18). De Pascha, VIII,**

7-8 (lin. 134/136) :

*Sed iterum dicitis : « Quare deus  
 hominem de potestate diaboli per  
 infirmitatem carnis et non ma-  
 gis per uirtutem diuinitati seri-  
 puit ? ».*

(lin. 187/188) :

*Sed dicitis : « Quid necesse fuit, ut  
 splendida illa et sincera diuinitas  
 humanae carnis experiretur iniu-  
 rias ? ».*

**XVIII (17). De Pascha, VII, 5**

(lin. 97/98) :

(col. 330<sup>b-c</sup>) :

*Vero, inquam, poterat. ... Ante  
 aduentum etiam et incarnatio-  
 nem dominus diabolum utique  
 deuicisset, sed (ἀλλὰ) hic dein-  
 ceptus gloriaturus erat ...*

*Potuit autem filius dei hostem  
 humani generis ... elidere ; sed  
 ne quid tale ... diabolus conque-  
 ri posset ...*

**XIX (18). De Pascha, VIII, 7**

(lin. 139/140) :

*Poterat ... redimi.*

10. *In sancta et magna Para-*  
*sceue, et de sancta passione*  
*Domini* (PG 62, col. 722) :

Et ecce dominus uenit in infer-  
 num ... : *Quis est iste* (ὁὗτος)

XIIA (12). *De Pascha*, I, 2  
 (lin. 13/15) :

descendente Christo ... : *Quis-*  
*nam, inquit, est iste ... ?*

(col. 722) :

Et ecce portae clausae erant, et  
 uociferati sunt uirtutes, dicen-  
 tes : Attollite portas, principes,  
 uestras, et *eleuamini portae ae-*  
*ternales et introibit rex gloriae.*

Aitque infernus intus respon-  
 dens : *Quis est iste rex gloriae ?.*

Tum uirtutes : *Dominus uirtu-*  
*tum ipse est rex gloriae.*

XXVII (26). *De Ascensione*  
*Domini*, I, 5 (lin. 50/60) :

Quo facto, angelorum regnum,  
 humanae conditioni uno ascen-  
 dente, reseratur et spe praece-  
 dente promittitur. Quod autem  
 ait sermo diuinus : *Eleuamini*  
*portae aeternales et introibit rex*  
*gloriae*, agitur hoc loco praeclara  
 insignis pompa uictoriae. Nam  
 tam admirantes angeli quam stu-  
 pentes ... interrogant : *Quis est*  
*iste rex gloriae ?.* Praeentes ar-  
 changeli modulata exultatione  
 respondent : *Dominus uirtutum*  
*ipse est rex gloriae.*

PS.-AUGUSTIN

*Sermo in Pascha*

XIIA (12). *De Pa-*  
*scha*, I, 1 (lin.  
 8/12) :

(col. 723) :

Et *confestim* (εὐ-  
 θέως), accedens do-  
 minus, portas contri-  
 uit, et uectes confre-  
 git, uirtutes inferni  
 conculcauit, et dolo-  
 res mortis soluit, sti-  
 mulos inferni com-  
 minuit ...

*Confestim* igitur ae-  
 terna NOX INFERO-  
 RVM, CHRISTO des-  
 cendente, RESPLEN-  
 DUIT, siluit stridor IL-  
 LE lugentium, DIRVP-  
 TA ceciderunt VINCV-  
 LA damnatorum, at-  
 tonitae mentes ob-  
 stupere tortorum ; NOX ipsa INFERNV-  
 omnis simul officina  
 impia contremuit ...

[Sermon 37 MAI]  
 (ci-dessous, app. II)  
 (lin. 58/61) :

Non ibi, praesen-  
 te CHRISTO, ultrices  
 flammae, non saeua  
 supplicia resona-  
 bant : gemitus ILLE  
 tristis omnisque luc-  
 tuosus clangor obsti-  
 puit, captiuorum DIS-  
 RVPTA sunt VINCVLA,  
 QVE RESPLENDUIT ...

(col. 723) :

(lin. 83/85) :

Rursusque idem : Glorientur ergo cre-  
*Omnes gentes, plaudi-* dentes, *plaudant ma-*  
*te manibus, iubilare* nibus *omnes gentes,*  
 deo in uoce exsulta- *quia rex noster* et in  
 tionis, *quia rex noster* saeculo triumphauit  
 pro nobis in bello ui- et inferos uicit.  
 cit.

13. *De secundo aduentu Domi-*  
*ni* (PG 61, col. 776-777) :

Cogita pudorem illum coram an-  
 gelorum coetu. Si quis hic con-  
 uictus fuerit de peccato coram  
 amico, quomodo faciem deficit?  
 quomodo prodire recusat?

Quomodo uerecundus est coram  
 amicis uicinis et cognatis ob pu-  
 dorem aperti delicti?

Cogita pudorem illum, ubi in-  
 numeri angeli, prophetarum or-  
 dines, apostolorum chori, mar-  
 tyrum coetus, innumerabilis tur-  
 ba infinita.

XLII (42b). *Ad monachos,*  
 VII, 9 (lin. 139/153) :

Cogitemus qui luctus erit negle-  
 genti animae ex hoc corpore dis-  
 cedenti, quae angustiae, quae ca-  
 ligo, quae tenebrae, cum, ex illo  
 aduersariorum numero, prima  
 occurrere coeperit conscientia di-  
 uersis circumiecta criminibus ...  
 Quamobrem, ut futuram illam  
 confusionem ex praesenti quae  
 inter homines euenire solet con-  
 fusione coniciamus,  
 cogitemus, si alicui nostrum in-  
 ter nos obicerentur delicta et  
 occulta sua, quemadmodum et  
 cordi intrinsecus nota sunt ; uere  
 dico : communes omnium uultus  
 ferre non posset. Et quid faciet  
 infelix anima, quando cum op-  
 probriis et foeditatibus suis an-  
 gelorum fuerit conspectibus prae-  
 sentata ?

« SERMO DE DOMINI-  
 CAE OBSERVATIONE »

15. *De die domini-*  
*co* (PG 86-1, col.  
 414<sup>b</sup>-415<sup>a</sup>) :

Post missam, die  
 quodam dominico ...

[ed. G. MORIN, in  
*RB* xxiv (1907)]  
 (lin. 2/15) :

Consummatis igitur  
 atque perfectis die  
 dominico ...

meam commemorationem. Commemorationem igitur domini est sacra dies dominica, propterea enim uocatur dominica quasi princeps dierum.

Nam ante passionem dominicam, non uocabatur dominica sed dies prima.

meam commemorationem. Memoria enim domini dies iste est, propterea dominicus appellatur.

Ante uero passionem, non est nuncupatus dominica sed prima (lin. 16/27) :

Et in hac die initium diei est, quando condidit mundum, id est primus dies saeculi : in ipso formata sunt elementa mundi, in ipso creati sunt angeli. Manna eodem die in heremo primo de caelo data est ; sic enim dicit dominus : Sex diebus colligetis. Sexta enim dies est Parascephen, quae ante sabbatum ponitur. Sabbato autem septima dies est, quem sequitur dominicus, in quo primum manna de caelo uenit.

**XVII (16). De Pascha, VI, 4 (lin. 81/87) :**

Hunc panem, dicente propheta : Sexta die duplum colliges, sabbato autem non colliges. Dum a primo id est dominico die in lege tribuitur, et in solo sabbato denegatur.

Vnde intellegant iudei : iam tunc praelatam esse iudaico sabbato dominicam nosstram ; iam tunc indicatum quod in sabbato ipsorum gratia ad eos de caelo nulla descenderit, sed in

*Iam tunc* Christus ab ecclesia, cui *dominicum* resurrectio consecrauit, recipiendus ostenditur ; et synagogae, ad quam cultus *sabbati* pertinebat, negandus esse praedicatur : dum

dies iste est dies sep-  
timus, caelestis pa-  
nis fraude mulctatur.

+

nostra dominica, in  
qua primum manna  
dominus pluit. Dies  
tamen dominicus non  
iudeis, sed christianis  
per resurrectionem  
domini declaratus  
est, ut ex illo habere  
coepit festiuitatem  
suam. Ipse est enim  
dies primus ...

**XVIII (17). De  
Pascha, VII, 1,**

(col. 415<sup>b</sup>):

(lin. 1/3):

(lin. 45/52):

Hac die primitias re-  
surrectionis, siue cre-  
ationis mundi, orsus  
est dominus; eadem  
die primitias resur-  
rectionis donauit  
mundo.

Bene nouimus pri-  
mum esse, ab origine  
mundi, hunc resur-  
rectionis dominicum  
diem; sicut enim in  
eodem noua nunc  
gaudia, ita dudum  
in hoc ipso tenera re-  
rum fulsere principia.

In hac iterum die ce-  
lebrata resurrectio  
domini corporis re-  
surrectio<nem> u-  
niuerso contulit mun-  
do; et in ipsa mys-  
terium traditur cor-  
poris et sanguinis do-  
mini.

Hac die, ut diximus,  
sacra etiam mysteria  
peragere iussit.

Pro tanti igitur ho-  
nore mysterii et sa-  
crificii, quod a sacer-  
dotibus immolatur,  
praeeperunt aposto-  
li hanc uacationem.

**XX (19). De Pas-  
cha, IX, 1 (lin.  
1/4):**

Initium ergo omnis  
gratiae haec dies uo-  
bis attulit, initium  
creationis mundi, ini-  
tium resurrectionis,  
initium hebdomadis.

Dies haec ... enim  
iam in principio nas-  
centis mundi prima  
facta est, quae nunc  
quoque in gloria bea-  
tae resurrectionis e-  
lecta est ...

(lin. 13/15):

prima uiderat sur-  
gentem mundum,  
nunc quoque prima

Omne enim bonum in  
isto in nobis die ini-  
tium sumpsit, quan-  
do principium, quod  
est Iesus Christus do-  
minus noster, surre-  
xit a mortuis. Dies  
haec et mundi est ini-  
tium, et resurrectio  
domini sacramentum,  
et exordium hebdo-

suscepit ac protulit madis.  
mundi dominum re-  
surgentem.

(col. 415<sup>b</sup>):

Tria initia complec-  
tens dies ista, sacro-  
sanctae trinitatis  
principatum com-  
monstrat.

(col. 415<sup>c</sup>):

Cum igitur septem  
dies hebdomas habe-  
at, eorum sex deus  
nobis dedit ad labo-  
res ...

... contemplare do-  
minum tuum in par-  
tes distributum et  
traditum, neque ta-  
men consumptum.

(col. 415<sup>c</sup> sqq.):

Quod si purae mentis  
tibi conscius sis, ac-  
cede ...

16. *De astronomis* (PG 86-1,  
col. 456<sup>v</sup>):

Noui item multos *qui dicunt*:  
homines ui *fati* mori ...

Sed in hoc pariter fatue loquun-  
tur et peccant.

XVII (16). *De Pas-  
cha*, VI, 4 (lin.  
99/102):

De hoc uero pane,  
cum assumitur, ni-  
hil minus habent sin-  
guli quam uniuersi:  
totum unus, totum  
duo, totum plures si-  
ne diminutione per-  
cipiunt, quia bene-  
dictio huius sacra-  
menti scit distribui,  
nescit distributione  
consumi.

(lin. 52/53):

Haec tria in se prin-  
cipia continens, mys-  
terium significat tri-  
nitatis.

(lin. 54/64):

Sex nobis dies ad  
operandum tribuit  
deus ...

... uideamus domi-  
num nostrum dispen-  
santem omnia, nec  
minus aliqua facien-  
te<m> de praesta-  
tione sua, et perma-  
nentem semper in  
mansuetudine sua.

(lin. 64 sqq.):

Et si intelligimus  
mundam habere con-  
scientiam, acceda-  
mus ...

[VII (7)]. *De Epiphania do-  
mini*, IV, 2 (lin. 25/28):

Nemo dicat: *inuitus* hoc feci,  
aut: fato urgente peccaui. Ne-  
mo casum, conditionis suae ig-  
narus, accuset; nemo dominari  
aestimet *fatum*: non potest ho-  
mini praeualere delictum, nisi  
accesserit consentientis arbitri-  
um.

**XV** (15). *De Pascha*, IV, 4  
(lin. 65/67) :

Vbi sunt *qui dicunt* : esse genesim uel *fatum*, per quod in peccatum transire pars hominum, uiolenta *necessitate* cogatur?

**XXXII** (31). *De Machabaeis*,  
4.7 (lin. 72/78) :

(col. 455<sup>p</sup>-458<sup>a</sup>) :  
Nam *deus fecit hominem discretionem liberum* (ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀντεξούσιον), eique tum lucis *uiam* tum tenebrarum, atque emolumentum uel damnum inde manans ostendit ...

... nam quod *necessitate* (ἐξ ἀνάγκης) fit, lucrum non habet. Poterat sane *deus* te uel *inuitum* efficere bonum; sed tamen quod inuoluntarium est, caret mercede.

(col. 458<sup>c</sup>) :

Si tendit *uotum* alicuius (Ἐάν ἐστιν ἡ πρόθεσίς τινος) ad *deum*, uultque bona uia peragere, *statim* ei *deus* manum tendit.

**19.** *Quod is qui gratiam habet, impertiri debeat ei qui non habet; et de presbyteris* (PG 86-1, col. 346<sup>a</sup>) :

scrutare primum *secreta cordis* tui, examina teipsum, si forte nihil habeas mali in conscientia tua, si forte a propriis cogitationibus non redarguaris. Nec a te requiro ut omnia recenseas quae per totum uitae cursum praue gessisti, sed ea tantum quae intra unius diei spatium admisisti. Examina ergo diligenter quomodo praesens transacta est *dies* :

*Deus* ab initio *hominem* conditioni subiectum, *discretionem liberum fecit*, prudentia instruxit, ratione ditauit, eique bonum exercere praecepit. Malum ad hoc esse permisit : ut ad bonam partem uoluntate deflecteret, et mandatum dei non *necessitate* sed uirtute perficeret atque in alterutram *uiam* non casu perurgente, sed iudicio eligente transiret.

(lin. 130/131) :

gratia diuina quae, ubi infirmitatis nostrae inuenerit *uotum*, *statim* supponit auxilium.

**IV** (4). *De Epiphania Domini*, I, 6 (lin. 171/183) =  
**XLIV** (43). *Ad monachos*, IX,  
7 (lin. 77/88) :

inspiciamus nos in quantum possumus oculis cordis : unusquisque conscientias nostras ante conspectum interioris hominis constituamus, ipsi nosmetipsos quotidie castigemus, ipsi nobiscum rationem de quotidiana conuersatione faciamus. Alloquatur se in *secretis cordis* unaquaeque anima, et dicat : Videamus si hanc *diem* sine peccato, sine

si a rebus nihili non scandalizatus est oculus tuus, si pauperem non despexisti, si proximum non irrisisti, non ludibrio habuisti; uide si nihil horum uulnerauerit animam tuam.

20. *De commemoratione sanctorum* (PG 86-1, col. 358<sup>A</sup>):

Dicas mihi, obsecro: qui sanctorum commemorationes *celebrant*, quonam sunt in ordine quauae gloria, et quamnam mercedem accipiunt a saluatore; existimo enim ego quod nobis *non indigent* (ὁ οὐδὲν παρ' ἡμῶν χρεΐζουσιν), cum iam existant in regno dei.

21. *De eleemosyna; et in diuitem et Lazarum* (PG 86-1, col. 430<sup>B</sup>):

ut, *dum* tempus poenitendi habemus, misericordiam dei *praeoccupemus*, totaque anima nostra illius propitiemus bonitatem, unusquisque peccata sua corrigat, *antequam* uitae exitus instet.

(col. 431<sup>B</sup>):

Superest ut reliquum uitae uestrae tempus *studeatis* (ἀγωνίσασθε), *antequam* ueniat insperato translatio uestra et uos puni-  
mini.

(col. 446<sup>B</sup>-447<sup>A</sup>):

Vides nunc quid tibi inclementia profuerit. Vbi diuitiae? ubi argentum et aurum? *ubi concupiscentiarum* (ἡδονῶν) appa-

inuidia, sine obtrectatione, sine murmuratione transegi; uideamus si hodie aliquid, quod ad profectum meum, quod ad aedificationem aliorum pertinet, operatus sum. Puto quod hodie mentitus sum, peieraui, ira uel concupiscentia uictus sum, nec alicui benefeci, ...

III (3). *De sancto Stephano*, 2 (lin. 6/10):

requiramus: quid necessitatis quidue rationis sit — cum sancti martyres, in illo paradisi lumine constituti, humanis laudibus *non indigent* —: cur tantis hominum studiis *celebrentur*, cur tantopere mundo huic eorum reliquiae deo reuelante prodantur.

LXIV (63). *De eo quod ait in euangelio*: « Quoniam oportet... », 12 (lin. 173/174):

*praeoccupetur*, *dum* licet, satisfactionis dies, *antequam* praeoccupet ultimus dies;

(lin. 174/176):

*studeamus*, ne aeternarum rerum necessitates transitorie cogitemus, nec fugientia salutis tempora neglegamus.

LXI (55). *Sermo et castigatio*, 9 (lin. 114/118):

Tunc sibi intra se unusquisque cum gemitu, sed iam tarde, loquetur: *Vbi estis, concupiscentiae?* ubi estis, illecebrae? ad hoc



tus?...

Nunc tu tamquam unus de miseris clamas : Miserere mei. Nisi certe in ignem coniectus esses, uti tunc non es misertus, ne nunc quidem misereris !

mihi momentaneas ac fugitivas ingessistis delectationes : ut aeternas postmodum inferetis angustias ? Ecce in loco breuium suauitatum, perpetui successerunt dolores !

Ces différents passages parallèles où la même idée se trouve exprimée, montrent néanmoins qu'il ne s'agit pas en l'occurrence de véritables traductions, mais plutôt de transpositions assez libres. Ils suffisent pour montrer qu'« Eusèbe de Gaule » a eu entre les mains les sermons d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie », qu'il s'en est inspiré et qu'il en a exprimé les idées à sa façon très personnelle. Le professeur P. Courcelle <sup>54</sup> n'est pas d'avis qu'« Eusèbe de Gaule » ait su le grec.

Comment a-t-il connu la collection d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » ? Sans doute par l'intermédiaire de ces marchands orientaux, grecs, asiatiques, juifs et égyptiens désignés généralement sous le nom de 'syriens', qui juste à ce moment-là, c'est à dire dans la première moitié du v<sup>e</sup> siècle, commencent à mettre la main sur les marchés de la Gaule, en attendant l'époque où bientôt ils en deviendront les maîtres incontestés <sup>55</sup>, au vi<sup>e</sup> et vii<sup>e</sup> siècles.

<sup>54</sup> P. COURCELLE, *Les Lettres grecques en Occident, de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, Paris, 1943 (1948<sup>2</sup>), p. 220-221.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. SCHEFFER-BOICORST, *Zur Geschichte der Syrer*, dans les *Mitteilungen d. Instit. für Österr. Geschichtsforschung*, vi (1885), p. 521-550 ; L. BREHIER, *Les colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du Moyen-Âge*, dans le *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xii (1903), p. 1-39 ; E. MAASZ, *Die Griechen in Südgallien*, dans les *Jahreshefte des Österr. Archäolog. Instit. in Wien*, x (1907), p. 85 sq. ; E. DUPRAT, *Les relations de la Provence et du Levant du v<sup>e</sup> siècle aux Croisades*, dans *Congrès français de Syrie (1919). Séances et travaux*, ii, p. 75 sq. ; C. JULIAN, *Histoire de la Gaule*, viii, p. 210-211 ; Pierre LAMBRECHTS, *Le commerce des 'Syriens' en Gaule du Haut-Empire à l'époque Mérovingienne*, dans *L'Antiquité classique*, vi (1937), p. 35-61.

Avec leur pacotille de bazar oriental, ces 'syriens' transportent leur langue <sup>56</sup>, leurs saints <sup>57</sup>, et sans doute aussi quelques productions de leur littérature ordinaire. L'œuvre d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » serait venue parmi leurs bagages.

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Enfin, il est d'un intérêt particulier de reproduire ici la conclusion *I*, 3 de G. Lafontaine : « Les versions anciennes latines, syriaques, arméniennes et géorgiennes, sont importantes à plusieurs points de vue. Elles reproduisent un état du texte plus ancien que celui de nos mss grecs ; elles attestent que la collection des sermons d'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie s'est répandue assez tôt en dehors de la sphère d'influence grecque ; ... .. comme dans la tradition manuscrite grecque, le travail de remaniement a été important ; ... .. enfin, les versions ont été essentiellement exécutées pour servir à la cathéchèse liturgique ; les sermons à thèmes moraux n'ont pas été traduits » <sup>58</sup> ; et *II*, A-B : « A. Le caractère populaire des homélies se manifeste dans la méthode d'exposé, celle de l'entretien familial, et dans le recours fréquent à des exemples connus (voir notamment les sermons 'Sur l'aumône, le riche et sur Lazare' et 'Sur les astronomes').  
1) Les sermons s'adressent à une population très encline aux superstitions, à la magie, à l'astrologie. ... 2) Les sermons contiennent de fréquentes allusions aux loisirs populaires. ... 3) La démonologie, très développée, témoigne aussi d'une mentalité populaire ; il suffit de rappeler la personnification de l'enfer, les entretiens du diable avec Hadès, et les nombreux cas d'anthropomorphisme. ... .. B. Les homélies nous renseignent sur la discipline ecclésiastique et sacramentelle en usage dans un certain milieu. 1) Discipline ecclésiastique. a. Le jeûne, obligatoire pendant tout le carême et, en de-

<sup>56</sup> Cf. CYPRIANVS, FIRMINVS, VIVENTIVS, MESSIANVS, *Vita s. Caesarii*, I, 2 [n° 15] (PL 67, col. 1008).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Germain MORIN, *La formation des légendes provençales. Faits et aperçus nouveaux*, dans la *Revue bénédictine*, XXVI (1909), p. 24-33.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 264.

hors de ce temps, le mercredi et le vendredi, ne l'est pas le samedi et le dimanche, ni pendant les jours de Pentecôte, ni pendant les commémoraisons de martyrs. ... *b.* Des prêtres pécheurs, qui imposent les mains aux malades, peuvent les guérir, si ces derniers ont la foi ; des prêtres pécheurs peuvent offrir les dons à Dieu qui, par l'Esprit-Saint, les sanctifie, et les fidèles qui ne communient pas, sous prétexte que le prêtre a commis un péché, péchent davantage. ... *c.* Le prêtre doit rechercher le pécheur, ne pas l'excommunier immédiatement, l'exhorter en le prenant à part, lui pardonner les premiers péchés ; si après trois réprimandes, le pécheur ne l'écoute pas, il doit l'accuser devant tous les fidèles pour qu'eux aussi le réprimandent ; s'il ne les écoute pas, le prêtre doit l'excommunier et ne plus manger à sa table. ... *d.* Les homélies mentionnent différents devoirs et tâches inhérents aux ordres ecclésiastiques. Le prêtre doit prier de toute son âme pour le peuple, présider aux affaires jusqu'à la mort, garder le troupeau. Le diacre est sous la dépendance du prêtre : il ne peut excommunier en présence du prêtre ; il n'a pas pouvoir sur les saints mystères ; il peut, en cas d'absence du prêtre, distribuer au peuple, le pain que le prêtre a sanctifié ; lorsqu'un petit enfant non-baptisé est en danger de mort, si le prêtre est absent, le diacre peut le baptiser. Pour les autres ordres (lectorat, chantage), les données sont beaucoup moins précises. ... 2) Discipline sacramentelle. *a.* Eucharistie dominicale. Les fidèles doivent rester à la sainte liturgie jusqu'au renvoi de l'assemblée et s'approcher de la communion après avoir confessé leurs péchés. ... *b.* Jeûne eucharistique. Si, avant la fin de la messe, un laïc a mangé, il encourt une punition ; si, après avoir mangé, il communie aux saints mystères, il partage le sort de Judas, et cela d'autant plus qu'il est d'âge mûr et que la fête est importante. ... *c.* Liaison entre l'Eucharistie et la Pénitence. Il ne suffit pas d'avoir jeûné pour communier ; il faut encore être exempt de fautes ; parlant du malade, l'auteur dit qu'ayant avoué ses fautes aux prêtres, il est rendu digne de la communion et est justifié » <sup>59</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. G. LAFONTAINE, *o. c.*, p. 265-268. — Pour ce qui est des

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La présente étude est un extrait de la thèse du regretté abbé Jean-B. Leroy († 1955) : *L'œuvre oratoire de s. Fauste de Riez. La Collection Gallicane dite d'Eusèbe d'Émèse*, I, p. 393-409. Nous en avons mis à jour le texte, que nous publions ici, en hommage à la mémoire de l'abbé Leroy, comme un travail d'approche à l'édition critique des homélies d'« Eusèbe de Gaule » dans les tomes 101, 101A, 101B du *Corpus Christianorum*.

opinions sur l'auteur de la collection d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » : G. LAFONTAINE, *o.c.*, p. 210-241 résume les hypothèses de Turrianus (1572), Allatius (1665-1679), Fabricius (1705-1728), Lequien (1712), James (1720), Oudin (1722), Ceiller (1729-1763), Cave (1748), Augusti (1829), Thilo (1832), Mai (1843), Maury (1863), Gallandi (1772), Wright (1880), Zahn (1884), Nirschl (1885), von Dobschütz (1890), Fessler (1892), Ehrhard (1897), Krüger (1898), Battifol (1901), Rand (1904), Jülicher (1907), Morin (1907), Nau (1908), La Piana (1911-1912), Dölger (1925), Wilmart (1920), Haidacher (1920), Bardenhewer (1924), Zellinger (1926), McCulloch (1932), Kroll (1932), Martin (1936), Cayré (1927-1930), Buytaert (1949), der Nersessian (1954), Beck (1959), Darrouzès (*Dict. Spir.* iv), Altaner/Chirat (1961), de Aldama (1965) ; mais aucune de ces hypothèses ne peut satisfaire. — Il me semble que l'hypothèse de M. LEQUIEN (*éd. cit.*, II, p. 666-667) doit être proche de la vérité ; il suppose « que des copistes, par erreur, au lieu d'écrire *Εὐσεβίου ἐπισκόπου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, aient, à la suite de l'omission de la préposition, écrit *Εὐσεβίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας* ; il s'agirait alors d'un Eusèbe moine (voir le titre « prêtre et moine » dans le cod. Paris Gr. 1098), évêque *ad honorem*, sans siège épiscopal ». Je voudrais ici, au seul titre indicatif — n'ayant pas le loisir d'approfondir la question —, avancer le nom d'Eusèbe de Télédan (cf. *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, xv, Paris, 1963, col. 1476, n. 31), dont parle THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Philotheus seu Religiosa historia*, iv (PG 82, col. 1340 sqq.) ; il dit du 'grand' Eusèbe e.a. : « Et magnus Eusebius, quamvis hominum frequentiam auersabatur, cessit tamen et, laqueis caritatis irretitus, gregis curam suscepit, chorumque duxit, ad quem docendum multis illi uerbis opus non erat ... Consederant in saxo quodam ipse et Ammianus, diuinorumque euangeliorum historiam alter legebat, alter obscuriorum eius locorum explanabat sententiam ».

Partout dans ce texte de l'abbé Leroy, nous avons changé le nom de Fauste de Riez en celui d'« Eusèbe de Gaule », qui nous semble plus approprié.

Nous avons également remanié ce texte, d'après le récent *Mémoire* de G. Lafontaine (o.c.).

En outre nous n'avons pas voulu omettre de signaler la concordance des sermons v d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » et *sermones* de Jean Chrysostome <sup>60</sup>.

Il faut remarquer qu'il n'est pas établi que la Collection d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » faisait partie de la bibliothèque lérinienne, car il n'est pas certain que l'auteur de la 'Collectio Gallicana' soit lérinien ou issu de Lérins lui-même, bien qu'il ait puisé dans Fauste ; c'est donc avec la même réserve, faite à propos de s. Cyprien, que nous proposons de compter la Collection d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » (du moins dans une version latine perdue) parmi les ouvrages de la bibliothèque lérinienne <sup>61</sup>.

Nous donnons en annexe (I), un aperçu chronologique des éditions de sermons d'« Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » ; en annexe (II), nous reproduisons le sermon ps.-Augustinien *In Pascha* (sermon 37 MAI), dont il est question ci-dessus, II, D. [p. 49-50].

<sup>60</sup> Voir le sermon 19 ci-dessus.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. P. COURCELLE, *Nouveaux aspects de la culture lérinienne*, dans la *Revue des Études latines*, XLVI (1968), p. 379-409 ; Fr. GLORIE, *La culture lérinienne (Notes de lecture)*, dans *Sacris Erudiri*, XIX (1969), p. 71-76.



## ANNEXE (II)

## SERMO SANCTI AVGVSTINI IN PASCHA

1. Post custodias saeuas et uincula dura, post inlusiones et uerbera, post aceti et fellis pocula mixta, post supplicia crucis et uulnera, postremo post ipsam mortem et inferos: surrexit de suo funere caro noua recidiua foenicis, quam ultimus sol et cinna-  
 5 mae coxerant pietatis; redit ab occiduo latens uita; et in morte salus seruata resurgit, pulchrior reditura post funus.

Quid cenam illam liberam commemorem, ubi tingebat discipulus mendax digitum, edebat cum pane caedem, et sorbebat cum sanguine potionem? O crudele proditoris conuiuium! Rogo:  
 10 quibus oculis aspiciebat, quem sub dente premebat, parricida pariter et conuiua? Vendidit argento dominum, fecit de magistro ferale commercium: accepit aurum, et perdidit deum.

Ipse autem Iudas, inter epulas carnifex, inter nectareos cibos amarus: uipeream cruentat animam, et *caecum alit sub pectore*  
 15 *uulnus*. Accepit mox a Christo bucellam, quam male sibi conscia mens ferre non potuit: cucurrit ad iudaeos, pensat in pretio mortem suam; et, dum alienum sanguinem uendit, proprio laqueo disperiit.

MONITVM. Est hic ps.-Augustini Sermo 37 MAI (NPB, I, p. 77-79), e codicibus: A = Vat. lat. 3835-3836, Vol. I, f° 102-104<sup>v</sup>; B = Vat. lat. 3828, f° 157<sup>v</sup> sqq.; C = Vat. lat. 1270, f° 17<sup>v</sup> sqq.

14/15 Verg., Aen, I, 36 + IV, 2 + X, 733. 15 Accepit ... bucellam] cf. Aug., Sermo cclxvii, 7 [PL 38, 1229] (*bucellam Christus Iudae dedit*).

Inscr. sermonem sancto Seueriano tribuit C 2 mista B  
 4 rediuiua C 45 foenicis ... pietatis] lacuna in C 4/5 cin-  
 namae moxerint A, in B saltem 2 m. cinnama 17/18 propriae  
 linguae odas perdidit C 18 disperit B

Ecce traditur Christus, ecce ducitur, ecce flagellatur, ecce sus-  
 20 penditur. Quid tibi profuit, o Iuda, ut mortem alienam tuo  
 sanguine mercareris? Christus rediit ab inferis, et tu in poena  
 torqueris; illi nihil nocuisti, tu uero pretium simul et animam  
 perdidisti.

Cur, Iudaea ferox, quem occideres comparasti? Seruares tibi  
 25 quod emeraras, non perderes quod habebas! Tollis de innocente  
 consilium; ducis, sicut ouem, ad gladium cruentas membra; diui-  
 dis uestimenta. Quid lucri inuenisti, quia sic saeuisti?

Ecce Christus ex oceano mortis tamquam roseum iubar ascendit,  
 et super te funerea caligo permansit. Aspice solem nostrum radiare  
 30 per orbem. Vbi est quod iam dudum figebas in cruce? Spinas  
 etiam capiti eius et coronam de uepribus texuisti, acetum quoque  
 amarum felle propinasti commixtum; ille tamen accepit non quod  
 biberet, sed quod potius reprobareret; denique gustauit merum  
 tuum, et amputauit fructum tuum: *Ego, inquit, te plantaui uineam*  
 35 *fructiferam totam: quomodo conuersa es in amaritudinem, uitis*  
*aliena? Sustinui ut faceret uuas, fecit autem spinas.*

2. *Ruit subito nox* medio die, et mortem domini omnis creatura  
 ne uideret effugit; textit faciem suam lugubri nube omne caelum,  
 et totus orbis tenebris obuolutus occultauit uultum suum ne ui-  
 40 deret in cruce dominum suum; elementa ipsa turbantur et ru-  
 giunt, saxa rumpuntur, sepulcra patescunt, mortui reuiuiscunt.  
 Factum est interea chaos; timet omnis natura periculum, et Iu-  
 daea perficit parricidium.

Vnus erat latro et corpore et mente proximus; alter alteri qui-  
 45 dem uicinus, sed multum corde diuisus. Pendebat Christus in  
 medio, et tamquam rex fulgebat in throno; confitebatur unus et  
 honorificabat, alter incredulus blasphemabat. Iudex mox dictat  
 uni sententiam, alteri porrigit indulgentiam.

34/36 Ier. 2, \*21  
 250.

36 Is. 5, \*4.

37 Verg., Aen., II,

22 pretium] corpus B  
 B C 31 uepribus A  
 A 40 aelementa A

26 obem A 30 quod] sic A  
 36 alienae B (2 m.), C 36 ubas  
 41 reuiuiscunt B C 47 alteri A



- O mira rerum conuersio ! Latro credit, et Iudaea fremit. Fecit  
 50 latro de cruce impetum, et intrauit paradisum romphaea framea  
 circumdatum ; Iudaea uero amisit lumen quando perdidit solem,  
 sicut scriptum est : *Super eos cecidit ignis, et non uiderunt solem.*  
 O uiolentus latro ! o artificiosus effractor ! : ipsum clauicularium  
 tenuit, et per ipsum ad paradisi interiora peruenit.
- 55 Ecce surrexit hodie Christus, et post supplicia multa inlaeso  
 corpore coruscauit. Non eum umbrosa uorago, non aerea claustra,  
 non indomabilis mors morte oppressit ; dirae cessere formae, im-  
 periumque tartareum omne succubuit. Non ibi, praesente Christo,  
 ultrices flammae, non saeua supplicia resonabant : gemitus ille  
 60 tristis omnisque luctuosus clangor obstipuit, captiuorum disrupta  
 sunt uincula, nox ipsa infernusque resplenduit ; uomuerunt an-  
 fractae cauernae captiuos, et animas tabidorum iam tenues antra  
 caeca de suis custodiis laxauerunt ; ceciderunt ferales illae cruentae  
 manus, atque rubiginosi tortores uiso domino tremuerunt.
- 65 Coeperunt sentire quod fecerant, et suis se poenis carnificina  
 torquebat.

3. Mox resolutos populos reducit Christus in lucem ; alloquitur  
 saucios, reficit fatigatos : « O mea quondam » inquit « creatura,  
 opificium meum ! Non te ea sorte condideram : ut in has plagas  
 70 et in haec exitia peruenires. Paradisum tibi paraueram, non in-  
 fernum ; delicias praeparauit uitamque beatam, non mortem con-  
 stitui ».

- « Ecce : quo te perduxisti, et hic me descendere compulisti,  
 ut paululum de maiestate humilis ad hunc carcerem huc usque  
 75 uenirem dum in me te his tormentis et tenebris liberarem ; iudicem  
 me esse, culpa tua fecit ; ut te ita derelinquerem, necessitas delicti  
 tui compulit ».

52 Ps. 57, \*9.

50 romfea phramea A, rhomphaea flammea C      57 indomauilis  
 A      58 tartareum] reum A, om. B      61/62 anfractae] ita 2 m.  
 B, anfracta A, aufractae C      62 tabidorum] Mai, labedorum  
 A B, lacuna in C      68 quondam] Mai, quaedam A B C  
 70 exidia A      75 in me] imme A, ergo B

« Quid agerem iustus, nisi damnaretur iniustus? Si te per potentiam eriperem, iustitiam utique amissem : coactus sum, amore  
80 tuo, pugnare cum aduersario tuo ! Sustinui globos uteri uirginalis, accepi sortem tuam, auspicatus sum infantiam, iacui in praesepio, fleui, dormiui, creui, esuriem sitimque sustinui ».

« Quae fuit, rogo, tanta cupiditas pomi, ut meorum praeceptorum obliiti inter ipsa primordia periretis? Debui quidem ingratos aeternis donare suppliciis. Sed, fateor, uicit me pietas : non angelum misi, sed ego ipse propter te descendi ; permisi me occidi, et sic ad istos inferos ueni ».

« Exite nunc uincti, exurgite miseri, respirate captiui : ecce uobis ignota lux fulgeo, ecce rores infundo, ecce nodos omnes catenasque  
90 dirumpo ; ecce tartari sedes noctemque profundam foetidumque chaos extermino. Sufficiant exactae poenae, fouebit uos semper maiestas mea cum in caelo fuerit caro mea ».

82 sustenui A

90 dirumpo C

91 foueuit A.

## La culture lérinienne

(Notes de lecture)

par

Fr. GLORIE

(Sint-Andries, Brugge)

Je voudrais proposer ici un complément aux 'Nouveaux aspects de la culture lérinienne' <sup>1</sup>. En effet, dans ses 'recherches sur les lectures grecques et latines, profanes et chrétiennes, de plusieurs auteurs issus de Lérins, surtout Eucher, Hilaire d'Arles et Faustus de Riez' <sup>2</sup>, le professeur Courcelle nous donne un aperçu, très souvent en juxtaposant les textes, d'un grand nombre de sources de ces auteurs 'lériniens'.

Sous le nom de Faustus de Riez, l'auteur entend également « Eusèbe de Gaule » (Pseudo-Eusèbe d'Émèse). A propos de ce dernier, il y a lieu, semble-t-il, d'ajouter aux sources, énumérées par M. Courcelle, un nom prestigieux : celui de S. Cyprien de Carthage. Notons toutefois qu'on ne devra pas en conclure tout de suite que les œuvres de S. Cyprien ont dû se trouver à la bibliothèque de Lérins. M. Courcelle ne les mentionne pas parmi les sources d'une autre œuvre lérinienne. D'autre part, on n'oserait pas assurer que la Collection « Gallicane » du Ps.-Eusèbe d'Émèse, attribuée un peu à la légère à Fauste de Riez, soit vraiment issu de l'atelier lérinien.

<sup>1</sup> P. COURCELLE, *Nouveaux aspects de la culture lérinienne*, dans la *Revue des Études latines*, XLVI (1968), p. 379-409.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 379 : « Sommaire ».

Il me semble néanmoins opportun et utile de présenter ici, sous la même forme de juxtaposition, le texte de s. Cyprien (*Epist.* 63, §§ 4-6 et 12-13)<sup>3</sup>, source d'« Eusèbe de Gaule » (*Hom.* xvii [16], §§ 5-7)<sup>4</sup>.

\* \* \*

## CYPRIEN

## EUSÈBE

p. 703, 1/8 :

Item in sacerdote *Melchisedech* sacrificii dominici sacramentum praefiguratum uideamus secundum quod scriptura diuina testatur et dicit :

*Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et uinum; fuit autem sacerdos dei summi, et benedixit Abraham.*

Quod autem *Melchisedech*

(p. 703, 10/11 :

quod *panem et uinum obtulit*)  
typum *Christi* portaret

(p. 703, 1/2 : *sacrificii dominici sacramentum praefigurat-*  
*tum*)

p. 201, 105/113 :

Nam de *Melchisedech*

in *genesis* legimus :

*Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et uinum, et benedixit Abrahae (fuit autem sacerdos dei summi).*

Dum a praepotio, id est a gentili, circumcisio futura benedicitur : ecclesiae gloria praedicatur, et synagogae infideli plebs ex gentibus acquisita praeponitur.

Hic ergo *Melchisedech* — cuius genealogia uel origo notitiam illius temporis latuit —  
*oblatione panis et uini,*  
*hoc Christi*

*sacrificium*  
*praesig-*

nauit

<sup>3</sup> Je réfère aux pages et lignes de l'édition de G. HARTEL, dans *CSEL* 3-2 (1868), p. 701-717 : « Epistula LXIII ».

<sup>4</sup> Je réfère aux pages et lignes de mon édition d'EVSEBIUS 'GALLICANVS', dans *CC* 101-101A, p. 191-208 : « Homilia xvii [16]. De Pascha, vi ».

declarat in psalmis spiritus sanctus ex persona patris ad filium dicens : Ante luciferum genui te. *Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.*

p. 705, 1/10 :

*In benedictione quoque Iudae hoc idem significatur, ubi et illic Christi figura exprimitur, quod a fratribus suis laudari et adorari haberet, quod inimicorum dorsa cedentium atque fugientium manibus quibus crucem pertulit et mortem uicit compressurus fuisset quodque ipse sit leo de tribu Iuda et recubet dormiens in passione et resurgat et sit ipse spes gentium. Quibus scriptura diuina adiungit et dicit :*

*Lauabit in uino stolam suam, et in sanguine uuae amictum suum. Quando autem sanguis uuae dicitur,*

*quid aliud quam*

*uinum calicis dominici sanguis ostenditur?*

p. 707,24-708,1 :

Calicem uero docuit exemplo magisterii sui uini et aquae coniunctione misceri ; calicem etenim sub die passionis accipiens, ...

p. 706,19-707,2 :

finditur

de quo propheta pronuntiat :

*Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.*

p. 202, 114/119 :

Nam et Moyses de eo mysterio loquens, uinum et sanguinem sub una appellatione significat, in benedictione patriarchae

dominicam passionem multo ante demonstrans,

ita inquires :

*Lauabit in uino stolam suam, et in sanguine uuae pallium suum ;*

aduerte quam euidenter constet uini creaturam Christi sanguine nuncupandam.

p. 203, 130/132 :

Hoc itaque dominici sanguinis uinum aqua esse miscendum, non solum traditione dominus, sed etiam ipso genere passionis ostendit

p. 203, 132/134 :

ex cuius latere sanguis et aqua,

ictu *lanceae* in passione; qui  
et admonens quid per *prophetam*  
sit *ante praedictum* clamat et  
dicit: Si qui sitit, ueniat et  
bibat. Qui credit in me, sicut  
scriptura dicit: flumina de uen-  
tre eius *fluent aquae* uiuae.

p. 704, 11/21:

*Sed et per Salomonem*  
spiritus sanctus typum domi-  
nici sacrificii ante *praemon-*  
strat, immolatae hostiae et  
panis et uini sed et altaris  
et apostolorum faciens men-  
tionem: *Sapientia, inquit, aedi-*  
*ficauit domum,*

*et subdidit columnas septem,*

*maclauit suas hostias, miscuit*  
*in cratera uinum suum, et*  
*parauit suam mensam;* et misit  
suos seruos, conuocans cum  
excelsa praedicatione ad cra-  
terem dicens: Qui est insipiens  
declinet ad me; *et agentibus*  
sensu dixit:

*Venite et edite de meis panibus,*  
*et bibite uinum quod miscui*  
*uobis.*

*Vinum* *mixtum* de-  
clarat.

p. 711, 5/10:

Christus autem ...  
de *aqua uinum* fecit, *id est:*  
quod ad *nuptias*

*lanceae* illusione profluxit, sicut  
et *propheta*  
multo *ante praecinit*  
*dicens:*

Percussit petram et  
*fluxerunt aquae.*

p. 204, 138/145:

*Sed et in Salomone*  
de ipso deo

*praedic-*  
tum legimus

*Sapientia, inquit, aedi-*  
*ficauit sibi domum, id est:*  
corpus hominis assumpsit, in  
quo habitauit plenitudo diuini-  
tatis;

*et subdidit columnas septem,*  
quia illum benedictio spiritus  
sancti, benedictio gratiae sep-  
tiformis, impleuit;

*maclauit hostias suas, miscuit*  
*in cratera uinum suum, et*  
*parauit mensam suam;*

*et*  
in sequenti:

*Venite et edite de meis panibus,*  
*et bibite uinum quod miscui*  
*uobis.*

*Admixtum* ergo *aqua uinum* le-  
gimus.

p. 205, 151/156:

Quando dominus  
*nuptiali* tempore, *id est:* quan-  
do sponsus ecclesiae suae pas-

Christi et *ecclesiae*

iudaeis cessantibus  
plebs magis *gentium* conflueret  
et conueniret ostendit ;

*aquas* namque *populos* signifi-  
cari, in apocalypsi  
scriptura diuina declarat, di-  
cens :

*Aquas* (VAR.L.), *quas uidisti*,  
super *quas* sedet meretrix illa,  
*populi* et turba et *gentes*  
ethnicorum sunt et *linguae*.

p. 711, 13/16 :

Videmus in *aqua*  
populum intellegi,  
in *uino* uero  
ostendi

*sanguinem* Christi.

Quod autem in calice  
*uino aqua miscetur*,

Christo *populus* ad-  
unatur et credentium plebs  
ei, in quem credidit, *copula-*  
*tur et iungitur*.

p. 712, 4/10 :

Quo et ipso sacramento *popu-*  
*lus* noster ostenditur adunatus,  
ut, quemadmodum grana multa  
in *unum* collecta et commolita  
et commixta panem unum fa-  
ciunt, sic in Christo, qui est  
panis caelestis, *unum* sciamus  
esse *corpus*, cui coniunctus sit  
noster numerus et adunatus.

chali exsultatione iungendus,  
*aquas* in *uinum* conuertit,  
manifeste praefigurabat  
multitudines *gentium* de san-  
guinis sui gratia esse uenturas ;  
per

*aquas* enim *populos* signifi-  
cari

sacris aperitur eloquiis, sicut  
legimus :

*Aquas* istas, *quas uidisti*,

*populi* sunt et *gentes*  
et *linguae*.

p. 205, 156/160 :

Aduertimus in *aquis*  
figuram *gentium* demonstrari,  
in *uino* autem  
*sanguinem* dominicae passionis  
ostendi.

Ac sic, dum in sacramentis  
*uino aqua miscetur*,

Christo fidelis *populus* incor-  
poratur et  
*iungitur* et quadam ei *copula*  
perfectae caritatis unitur.

p. 206, 167/175 :

Sicut enim frumentum, quod  
solita purgantis sollicitudine  
praeparatur, in candidam spe-  
ciem molarum labore perficitur,  
ac per aquam ignemque *unum*  
de se Christi *corpus* efficiunt ;  
et christianus *populus* quasi  
tritici innumera milia, a sacri-  
legis nationibus fide purgante  
atque cribrante cernitur : quan-  
do discernitur, et in *unum*  
quasi infidelium lolio pertran-  
seunte colligitur.

p. 711, 16/22 :

Quae copulatio et coniunctio  
*aquae et uini sic* miscetur in  
 calice domini *ut commixtio* il-  
 la *non possit* ab inuicem *sepa-*  
*rari*,  
 unde ecclesiam, id est plebem  
 in ecclesia constitutam,

*fideliter* et firmiter in eo quod  
 credidit perseuerantem *nulla*  
*res separare poterit a* Christo  
 quo minus haereat semper et  
 maneat indiuidua dilectione.

p. 207, 180/187 :

*Sicut* ergo *separari* grana ab  
 illius confecti panis adunatione  
*non possunt*, et sicut *aqua* ad  
 propriam redire substantiam in  
*uinum permixta* iam *non potest*,  
 sic et fideles quique atque  
 sapientes, qui redemptos se  
 Christi sanguine et passione  
 cognoscunt, ita debent quasi  
 inseparabilia membra capiti suo,  
*fidei* conseruatione et arden-  
 tissima religione, sociari : ut  
 ab eo non uoluntate, non ne-  
 cessitate *seiuungi*, *non ulla* ter-  
 renæ ambitione, non denique  
 ipsa *possint* morte diuelli.



**Essai de datation<sup>†</sup> du Commentaire  
sur les Proverbes attribué  
abusivement à Salonius**

par

JEAN-PIERRE WEISS

(Nice)

En 1964, M. C. Curti a publié une édition critique des *Commentarii in Parabolas Salomonis et in Ecclesiasten* de Salonius de Genève<sup>1</sup>. En lisant cet ouvrage, nous avons appris, avec surprise, que l'attribution de ces commentaires à un évêque de Genève du v<sup>e</sup> siècle reposait exclusivement sur le fait que Brassicanus, qui, le premier, édita ces textes en 1532, avait inscrit, dans la marge supérieure d'un manuscrit anonyme<sup>2</sup>, le nom de Salonius<sup>3</sup>. Aussi avons-nous souligné, dans le compte rendu de l'édition de M. Curti que nous avons fait pour la *Revue des Études Latines*<sup>4</sup>, qu'il nous semblait imprudent d'attribuer les deux commentaires à Salonius sur la foi du seul Brassicanus. Pour vérifier si notre méfiance était fondée, nous avons décidé de reprendre le problème à la base et de chercher à dater l'œuvre sans nous préoccuper, dans un premier temps, de la personnalité de son auteur. Assez rapidement nous avons été amené à nous intéresser plus spécialement au *Commentaire sur les Proverbes*. Ce

<sup>1</sup> SALONII *Commentarii in Parabolas Salomonis et in Ecclesiasten*, ed. Carmelus CURTI, *Centro di studi sull'antico cristianesimo*, Catania, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> *Vindobonensis* 1278.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CURTI, *ibid.* p. 9\* et Michael DENIS, *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini*, vol. II, pars I, Vindobonae, 1795, col. 799.

<sup>4</sup> *RÉL*, tome XLIV-1966, p. 482-484.

livre est, en effet, comme le fait remarquer M. Curti, étroitement apparenté au *Commentarius in Parabolas Salomonis* de Bède le Vénérable<sup>5</sup>. La confrontation de ces deux textes pouvait donc fournir un point de départ à notre recherche. Un troisième texte, le *Liber testimoniorum Gregorii* de Paterius<sup>6</sup> est venu compléter ce dossier. Dans la section réservée à l'exégèse des *Proverbes*, ces extraits authentiques<sup>7</sup> de Grégoire le Grand, réunis par un de ses disciples, comportent, en effet, des passages qui se retrouvent, en partie, avec quelques variantes, chez Bède le Vénérable et Salonius. C'est en nous appuyant sur ces trois textes que nous avons cru pouvoir démontrer, en 1967, à l'*International Conference on Patristic Studies* d'Oxford<sup>8</sup>, que Grégoire le Grand constituait, d'une façon directe ou indirecte, une des sources du *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* attribué par la tradition à Salonius<sup>9</sup>. Dès

<sup>5</sup> PL, 91, 937-1040.

<sup>6</sup> PL, 79, 683-916. La section qui concerne les *Proverbes* occupe dans la *Patrologie* de Migne les colonnes 895 à 906. Sur Paterius voir : C. TURNER, *Early Worcester Mss.*, Oxford, 1916, p. xxiv-xxvii ; A. WILMART, dans RB, t. XXXIX, 1927, p. 81-104 ; H. ROCHAIS, dans RB, t. LXIII, 1953, p. 256, n. I ; R. ETAIX, dans RevSR, t. XXXII, 1958, p. 66-78 et *Clauiis Patrum Latinorum* n° 1718.

<sup>7</sup> Seuls les extraits reproduits dans les colonnes 917-1136 du t. 79 de la PL, qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas de Paterius, semblent comporter des textes qu'il ne convient pas d'attribuer à Grégoire le Grand. Cf. à ce sujet *Clauiis Patrum Latinorum* n° 1718.

<sup>8</sup> Notre communication a été publiée dans *Studia Patristica X*, Berlin, 1970, p. 161-167.

<sup>9</sup> Les parallèles les plus significatifs entre les textes de Grégoire, les extraits retenus par Paterius, le commentaire de Bède le Vénérable et celui du Pseudo-Salonius sont reproduits sur une *table des concordances* que le lecteur trouvera à la suite de notre article. Dans son compte rendu de Carmelo CURTI, *Due commentarii inediti di Salonio ai uangeli di Giovanni e di Matteo*, *Bulletin des Facultés catholiques de Lyon* n° 45, 1968, p. 67-68, M. l'abbé Raymond ETAIX établit, de son côté, des rapprochements entre des passages de « Salonius » et des passages de Grégoire. En grande partie, ces rapprochements recoupent ceux que nous signalons au lecteur. M. l'abbé Etaix a cependant trouvé, en ce qui concerne le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes*, les parallèles supplémentaires que voici :

Salonius (éd. Curti)	Grégoire le Grand
In Prou. § 12	In Euang. Hom. 17, § 15
In Prou. § 33	Past. III, 14

lors, Grégoire le Grand, qui occupa le siège pontifical de 590 à 604, représentait pour notre œuvre un *terminus post quem*. Salenius, évêque du <sup>ve</sup> siècle, ne pouvait donc plus être considéré comme son auteur.

Tous les problèmes ne sont pas résolus pour autant. Nous sommes désormais en face d'une œuvre anonyme, postérieure au <sup>vi</sup>e siècle, qu'il convient de dater avec plus de précision. C'est la tâche que nous nous sommes fixée en écrivant le présent article. Au départ de notre enquête, nous disposons d'une fourchette chronologique qui va de 604, année de la mort de Grégoire le Grand, à la fin du <sup>x</sup>e siècle, date du manuscrit le plus ancien de notre œuvre<sup>10</sup>. Pour resserrer davantage notre fourchette chronologique, nous devons déterminer si l'œuvre de Bède le Vénérable constitue pour notre commentaire un *terminus ante quem* ou un *terminus post quem*. Si la deuxième hypothèse se vérifie, il nous restera à essayer de situer notre œuvre entre l'année 735, date de la mort de Bède le Vénérable, et la fin du <sup>x</sup>e siècle.

### I. L'œuvre de Bède le Vénérable constitue pour notre commentaire un *terminus post quem*.

Pour rechercher si l'œuvre de Bède le Vénérable représente pour notre commentaire un *terminus ante quem* ou un *terminus post quem*, nous allons examiner successivement la méthode de travail de Bède et celle du Pseudo-Salonus. II

*In Prou.* § 36

*Mor.* XXII, 20

*In Ez. Hom.*, II, 9, § 15

*In Prou.* § 52

*Mor.* XXXI, § 77

En outre, M. l'abbé Etaix a eu l'amabilité de nous communiquer par lettre les rapprochements suivants :

Salonius (éd. Curti)

Grégoire le Grand

*In Prou.* § 23,

*In Euang. Hom.* XXV § 4

1.445-451

*In Prou.* § 36

*Mor.* XXII, § 20

*In Ez. Hom.* II, 9, § 15

*In Prou.* § 41

*Past.* III, § 20

*In Prou.* § 44

*Mor.* XVII, § 30

*In Prou.* § 49

*Mor.* XVI, § 56

*In Prou.* § 65

*Mor.* VI, § 12

<sup>10</sup> *Augiensis* CC V. Cf. édition de M. C. CURTI, p. 24\* et 25\*.

nous intéressera, notamment, de savoir comment ces deux auteurs ont été amenés à intégrer dans leurs textes des passages entiers de Grégoire le Grand.

#### A. MÉTHODE DE TRAVAIL DE BÈDE LE VÉNÉRABLE.

En nous demandant si Bède le Vénérable a puisé sa documentation grégorienne dans les *excerpta* de Paterius, dans l'œuvre même de Grégoire ou encore dans le commentaire du Pseudo-Salonus, nous pensons trouver une première réponse à la question de chronologie que nous nous sommes posée.

Au seuil de notre enquête, un aveu explicite de notre auteur permet de préciser que Paterius n'a pas servi d'intermédiaire entre Grégoire le Grand et Bède le Vénérable. Dans l'introduction au VII<sup>e</sup> livre de son *Commentaire du Cantique des Cantiques*, Bède nous explique, en effet, que, contrairement à ce qu'il a fait dans les autres livres où il n'a pas eu recours à des textes de Grégoire, il va, pour le dernier livre de son ouvrage se contenter de présenter au lecteur un choix de textes tirés de l'œuvre de ce pape <sup>11</sup>. Pour réaliser son projet, Bède regrette de ne pas disposer des *testimonia Gregorii* de Paterius, dont il connaît pourtant l'existence. C'est ce qu'il exprime en ces termes : « J'ai entendu dire que Paterius, disciple du même bienheureux pape Grégoire a rassemblé et réuni dans un seul livre, en les classant, les passages de son œuvre où Grégoire a expliqué des extraits tirés de toute l'Écriture Sainte. Si nous avions cet ouvrage sous la main, je pourrais réaliser mon dessein plus facilement et d'une façon, pour ainsi dire, parfaite. Mais, puisque je ne me sou-

<sup>11</sup> BÈDE, *Commentaire du Cantique des Cantiques*, PL, 91, 1223 A : « In expositione Cantici Canticorum quam libris quinque explicauimus (nam primum huius operis uolumen contra Iulianum, pro defensione gratiae Dei, quam ille impugnauit, unde et hac destituente periit, specialiter confecimus), ita Patrum uestigia secuti sumus, ut interim opuscula dilecti Deo et hominibus papae ac patris nostri Gregorii relinqueremus intacta ; iucundius fore legentibus rati, si ea quae in explorationem huius uoluminis per cuncta opuscula sua sparsim disseruit, quia plurima sunt et copiosa dicta, quasi in unum collecta uolumen pariter omnia poneremus, quod modo adiuuante Domino sumus facturi ».

viens pas l'avoir vu jusqu'à présent, j'ai entrepris moi-même de l'imiter, comme je l'ai pu, avec l'aide de Dieu »<sup>12</sup>. Nous fondant sur ce témoignage de Bède le Vénérable, nous pensons que notre auteur n'aura pas non plus utilisé les *testimonia Gregorii* de Paterius pour son *Commentaire sur les Proverbes*<sup>13</sup>. Il y a, au contraire, de fortes chances pour que, dans ce cas aussi, il se soit constitué des *excerpta* personnels de Grégoire le Grand afin d'en enrichir son œuvre.

Mais, avant de tirer une telle conclusion, nous devons nous demander si, à défaut de Paterius, ce n'est pas le Pseudo-Salونیus qui a servi d'intermédiaire entre Grégoire le Grand et Bède le Vénérable. Commençons par remarquer que Bède était un fervent lecteur de Grégoire le Grand, comme nous le confirme, d'ailleurs, si besoin en était, le passage de son *Commentaire du Cantique des Cantiques* que nous venons de citer<sup>14</sup>. Constatons, ensuite, que son *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* contient des passages empruntés à Grégoire le Grand

<sup>12</sup> BÈDE, *Commentaire du Cantique des Cantiques*, PL, 91, 1223 B : « Audiui autem quod Paterius, eiusdem beati papae Gregorii discipulus, de tota sancta Scriptura quae ille per partes in suis operibus explanauit collecta in ordine in unum uolumen coegerit ; quod opus si haberemus ad manus, facilius multo ac perfectius studium uoluntatis implem ; quia necdum illud memini uidere, ipse per me hoc, ut potui, imitari Domino adiuuante curauim ».

<sup>13</sup> On pourrait nous objecter que nous ne connaissons pas la chronologie exacte des œuvres de Bède le Vénérable, que son *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* est éventuellement postérieur à son *Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques* et qu'entre temps Bède aurait pu se procurer les *testimonia Gregorii*. Signalons cependant que Bède utilise des extraits de Grégoire qui ne figurent pas dans les *excerpta* de Paterius tels qu'ils sont parvenus jusqu'à nous et que, par ailleurs, il y a dans les *testimonia Gregorii* des textes qui n'ont pas été repris par Bède. En outre, il est probable que Bède, qui indique volontiers ses sources, aurait signalé au lecteur une découverte aussi importante que celle des *testimonia Gregorii* de Paterius. Aussi sommes-nous de l'avis de J. de GHELLINCK qui écrit dans *Patristique et Moyen Âge*, tome II, p. 280-281, Paris, 1947 : « Mais les *Excerpta* de saint Grégoire, confectionnés par Paterius, n'entreront pas à Jarrow-Wearmouth du vivant de Bède, qui le regrette intensément ».

<sup>14</sup> Cf. également la préface de son *Commentaire de saint Luc* (CC, 120, p. 7). Pour les sources de Bède, voir : R. DAVIS, *Bede's Early Reading*, in *Speculum*, VIII, 1933, p. 179-195 ; M. LAISTNER, *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, 1957, p. 93-149.

dont nous chercherions en vain la trace dans les *excerpta* de Paterius ou le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* du Pseudo-Salonus<sup>15</sup>. En outre, lorsque Bède et le Pseudo-Salonus s'inspirent, effectivement, du même extrait de Grégoire, le Pseudo-Salonus ne s'interpose pas nécessairement entre Grégoire le Grand et Bède le Vénérable. Il y a, en effet, dans son commentaire, des textes où Bède copie, quasi textuellement, Grégoire sans rien devoir au Pseudo-Salonus<sup>16</sup>. L'exemple suivant, qui a trait à l'exégèse de *Proverbes* 5, 16-17, nous permettra de mettre ce fait en évidence :

Grég.	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
<i>Reg. Past.</i> pars III, cap. XXIV, adm. 25, <i>PL</i> , 77, 96 A	<i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 91, 958 D	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 12, 246-248
<i>Aquas ergo et in plateis diuidimus et tamen soli POSSIDEMUS quando et EXTERIUS late praedicationem FUNDIMUS ET Tamen per eam humanas laudes assequi MINIME AMBIMUS.</i>	<i>Aquas et in plateis diuidimus et tamen soli POSSIDEMUS quando et EXTERIUS late praedicationem FUNDIMUS ET Tamen per eam laudes humanas consequi MINIME AMBIMUS.</i>	<i>Aquas in plateis diuidimus quando aliis uerba diuina late praedicamus et tamen soli aquas habemus quia de ipsa praedicatione humanas laudes non quaerimus.</i>

Les différences entre le texte de Bède et celui de Grégoire sont vraiment minimales : la particule *ergo* disparaît chez Bède et *consequi* se substitue à *assequi*. En outre, nous lisons *laudes humanas* à la place de *humanas laudes*. Les deux dernières variantes peuvent, d'ailleurs, très bien s'expliquer par des erreurs de copiste ou des fautes commises lors de l'établisse-

<sup>15</sup> Cf., en particulier, l'exégèse de *Proverbes* 24, 30 : GRÉGOIRE, *Moralia*, lib. XX, cap. XXV, n° 54, *PL*, 76, 170 A et BÈDE, *In Parab.*, *PL*, 91, 1010 D-1011 A ; l'exégèse de *Proverbes* 30, 17 : GRÉGOIRE, *Moralia*, lib. XVIII, cap. XXX, n° 49, *PL*, 76, 63 D-64 A et BÈDE, *In Parab.*, *PL*, 91, 1025 B ; l'exégèse de *Proverbes* 30, 28 : GRÉGOIRE, *Moralia*, lib. VI, cap. X, n° 12, *PL*, 75, 736 BC et BÈDE, *In Parab.*, *PL* 91, 1027 D - 1027 A (Le Pseudo-Salonus présente également une exégèse de *Proverbes* 30, 28. Cette dernière ne doit cependant rien au passage des *Moralia* que nous venons d'évoquer) ; l'exégèse de *Proverbes* 30, 33 : GRÉGOIRE, *Moralia*, lib. XXI, cap. I, n° 3, *PL*, 76, 188 CD et BÈDE, *In Parab.*, *PL*, 91, 1027 D.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. concordances n° 3, n° 6, n° 7, n° 9, n° 13, n° 18.

ment du texte. Cela dit, il est évident que le passage du Pseudo-Salonus est également en relation étroite avec les deux autres. Il y a, en effet, douze termes communs aux trois auteurs. Mais le texte de Bède ne comporte pas un seul mot du Pseudo-Salonus qui ne soit aussi dans celui de Grégoire le Grand. Aussi est-il absolument sûr que notre passage de Bède dérive directement de celui de Grégoire et que le Pseudo-Salonus n'a pas servi d'intermédiaire entre Grégoire le Grand et Bède le Vénérable. Mais si, comme nous l'avons montré, Bède a eu, dans certains cas, recours au texte même de Grégoire, nous pouvons nous demander pourquoi, dans d'autres passages, il aurait puisé sa documentation grégorienne chez le Pseudo-Salonus. Malgré l'invraisemblance de cette dernière hypothèse, nous allons, cependant l'examiner sans préjugé.

La parenté qui unit le commentaire de Bède à celui du Pseudo-Salonus est réelle, bien que les deux œuvres appartiennent à des genres littéraires différents. Bède le Vénérable a, en effet, composé un traité exégétique suivi où il explique un très grand nombre de versets des *Proverbes*, alors que le Pseudo-Salonus ne commente, sous la forme de questions et de réponses, qu'un choix limité de versets. De nombreux passages de Bède n'ont donc pas leur équivalent chez le Pseudo-Salonus. En revanche, le commentaire de Bède ne comporte pas les questions que le Pseudo-Salonus met dans la bouche d'un *interrogator*. Si nous faisons abstraction de ces dernières, nous constatons que, sur les 919 lignes que contient alors le texte du Pseudo-Salonus dans l'édition de M. Curti, 723 sont en relation directe avec le commentaire de Bède le Vénérable. Autrement dit, 78% des lignes du Pseudo-Salonus ont leur équivalent dans l'œuvre du moine anglais. Or l'ampleur des deux œuvres est sans commune mesure. Celle du Pseudo-Salonus occupe 45 colonnes de la *Patrologie* de Migne <sup>17</sup>, alors que celle de Bède s'étend sur 103 colonnes <sup>18</sup>. Il s'en suit donc que tout se passe comme si le commentaire du Pseudo-Salonus était un abrégé de celui de Bède le Vénérable. Indépendamment de toute autre considération, il y a, en

<sup>17</sup> PL, 53, 967-1012.

<sup>18</sup> PL, 91, 937-1040.

effet, de fortes chances pour qu'une œuvre brève qui présente, presque constamment, un texte en rapport avec celui d'une œuvre longue, dérive de cette dernière. Nous disposons ainsi d'un indice qui laisse deviner que Bède ne dépend pas du Pseudo-Salonus. Il serait cependant hasardeux d'y voir une preuve déterminante.

Mise à part l'ampleur de la parenté qui lie l'œuvre de Bède à celle du Pseudo-Salonus, il faut également souligner le caractère étroit de cette parenté. Un simple coup d'œil sur notre table des concordances<sup>19</sup> permet de s'en assurer. Mais, s'il est facile de constater qu'une œuvre dépend de l'autre, il est, en revanche, impossible, à partir de la seule confrontation des deux textes, de déterminer dans quel sens s'exerce l'influence. Pour établir le rapport que les deux auteurs entretiennent entre eux, il est donc indispensable de les situer par rapport à une source commune. Aussi est-ce, une fois de plus, Grégoire le Grand qui nous permettra de faire avancer notre enquête. Encore faudra-t-il, pour confronter nos trois exégètes, choisir dans leurs œuvres des extraits qui présentent, à côté de similitudes certaines, des divergences notables. En examinant des passages pratiquement identiques, nous serions, en effet, amené à constater la ressemblance des trois textes sans pouvoir en tirer la moindre conclusion chronologique.

L'exégèse que nos auteurs présentent de *Proverbes* 5, 15-17 remplit les conditions voulues et nous donnera une idée plus précise du rapport qui lie Bède le Vénérable à Grégoire le Grand et au Pseudo-Salonus<sup>20</sup>. A propos de ces versets, nous constatons, en effet, que le pourcentage des lignes du Pseudo-Salonus qui ressemblent à celles de Bède tombe de 78% à 33%. Il faudra donc expliquer pourquoi la parenté entre les deux textes est moins étroite et pourquoi elle reste cependant réelle. Grégoire le Grand nous fournira la réponse à ces questions. Ce dernier a, en effet, commenté notre passage des *Proverbes* à la fois dans la *Regula Pastoralis*<sup>21</sup> et dans la

<sup>19</sup> Cf. l'annexe de notre article.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. les concordances n° 4 à n° 8.

<sup>21</sup> GRÉGOIRE, *Reg. Past.*, pars III, cap. XXIV, adm. 25, *PL*, 77, 95 et PATERIUS, *Test. Greg.*, *PL*, 79, 897.



*XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel* <sup>22</sup>. Or Bède <sup>23</sup> et le Pseudo-Salonus <sup>24</sup> se sont inspirés de l'extrait de la *Regula pastoralis*, ce qui explique que leurs textes restent apparentés. Seul le Pseudo-Salonus a, cependant, utilisé l'extrait de la *XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel*. Aussi toute ressemblance entre les textes de Bède et du Pseudo-Salonus disparaît-elle momentanément. Cette double constatation ne manque pas d'intérêt. Si l'on voulait maintenir l'hypothèse selon laquelle Bède aurait plagié le Pseudo-Salonus, il faudrait, en effet, supposer que le moine anglais ait éliminé de son texte tous les termes que le Pseudo-Salonus a empruntés à la *XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel*. Cela est d'autant plus invraisemblable que dans le texte du Pseudo-Salonus des éléments des deux passages de Grégoire le Grand sont repris dans une seule et même phrase et que Bède le Vénérable se montre, en général, plus prolixe que le Pseudo-Salonus. Si, contrairement à l'idée reçue, nous supposons que le Pseudo-Salonus n'a pas servi de source à Bède le Vénérable, nous pouvons, en revanche, expliquer aisément pourquoi ce dernier n'a pas utilisé l'extrait de la *XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel* <sup>25</sup>. Son relevé des textes de Grégoire concernant les *Proverbes* était certainement incomplet et, puisque la *Regula Pastoralis* lui proposait une exégèse de *Proverbes* 5, 15-17, il ne devait guère éprouver le besoin de compléter sa documentation à ce sujet. De son côté, le Pseudo-Salonus a, comme nous le montrerons plus loin <sup>26</sup>, compilé les passages de la *Regula Pastoralis* et de la *XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel*, parce qu'il disposait des *testimonia Gregorii*. Une fois de plus, nous constatons donc que Bède ne s'est pas inspiré du Pseudo-Salonus et qu'il a cherché ailleurs les emprunts qu'il fait à Grégoire le Grand.

<sup>22</sup> GRÉGOIRE, *Hom. in Ezech.*, I, XII, 12, PL, 76, 93 et PATERIUS *Test. Greg.*, PL, 79, 897. Le texte de Paterius tel qu'il figure dans la *Patrologie* de Migne porte une référence fautive (XIII à la place de XII).

<sup>23</sup> BÈDE, *In Parab.*, PL, 91, 958.

<sup>24</sup> PSEUDO-SALONIUS, *In Parab.*, éd. Curti, 12, 228-255.

<sup>25</sup> Le fait que Bède n'a pas utilisé l'extrait de l'*homélie sur Ezéchiel* est pour nous un des indices sur lesquels nous nous appuyons pour dire que Bède n'a pas non plus utilisé Paterius. L'extrait de la *Regula Pastoralis* et celui de notre *homélie sur Ezéchiel* se suivent, en effet, dans les *Testimonia Gregorii*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. p. 90-92.

Un autre argument, sans rapport avec l'œuvre de Grégoire le Grand, nous permettra de montrer qu'il est peu probable que Bède ait pris le Pseudo-Salonus comme modèle. Il arrive à Bède le Vénérable de faire, dans son *Commentaire sur les Proverbes*, l'une ou l'autre allusion à l'antiquité. C'est ainsi que, pour s'en prendre à la cupidité, il cite Juvénal dans les termes suivants : « ... et sicut quidam ait poetarum : 'Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit' »<sup>27</sup>. Or le Pseudo-Salonus, source présumée de notre auteur, tout en exprimant la même idée que ce dernier, ne cite pas ce vers. Il écrit, en effet, : « ... similiter quanto quisque sibi diuitias accumulat, tanto magis eas semper augmentare desiderat »<sup>28</sup>. Est-il vraisemblable de penser que Bède le Vénérable ait, guidé par une association d'idées, substitué une citation au texte proposé par sa source ? Si tel était le cas, il conviendrait de s'étonner que le passage du Pseudo-Salonus exprime, avec une si grande fidélité la pensée même du poète ancien, sans qu'il y ait la moindre rencontre au niveau du vocabulaire et du mouvement de la phrase. Pour notre part, nous estimons que la dépendance entre les deux exégètes des *Proverbes* ne peut s'expliquer que si l'on suppose que le Pseudo-Salonus a paraphrasé le vers cité par Bède le Vénérable. Contrairement à ce dernier, notre auteur aura probablement estimé qu'il était inconvenant de mêler à l'exégèse d'un texte sacré une citation d'un écrivain profane. Aussi aura-t-il substitué l'adverbe « similiter » à la proposition : « sicut quidam ait poetarum », qui introduit la citation chez Bède, et n'aura-t-il retenu que le sens du vers sans en reprendre la forme. Seule une intention délibérée peut, en effet, rendre compte du fait qu'il n'y a aucune correspondance terme à terme dans nos deux textes, alors que, généralement, Bède et le Pseudo-Salonus utilisent les mêmes mots.

<sup>27</sup> PL, 91, 1025 A ; citation de JUVÉNAL, *Sat.* XIV, 139. La même citation se retrouve, chez Bède, dans le *Commentaire de saint Marc*, I, CC, 120, p. 483, 1807. Ce passage de Juvénal a déjà été cité par FAUSTUS, *Sermo* V, CSEL, t. XXI, p. 242, 22 ; cf. P. COURCELLE, *Nouveaux aspects de la culture lérinienne*, dans *RÉL*, tome XLVI, 1968, p. 406.

<sup>28</sup> Éd. Curti, 64, 1075-1077.

L'examen de sa méthode de travail nous a montré que Bède ne connaît ni Paterius ni le Pseudo-Salonus. Il s'est inspiré directement de Grégoire le Grand. Or la parenté entre l'œuvre du Pseudo-Salonus et celle de Bède le Vénérable est telle que, si Bède n'a pas imité le Pseudo-Salonus, c'est nécessairement le Pseudo-Salonus qui a plagié Bède. L'étude de la méthode de travail du Pseudo-Salonus nous permettra de confirmer cette dernière hypothèse.

#### B. LA METHODE DE TRAVAIL DU PSEUDO-SALONIUS.

Si les résultats que nous croyons avoir obtenus sont conformes à la vérité, nous devons être en mesure de démontrer que le Pseudo-Salonus s'est inspiré, dans l'ensemble, de Bède le Vénérable, tout en ayant, de temps à autre, recours au *Liber testimoniorum* de Paterius. Pour vérifier cette hypothèse, nous nous intéresserons, une fois encore aux passages de Bède et du Pseudo-Salonus où se fait sentir plus nettement l'influence de Grégoire le Grand.

Dès l'abord, nous pouvons noter que, malgré de longues et patientes recherches, nous n'avons guère <sup>29</sup> trouvé de passage

<sup>29</sup> Nous disposons cependant de deux textes du Pseudo-Salonus qui sont en parenté avec des passages de Grégoire et qui pourtant ne se retrouvent ni chez Bède ni chez Paterius. C'est ainsi que nous lisons chez Grégoire : « Quia enim Graeca uoce platea a latitudine uocatur » (*In Euang. Hom.* 17, § 15) et chez le Pseudo-Salonus : « Platea namque dicta est a latitudine ; est enim Graecus sermo » (éd. Curti § 12, 239-240). A notre avis, ce rapprochement, que nous devons à M. l'abbé Etaix, ne prouve pas nécessairement que le Pseudo-Salonus avait sous les yeux le passage correspondant de Grégoire au moment où il a composé son *Commentaire sur les Proverbes*. Remarquons, en effet, que le texte de Grégoire n'a aucun rapport avec les *Proverbes*, puisqu'il s'agit d'un commentaire de *Thrènes* 4, 4 qui se trouve dans une homélie qui traite, elle-même, d'un passage de l'Évangile. En outre, l'étymologie proposée par Grégoire devait être assez largement connue. Le deuxième parallèle, que nous devons également à M. l'abbé Etaix, met en rapport « Salonus », *In Prou.*, éd. Curti, 23, 445-451, et Grégoire, *In Euang. Hom.* XXV, § 4. Les deux auteurs citent comme exemple de synecdoque le passage de saint Jean (Io. 20, 13) où nous lisons : « Tulerunt dominum ». Pour les deux exégètes *dominum* est mis pour *corpus domini*. Le texte du Pseudo-Salonus ne vient pas

du *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* où le Pseudo-Salonus ait imité un texte de Grégoire le Grand qui ne se trouve aussi chez Bède le Vénérable ou dans les *excerpta* de Paterius. Nous en concluons que rien ne s'oppose donc à envisager l'hypothèse selon laquelle Paterius ou Bède le Vénérable ou encore les deux auteurs à la fois se seraient interposés entre Grégoire le Grand et le Pseudo-Salonus<sup>30</sup>.

Pour démontrer que notre auteur a puisé dans l'œuvre de Bède maints passages de Grégoire dont il s'est inspiré, nous allons nous appuyer sur des textes où la parenté entre les trois exégètes est évidente<sup>31</sup>. Parmi eux, il faut distinguer deux

nécessairement en ligne directe de Grégoire. Il est, en effet, possible que cet exemple de synecdoque se retrouve ailleurs. C'est ainsi que Bède dans son *De schematis et tropis* (PL, 90, 182 A) cite un exemple de synecdoque tout à fait analogue, puisqu'il utilise Jean 19, 42 où nous trouvons : « posuerunt Iesum » à la place de « posuerunt corpus Iesus ». Comme dans le cas précédent, le passage de Grégoire dont il est question n'a aucun rapport avec l'exégèse d'un verset des *Proverbes*. Cela dit, nous n'excluons nullement que le Pseudo-Salonus ait pu lire Grégoire dans le texte. Nous voulons simplement démontrer que, dans le cas précis de la composition de son *Commentaire sur les Proverbes*, le Pseudo-Salonus a puisé, pour l'essentiel, sa documentation grégorienne chez Bède et chez Paterius.

<sup>30</sup> Même si nous trouvons dans l'œuvre du Pseudo-Salonus, en plus des cas cités à la note précédente, la trace d'autres textes de Grégoire le Grand qui ne se trouveraient ni chez Bède ni chez Paterius, cela n'infirmerait pas nécessairement notre hypothèse. Il est, en effet, possible que les *excerpta* de Paterius concernant les *Proverbes* nous soient parvenus incomplets. C'est du moins ce que pense M. l'abbé ETAIX qui écrit dans son article intitulé *Le Liber testimoniorum de Paterius*, in *RevSR*, XXXII, 1958, p. 70 : « Les extraits concernant les Proverbes se rapportent uniquement à la partie du texte qui va du chapitre III, 32, au chapitre XIV, 30, bien que saint Grégoire ait souvent commenté les autres chapitres de ce livre. Il paraît étonnant que Paterius ait volontairement laissé incomplète cette partie de son œuvre, alors que son travail est d'ordinaire remarquablement consciencieux ».

<sup>31</sup> Il est à noter que nous trouvons dans l'œuvre de Bède et dans celle du Pseudo-Salonus des textes inspirés de passages de Grégoire le Grand qui ne figurent pas dans les *excerpta* de Paterius tels qu'ils sont parvenus jusqu'à nous. Il en est ainsi pour les passages suivants : a. exégèse de *Proverbes* 30, 29 : GRÉGOIRE, *Moralia*, lib. XXX, cap. III, n° 9, PL, 76, 528 ; BÈDE, *In Parab.*, PL, 91, 1027 ; PSEUDO-SALONIS, éd. Curti, 66, 1095-1133 ; b. exégèse de *Proverbes* 30, 32 :

cas : tantôt Bède copie Grégoire quasi textuellement <sup>32</sup>, tantôt il fait preuve de quelque originalité <sup>33</sup>. Dans le premier cas, qui est de loin le plus fréquent, les textes mis en parallèle ne peuvent, à eux seuls, prouver que le Pseudo-Salonus a démarqué Bède plutôt que Grégoire. Le deuxième cas présente plus d'intérêt, puisqu'il arrive que le texte correspondant du Pseudo-Salonus comporte, à l'intérieur d'une seule et même phrase, des éléments qui proviennent de la plume de Bède et d'autres que ce dernier a empruntés à Grégoire le Grand. C'est là une preuve que le Pseudo-Salonus imite alors Grégoire le Grand *par l'intermédiaire de Bède* sans avoir éprouvé le besoin de recourir à l'original. L'exemple suivant va nous montrer que tel est bien le cas :

Grég.	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Reg. Past. pars III, In Parab. cap. XXV, adm. 26, PL 91, 973 C PL, 77, 97 B		In Parab. Curti, 23, 440-442
ET DUM uino eloquii auditorum mentem DEBRIARE NON DESINIT, POTU MULTPLICATI MUNERIS DEBRIATUS EXCRESCIT.	ET DUM SACRO eloquio mentem auditorum DEBRIARE NON DESINIT, POTU MULTPLICI MUNERIS DEBRIATUS EXCRESCIT.	Similiter qui SACRO eloquio mentes auditorum studet inebriare, inebriatur et ipse quia sancti spiritus infusione repletur.

La différence la plus notable entre le texte de Grégoire et celui de Bède est que *uino eloquii* est remplacé par *sacro eloquio*. Même si nous faisons abstraction de nos démonstrations précédentes, il nous semble difficile d'admettre que Bède ait emprunté la seule expression *sacro eloquio* au Pseudo-Salonus dans un texte où il imite, d'autre part, servilement Grégoire. Il est bien plus vraisemblable que Bède ait trouvé la métaphore du vin trop obscure et l'ait traduite par l'adjectif *sacro* <sup>34</sup>. Or, si nous éliminons l'hypothèse de la com-

GRÉGOIRE, *Moralia*, lib. XXX, cap. III, n° 10, PL, 76, 528-529 ;  
BÈDE, *In Parab.*, PL, 91, 1027 ; PSEUDO-SALONIUS, éd. Curti, 67,  
1134-1162.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. concordances n° 7, n° 9, n° 10, n° 13, n° 16, n° 18.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. concordances n° 2, n° 12, n° 17.

<sup>34</sup> La *Patrologie* de Migne présente une variante du texte où nous lisons *diuino eloquio* à la place de *uino eloquii*. Même si cette variante

pilation, il est possible de tirer de ce passage un argument supplémentaire pour l'ensemble de la chronologie que nous proposons. Afin de nous conformer à la chronologie traditionnelle, adoptée par M. Curti, nous devrions, en effet, supposer que le Pseudo-Salonus ait écrit *sacro eloquio* qui serait devenu *uino eloquii* chez Grégoire et, à nouveau, *sacro eloquio* chez Bède. N'est-il pas plus logique de penser que Bède a transformé *uino eloquii* en *sacro eloquio*, expression que le Pseudo-Salonus a reprise telle quelle? Si notre raisonnement est juste, nous tenons, en outre, la preuve que le Pseudo-Salonus puise sa documentation grégorienne chez Bède le Vénérable, sans avoir nécessairement recours au texte original. Tous les mots de Grégoire qu'il utilise se trouvent, en effet, également dans le texte de Bède. En revanche, il emprunte, en plus, à ce dernier l'expression *sacro eloquio*. La succession chronologique que nous venons d'établir permet également une lecture cohérente d'une deuxième variation. Bède a interverti l'ordre des mots dans le groupe *auditorum mentem* en écrivant *mentem auditorum*<sup>35</sup>. Le Pseudo-Salonus imite visiblement Bède, puisqu'il adopte le même ordre des mots que lui, tout en substituant au singulier *mentem* le pluriel *mentes*. Aussi la confrontation de nos trois textes nous semble-t-elle indiquer que le Pseudo-Salonus s'inspire de Grégoire par l'intermédiaire de Bède. D'autres textes<sup>36</sup> où l'apport original de Bède est plus important viennent corroborer cette conclusion.

Dans un cas, cependant, le Pseudo-Salonus abandonne sa source habituelle pour intégrer à son texte des passages empruntés, de manière directe ou par l'intermédiaire de Paterius, à Grégoire le Grand. Il s'agit des lignes qu'il consacre à l'exégèse de *Proverbes* 5, 15-17 dont Grégoire a traité à la fois dans la *XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel* et dans la *Regula Pastoralis*. Le tableau suivant nous permettra de juger de la manière dont Bède et le Pseudo-Salonus ont utilisé les textes de Grégoire :

est authentique, elle ne modifie en rien nos conclusions concernant la succession chronologique des trois textes.

<sup>35</sup> Bède obtient ainsi un chiasme élégant avec *sacro eloquio*.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. concordances n° 2 et n° 12.

Grég.	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 897 A ... quia in auditorum multitudinem uer- ba scientiae dila- tamus.	Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> <i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 897 C In plateis autem aquas diuidere est in MAGNA auditorum AMPLITUDE iuxta uniuscuiusque quali- tatem diuina eloquia dispensare.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 12, 240-243 In plateis ergo aquas diuidimus quando in multitu- dine auditorum uer- ba scientiae dila- tamus et iuxta u- niscuiusque qualita- tem diuina eloquia dispensamus.
Grég., <i>Hom. in</i> <i>Ezech.</i> I, XII, 12, <i>PL</i> , 76, 923 A	Grég., <i>Reg. Past.</i> pars III, cap. XXIV, adm. 25, <i>PL</i> , 77, 95 C	
Variante : uerba scientiae] scientiae uerba	Même texte	

Nous constatons que Bède se contente pratiquement de reproduire le texte de la *Regula Pastoralis*, tandis que le Pseudo-Salonus semble avoir compilé l'extrait de la *XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel* et celui de la *Regula Pastoralis* sans rien devoir à Bède. Les textes suivants, pour lesquels nous ne trouvons pas le passage correspondant chez Bède le Vénérable, nous permettront de transformer notre hypothèse de la compilation en certitude :

Grég.	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 897 A	Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> <i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 897 C Curti, 12, 237-239
	Fontes namque foras deriuare est exterius aliis uim praedicatio- nis infundere...
Sed cum praedicamus in populis, nimirum in plateis diuidimus...	Fontes ergo nostros foras deriuamus cum aliis uim praedicationis in- fundimus, cum uerba sacrae scripturae aliis annuntiamus ; in plateis aquas diuidimus, cum populis praedicamus
Grég., <i>Hom. in Ezech.</i> I, XII, 12 <i>PL</i> , 76, 93	Grég., <i>Reg. Past.</i> pars III, cap. XXIV, adm. 25, <i>PL</i> , 77, 95
Variante : in populis ] populis	Même texte.

Il ne fait pas de doute que le Pseudo-Salonus a compilé les deux textes de Grégoire. Dans le premier extrait de Grégoire, l'explication précède le passage à expliquer ; dans le deuxième texte, l'ordre est inversé. Le Pseudo-Salonus fera précéder, dans les deux cas, le verset à expliquer. En outre, l'exégèse de Grégoire est introduite tantôt par *cum*, tantôt par *est*. Le Pseudo-Salonus utilise *cum* pour les deux passages. Seule notre hypothèse de la compilation rend compte de la réalité des faits. Elle nous prouve, s'il en était encore besoin, que le Pseudo-Salonus est postérieur à Grégoire. Il est, en effet, bien moins vraisemblable que Grégoire, dans des passages tirés d'œuvres différentes, ait utilisé deux extraits d'une même phrase du Pseudo-Salonus de telle manière qu'ils ne se chevauchent à aucun moment !

Le Pseudo-Salonus a-t-il cependant trouvé les deux textes dans l'œuvre même de Grégoire le Grand ou dans le *Liber testimoniorum* de Paterius <sup>37</sup> ? Si l'on songe que notre auteur suit, le plus souvent, Bède le Vénérable pas à pas, au

<sup>37</sup> On pourrait nous objecter que le Pseudo-Salonus aurait pu utiliser d'autres *excerpta* de Grégoire le Grand que ceux de Paterius. La thèse de M. l'abbé R. WASSELYNCK sur *L'influence des Moralia in Job de s. Grégoire le Grand sur la théologie morale entre le VII<sup>e</sup> et le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 439f, Lille, texte polycopié, 1956, prouve, cependant, que c'est bien Paterius qui du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle servait, le plus souvent, d'intermédiaire entre Grégoire et les auteurs de cette époque. Résumant la thèse de R. WASSELYNCK, M. l'abbé ETAIX, écrit dans son article, intitulé *Le Liber testimoniorum de Paterius*, in *RevSR*, XXXII, 1958, p. 66-67 : « Il nous montre, par une étude minutieuse de leurs sources, que nombre d'auteurs du moyen âge ont connu et cité Grégoire surtout -sinon uniquement- à travers la compilation de Paterius, ainsi Bède (peut-être), Raban Maur, Angelom de Luxueil, Claude de Turin, Rupert de Deutz, la *Glossa ordinaria* ». Signalons cependant que M. l'abbé Etaix a quelques doutes sur l'authenticité des *excerpta* concernant le livre des *Proverbes* (*Ibid.*, p. 69 ss.). Il n'exclut pas que ces extraits aient pu être réunis par un continuateur de Paterius. Même dans le cas où les doutes de M. l'abbé Etaix seraient fondés, cela ne changerait rien de fondamental à notre démonstration. Il est, en effet, probable que les *excerpta* concernant les *Proverbes* faisaient, en tout état de cause, partie du *corpus* de Paterius au temps de notre Pseudo-Salonus, puisqu'ils figurent déjà dans les manuscrits les plus anciens des *Testimonia*, celui de Corbie (*Amiens* 220) du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et celui de Fleury (*Paris B.N.*, *n.a.l.* 1597) qui est également du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (cf. M. l'abbé ETAIX, *ibid.*, p. 67).



point de puiser chez ce dernier la plupart des textes de Grégoire qu'il a utilisés, il n'est guère probable qu'il ait recherché dans l'œuvre immense de Grégoire nos deux textes afin de les compiler. Cette invraisemblance disparaît, si nous supposons que le Pseudo-Salonus a eu sous les yeux le *Liber testimoniorum* de Paterius où l'extrait de la *XII<sup>e</sup> homélie sur Ezéchiel* et celui de la *Regula Pastoralis* se font suite. Dans ce cas, en effet, le Pseudo-Salonus devait être tenté de compiler les deux passages.

D'autres textes laissent supposer que le Pseudo-Salonus disposait du *Liber testimoniorum*. Nous voulons parler de certains passages de son commentaire où, de toute évidence il plagie un texte de Bède le Vénérable, qui est, lui-même, fortement influencé par Grégoire le Grand. Il arrive alors au Pseudo-Salonus d'introduire dans son commentaire l'un ou l'autre terme de Grégoire le Grand qui ne se trouve pas chez Bède le Vénérable<sup>38</sup>. Plusieurs indices nous incitent à croire que, dans de tels cas, c'est au *Liber testimoniorum* et non à l'œuvre même de Grégoire que le Pseudo-Salonus fait ces emprunts. Il convient, tout d'abord, de partir d'une constatation d'ordre général : comme le montre l'abbé R. Wasselynck, dans sa thèse sur *L'influence des Moralia in Job de S. Grégoire le Grand sur la théologie morale entre le VII<sup>e</sup> et le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*<sup>39</sup>, de nombreux auteurs du haut moyen âge ont pratiqué Grégoire surtout à travers Paterius. Rappelons, en outre, que, d'après l'état actuel de nos recherches, pour ainsi dire tous les textes de Grégoire, imités par le

<sup>38</sup> Un rapide coup d'œil sur les concordances n° 1, n° 11 et n° 18 permettra au lecteur de s'assurer de la réalité de ce fait. On pourrait, il est vrai, nous objecter que ces concordances sont susceptibles d'une autre interprétation, à condition d'admettre que Bède est postérieur aux deux autres écrivains. Dans cette hypothèse on pourrait, en effet, estimer que c'est Bède qui a compilé Grégoire et le Pseudo-Salonus. Nous croyons, cependant, que les autres arguments que nous développons dans notre article démontrent, de façon incontestable, que le Pseudo-Salonus est postérieur à Bède le Vénérable. Si tel est bien le cas, seule notre interprétation permet une lecture cohérente des concordances n° 1, n° 11 et n° 18.

<sup>39</sup> 439f., Lille, texte polycopié, 1956. Cf. *supra* note 37. Signalons qu'un résumé de la thèse de l'abbé R. Wasselynck a paru dans les *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, XXIX, 1962.

Pseudo-Salونیus dans son *Commentarius in Parabolas Salomonis*, se retrouvent soit dans les *excerpta* de Paterius soit dans le commentaire de Bède <sup>40</sup>. Enfin n'oublions pas que Grégoire le Grand n'a pas écrit de traité suivi sur les *Proverbes*. Pour lui emprunter directement telle expression isolée, le Pseudo-Salونیus aurait donc dû consulter les œuvres complètes de Grégoire le Grand. Il n'est guère nécessaire d'insister sur l'in vraisemblance d'une telle hypothèse. Aussi croyons-nous que c'est dans le *Liber testimoniorum* de Paterius que le Pseudo-Salونیus a puisé son complément d'information.

Les démonstrations que nous venons de faire nous permettent de définir pour le Pseudo-Salونیus une méthode de travail cohérente. Notre auteur anonyme écrit un abrégé du *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* de Bède le Vénérable, tout en ayant à portée de main le *Liber testimoniorum* de Paterius, qui vient compléter sa documentation sur tel ou tel point. Il semble donc que la date de la mort de Bède, survenue en 735, constitue pour l'œuvre de notre Pseudo-Salونیus un *terminus post quem*.

## II. Un nouveau terminus post quem.

Il nous reste à faire un dernier essai pour resserrer encore, si possible, notre fourchette chronologique, qui se situe désormais entre l'année 735 et l'an mille. Précisons, cependant, au seuil de cette nouvelle étape que, si nous croyons avoir démontré avec une certaine rigueur que le Pseudo-Salونیus a écrit son œuvre après Bède le Vénérable, nous devons, pour la suite de notre travail, introduire, à côté de preuves qui nous paraissent indubitables, quelques hypothèses qui comportent une part d'incertitude. Cela dit, nous estimons que la rédaction de notre commentaire suppose remplies deux conditions : l'auteur devait disposer du *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* de Bède le Vénérable et connaître la technique d'un genre littéraire qui a pris son essor à l'époque carolingienne, celui du dialogue du maître et du disciple.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *supra* p. 87-88.

A. OÙ ET QUAND NOTRE AUTEUR A-T-IL PU DISPOSER  
DU COMMENTAIRE SUR LES PROVERBES DE  
BÈDE LE VÉNÉRABLE ?

Pour découvrir comment l'auteur de notre *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* a pu connaître l'ouvrage de Bède le Vénérable, nous allons, d'abord, formuler une hypothèse sur la région où il a composé son œuvre. En parcourant la liste des manuscrits du Pseudo-Salonus nous avons été frappé de constater que, sur les treize manuscrits dont nous disposons, dix appartiennent au domaine germanique <sup>41</sup>, les trois autres provenant de Padoue <sup>42</sup>, de Côme <sup>43</sup> et de Prague <sup>44</sup>, c'est-à-dire de régions limitrophes de la Germanie. C'est encore en Germanie qu'Honorius, dit d'Autun, établira au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle une copie à peine modifiée de notre commentaire <sup>45</sup>. Il y a donc quelque probabilité que l'œuvre du Pseudo-Salonus ait été écrite dans ce pays. Si cette hypothèse est exacte, la date à laquelle le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* de Bède le Vénérable y a été importé nous fournira un nouveau *terminus post quem*. Or, grâce à la correspondance de Boniface, nous pouvons, au moins approximativement, déterminer cette date. A plusieurs reprises, en effet, ce dernier prie ses correspondants de lui faire parvenir des œuvres de Bède le Vénérable <sup>46</sup>. Dans l'une de ses lettres <sup>47</sup>, il demande explicitement qu'on veuille bien lui envoyer le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* de ce dernier. Boniface s'y exprime de la façon suivante : « Maintenant nous vous sou-

<sup>41</sup> *Augiensis* CCV ; *Vindobonensis* 1278 ; *Vindobonensis* 807 ; *Vindobonensis* 546 ; *Vindobonensis* 1064 ; *Vindobonensis* 1585 ; *Monacensis* 2689 ; *Berolinensis* 336 ; *Zwettlensis* 73 ; *Vorauensis* 277. Monsieur l'abbé Etaix me signale par lettre qu'il vient de découvrir un quatorzième manuscrit du Pseudo-Salonus. Il s'agit de *Monacensis* Clm 17155, f. 101-162 (XI<sup>e</sup> s., Scheftlarn).

<sup>42</sup> *Patauinus* 1781.

<sup>43</sup> *Comensis miscellaneus* 13.

<sup>44</sup> *Pragensis* 1296.

<sup>45</sup> *PL.*, 172, 311-332. Sur Honorius d'Autun, voir J. A. ENDRES, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, Kempten, 1906.

<sup>46</sup> *MGH, epist.*, tome III, lettre 75, p. 346-347 et lettre 76, p. 346-348.

<sup>47</sup> *MGH, epist.*, tome III, lettre 91, p. 376-377.

mettons un vœu qui nous est cher en vous demandant, pour nous réjouir dans notre détresse, de nous faire parvenir comme vous l'avez déjà fait auparavant, une parcelle ou plutôt une étincelle, prise au luminaire de l'Église que le Saint-Esprit a fait briller dans les contrées de votre province ; en nous exprimant ainsi, nous vous prions de bien vouloir nous envoyer n'importe quelle partie des traités composés et publiés par le prêtre Bède, exégète inspiré de l'Écriture Sainte. Adressez nous cependant, de préférence, si cela est possible, le livre qu'il a écrit à propos du lectionnaire, puisque pour nous prédicateurs ce dernier représente un instrument maniable, pratique et très utile, ainsi que son *Commentaire sur les Proverbes de Salomon*, car nous avons entendu dire qu'il en a composé un »<sup>48</sup>. Comme nous savons que cette lettre de Boniface a été écrite entre 746 et 754<sup>49</sup>, nous tenons là, selon toute probabilité, un nouveau *terminus post quem* pour notre commentaire. Il est, en effet, vraisemblable que le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* de Bède le Vénérable, qui constitue la source de l'œuvre du Pseudo-Salonus, ne se trouvait pas en Germanie avant cette date, puisque Boniface, le missionnaire de cette région, a demandé à un correspondant anglo-saxon de le lui envoyer.

#### B. L'OEUVRE DU PSEUDO-SALONIUS EST UN DIALOGUE ENTRE MAÎTRE ET DISCIPLE.

La définition du genre littéraire auquel appartient le commentaire du Pseudo-Salonus nous permettra d'aller au-delà de ce *terminus*. Dans sa série d'articles intitulée *La littérature patristique des Quaestiones et Responsiones sur l'Écri-*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* : « Modo enim inhiante desiderantes flagitamus ut nobis ad gaudium maioris nostri eo modo, quo et antea iam fecistis, aliquam particulam uel scintillam de candella ecclesiae, quam illuxit spiritus sanctus in regionibus prouinciae uestrae, nobis destinare curetis, id est : ut de tractatibus, quos spiritalis presbyter et inuestigator sanctarum scripturarum Beda reserando composuit, partem qualemcumque transmittere dignemini, maxime autem, si fore possit — quod nobis praedicantibus habile et manuale et utillimum esse uidetur — super lectionarium anniuersarium et proverbia Salomonis. Quia commentarios super illa eum condidisse audiuius ».

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *MGH, epist.*, tome III, lettre 91, p. 376.

ture Sainte <sup>50</sup>, G. Bardy, qui y traite, en particulier de Saloni-  
 us <sup>51</sup> réunit, sous un même titre, le genre traditionnel des  
*quaestiones et responsiones* et les œuvres qui relèvent, plus  
 précisément, du dialogue entre maître et disciple. Or, à  
 l'origine, les *quaestiones et responsiones* ne se présentaient  
 pas sous la forme d'un dialogue véritable. Il s'agissait de  
 réponses à des questions qui avaient été posées à l'auteur  
 soit à l'occasion d'une correspondance, soit au cours d'une  
 conversation <sup>52</sup>. Chaque question était suivie d'une réponse  
 unique. Tel n'est pas le cas pour l'œuvre du Pseudo-Saloni-  
 us où le caractère dialogué du texte est évident. C'est ainsi  
 que la personne qui pose la question ne se contente pas  
 d'une seule réponse. Après s'être informée du sens littéral  
 d'un verset, elle relance le débat en demandant quel est  
 le sens spirituel du même verset. Il s'agit là d'une technique  
 que le <sup>ve</sup> siècle semble avoir totalement ignorée, si l'on veut  
 bien admettre que l'œuvre dite de Saloni-  
 us n'appartient pas à ce siècle. Aussi G. Bardy a-t-il été amené à souligner  
 l'originalité de l'œuvre de celui qu'il croyait être Saloni-  
 us. Il écrit, en effet, à son propos : « Saloni-  
 us procède par manière  
 de dialogue. Entre son frère Veranus et lui s'engage une  
 conversation, Veranus posant les questions, Saloni-  
 us donnant les réponses : c'est, on le voit, une utilisation nouvelle du  
 genre des *Quaestiones*. Nous ne saurions du reste nous faire  
 d'illusions sur le caractère artificiel du dialogue ; on s'aper-  
 çoit, à le lire, qu'il a été composé méthodiquement suivant  
 l'ordre des chapitres qui doivent être expliqués et en notant  
 à fur et à mesure les questions difficiles ou seulement in-  
 téressantes. Le tout a l'allure d'un catéchisme ou d'un

<sup>50</sup> G. BARDY, *La littérature patristique des Quaestiones et Respon-  
 siones sur l'Écriture Sainte*, in *Revue Biblique*, tome 41, 1932, p. 210-  
 236 ; p. 341-369 ; p. 515-537 ; tome 42, 1933, p. 14-30 ; p. 211-229 ;  
 p. 328-352.

<sup>51</sup> G. BARDY, *ibid.*, tome 42, 1933, p. 20-22.

<sup>52</sup> Reconnaissons cependant avec M. C. CURTI (*Due Commentarii  
 inediti di Salonio ai Vangeli di Giovanni e di Matteo*, Torino, 1968,  
 p. 20, n. 18) qu'Eucher de Lyon suggère que ses *Instructiones* con-  
 stituent un dialogue quand il écrit : « iam nunc et interrogantem te  
 (sc. Salonium) et me (sc. Eucherium) respondentem recognosce »  
 (EUCHER, *opera*, pars I, rec. C. WOTKE, CSEL, 31, Vindobonae,  
 1894, p. 66).

premier livre de grammaire <sup>53</sup>. Comme nous le voyons, G. Bardy ne doute pas que notre œuvre soit réellement de Salonius de Genève. Il n'y a pas lieu de s'en étonner, si l'on songe qu'à l'exception de M. Curti, l'ensemble des éditeurs voient en Salonius et Veranus, son frère, les deux interlocuteurs du dialogue <sup>54</sup>. Or, en examinant les manuscrits, nous pouvons constater qu'aucun d'entre eux ne comporte la moindre trace de ces noms propres. C'est Brassicanus, le premier éditeur de l'œuvre, qui, de sa propre initiative, a substitué aux sigles des manuscrits les noms de Veranus et Salonius <sup>55</sup>. Les autres ont suivi. G. Bardy ne pouvait donc que constater avec quelque étonnement que Salonius faisait preuve d'originalité, en composant des dialogues qui ont l'allure d'un catéchisme ou d'un premier livre de grammaire.

En s'exprimant ainsi, Bardy définit, en fait, avec beaucoup de bonheur, un genre littéraire qui a pris son essor à l'époque

<sup>53</sup> G. BARDY, *ibid.*, tome 42, p. 20.

<sup>54</sup> Dans sa propre édition (p. 9\* n. 1 et p. 45\*) M. C. CURTI a dressé de ces éditions la liste suivante :

— D. Salonii Viennae Galliarum episcopi doctiss. ad Veranium fratrem dialogi duo in quorum priore Parabolas Salomonis, in altero autem Ecclesiasten interpretatur. Iohannis Alexander BRASSICANUS in lucem edidit, Haganoae, 1532, mense Februario.

— D. Salonii episcopi Viennensis in Parabolas Salomonis explicatio se ac Veranio fratre interloquutoribus, « Orthodoxographa Theologiae », 11, Basileae, deest tempus, at 1555.

— Salonii Viennensis Galliarum episcopi opuscula. In parabolas Salomonis explicatio mystica, Interloquutores Veranius et Salonius, « Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum » VIII, Lugduni, 1577.

— Salonii Viennensis Galliarum episcopi opuscula. Salonii Galliarum episcopi Viennensis in Parabolas Salomonis explicatio mystica, Interloquutores Veranius et Salonius. « Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum », 5, III, Coloniae, 1618.

— Salonii Viennensis Galliarum episcopi opuscula. Salonii Galliarum episcopi Viennensis in Parabolas Salomonis explicatio mystica, Interlocutores Veranius et Salonius, « Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum », I, Parisiis, 1624.

— Salonii Viennensis episcopi in Parabolas Salomonis expositio mystica, Interlocutores Veranius et Salonius, *PL*, 53, 1865.

<sup>55</sup> Sur les mobiles éventuels de Brassicanus, voir notre compte rendu de l'édition de M. Carmelo Curti, dans *RÉL*, tome XLIV-1966, p. 482-484.

carolingienne, celui du dialogue entre maître et disciple. Alcuin a été le promoteur de cette forme de littérature didactique <sup>56</sup>. Ses dialogues intitulés *De la rhétorique et des vertus* <sup>57</sup> et *De la dialectique* <sup>58</sup> mettent en scène Alcuin lui-même qui joue le rôle du maître et Charlemagne qui représente le disciple. Dans sa *Grammaire* <sup>59</sup> Alcuin donne la réplique à un jeune Saxon et à un jeune Franc. Passant du domaine profane à l'exégèse biblique, le même auteur a écrit des *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesim* <sup>60</sup> qui prennent l'allure d'un catéchisme. Le Pseudo-Salonus et Alcuin ont donc en commun de composer des dialogues qui font alterner questions et réponses et qui peuvent avoir pour objet l'exégèse de textes bibliques.

Pour montrer que le Pseudo-Salonus utilise la technique d'Alcuin, il faut cependant prouver que les deux interlocuteurs de notre *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* sont vraiment un maître et un disciple. L'étude des sigles que nous trouvons dans les manuscrits peut nous en fournir la preuve. Le plus souvent, le dialogue est introduit par les sigles INT. et R. (ou RESP.) <sup>61</sup> qu'il faut lire, à en croire un manuscrit <sup>62</sup> qui explicite le deuxième sigle, *Interrogatio* et *Responsio*. Or les dialogues d'Alcuin comportent les mêmes sigles et l'expression *interrogationes et responsiones* sert à désigner

<sup>56</sup> Cf. J. de GHELLINCK, *Littérature latine au moyen âge*, Paris, 1939, tome I, p. 111.

<sup>57</sup> PL, 101, 919-946 ; cf. M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, I, München, 1911, (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*) p. 282-283.

<sup>58</sup> PL, 101, 951-976 ; cf. M. MANITIUS, *ibid.*, p. 283-284.

<sup>59</sup> PL, 101, 849-902 ; cf. M. MANITIUS, *ibid.*, p. 280-281.

<sup>60</sup> PL, 100, 515-566.

<sup>61</sup> *Augiensis* CCV (x<sup>e</sup> siècle) ; *Vindobonensis* 1278 (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle), fol. 59<sup>v</sup>-fol. 60<sup>v</sup> ; *Monacensis* 2689 (xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle) ; *Berolinensis* 336 (xi<sup>e</sup> et xii<sup>e</sup> siècle) ; *Pragensis* 1269 (xv<sup>e</sup> siècle). Le manuscrit *Vindobonensis* 807 (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle) comporte les variantes suivantes : INT., INTR., INTER., INTERR., et R., RESP., RESPONSIO, RESPONS. Dans le manuscrit *Zwettlensis* 73 (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle) nous lisons I. et R. Les manuscrits *Vindobonensis* 546 (xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle) et *Vindobonensis* 1585 (xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle) ainsi que les manuscrits *Patauinus* 1781 (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle) et *Comensis miscellaneus* 13 (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle) ne comportent pas de sigle.

<sup>62</sup> *Vindobonensis* 807.

le dialogue entre maître et disciple <sup>63</sup>. Longtemps après avoir acquis la conviction que notre *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* appartient à ce genre littéraire, nous avons constaté, en relisant, une fois de plus, la préface de M. C. Curti, que d'autres manuscrits portent les sigles D. et M. c'est-à-dire *Discipulus* et *Magister* <sup>64</sup>. Nous avons vu là une confirmation décisive de notre point de vue. Il est, d'ailleurs, piquant de noter que le manuscrit transcrit par Brassicanus porte au début du texte *INT.* et *R.*, ensuite *D.* et *M.* <sup>65</sup>. Malgré cela, cet éditeur peu scrupuleux <sup>66</sup> n'a pas hésité à substituer aux sigles de son manuscrit les noms de Veranus et de Salonius.

Pour compléter notre argumentation, il convient de montrer que notre *Commentaire sur les Proverbes*, à l'instar des autres dialogues qui appartiennent au même genre littéraire <sup>67</sup>, constitue une sorte de manuel scolaire. En vue de cela, nous devons nous assurer, en premier lieu, que la matière traitée figurait au programme des écoles de l'époque carolingienne. La preuve nous en est donnée par Leidrade, évêque de Lyon, responsable d'une école cathédrale, qui écrit, dans un rapport adressé à Charlemagne : « De mes élèves, beaucoup sont déjà capables de retrouver le sens exact de l'évangile, d'autres y ajoutent le livre des apôtres, plusieurs arrivent à expliquer, au moins partiellement, le livre des prophètes, d'autres *les livres de Salomon*, le Psautier ou Job » <sup>68</sup>. Or, pour expliquer

<sup>63</sup> Cf., en particulier, *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesim*, PL, 100, 515-566 et, parmi les *opera dubia* d'Alcuin, la *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*, PL, 101, 1097-1144. Sigles utilisés : *INTER.* et *RESP.*

<sup>64</sup> *Vindobonensis 1278* (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle), à partir de fol. 60<sup>v</sup>, ligne 30, jusqu'à la fin ; *Vorauensis 247* (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle) ; *Vindobonensis 1064* (xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle). M. C. Curti n'a pas cherché à interpréter les sigles *D.* et *M.*

<sup>65</sup> *Vindobonensis 1278* (xii<sup>e</sup> siècle) : *INT.* et *R.* de fol. 59<sup>v</sup> à fol. 60<sup>v</sup>, ligne 29 ; *D.* et *M.* de fol. 60<sup>v</sup>, ligne 30, à la fin.

<sup>66</sup> Même M. C. CURTI en convient, puisqu'il écrit dans *Due commentarii inediti di Salonio ai uangeli di Giovanni e di Matteo*, Torino, 1968, p. 61 : « Noi non sapiamo su quali ragioni si fondasse il Brassicano nè facciamo gran conto della sua scrupolosità e della sua doctrina... ».

<sup>67</sup> A ce sujet, voir, en particulier, les pages que J. de GHELLINCK, dans sa *Littérature latine au moyen âge* a consacré aux grammaires et livres scolaires (Paris, 1939, tome I, p. 133ss.).

<sup>68</sup> *MGH, epist.*, tome IV, p. 542-543. Traduction de E. AMANN,



les *Proverbes*, les maîtres de l'époque avaient probablement recours au livre de Bède le Vénérable, qui constituait le premier commentaire suivi des *Proverbes*, rédigé en langue latine<sup>69</sup>. Cette œuvre était, cependant, trop volumineuse pour être mise entre les mains des élèves. Il fallait donc l'abrégé, la rendre maniable, bref en faire un manuel scolaire. Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant qu'un écolâtre, peut-être obscur, ait songé à faire ce travail en ne retenant que les versets essentiels des *Proverbes* et en ne gardant des exégèses souvent multiples de Bède le Vénérable qu'une seule explication littérale et une seule explication allégorique. Le tout aura été mis sous forme de dialogue, comme l'exigeait la technique des manuels scolaires de l'époque. Telle nous semble avoir été la genèse de notre *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* qui, selon toute probabilité, appartient donc au genre littéraire du dialogue entre maître et disciple.

#### C. LE PSEUDO-SALONIUS A ÉCRIT SON OEUVRE EN GERMANIE, À L'ÉPOQUE CAROLINGIENNE.

Si l'hypothèse que nous avons osé formuler au sujet de sa localisation est conforme à la vérité, notre œuvre n'a vu le jour qu'après l'introduction en Germanie de la technique littéraire du dialogue entre maître et disciple. Or la liaison entre Alcuin, promoteur de ce genre didactique, et la Germanie a été établie surtout par Raban Maur<sup>70</sup>. Né vers

*L'époque carolingienne (Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, VI), Paris, 1947, p. 103.*

<sup>69</sup> Les commentaires sur les *Proverbes* écrits en latin sont relativement rares. Jusqu'à présent Salonijs était considéré comme le premier commentateur latin de ce livre de la Bible. Après Bède le Vénérable, Alcuin aurait, à en croire l'*Histoire littéraire de la France*, tome IV, p. 336, également écrit un commentaire sur les *Proverbes*. Le commentaire de Bède lui-même a été attribué à Raban Maur (cf. *infra*, note 76). Voir la liste des commentaires sur les *Proverbes* à l'art. *Proverbes* du *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (2<sup>e</sup> éd.), tome V, Paris, 1912, col. 801-802.

<sup>70</sup> Sur Raban Maur voir, en particulier : M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter*, I, München, 1911, p. 288-302 et H. PELTIER, art. *Raban Maur* du *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, fasc. CXVIII, Paris, 1936, col. 1601-1620.

780, ce dernier, après avoir suivi des cours à l'école monastique de Fulda, a fait, à deux reprises, des séjours prolongés à Tours auprès d'Alcuin. Il est même devenu l'un de ses disciples préférés, puisque c'est Alcuin qui, en souvenir d'un disciple de saint Benoît, a donné à Raban le surnom de Maurus <sup>71</sup>. De retour à Fulda quelque temps avant la mort d'Alcuin survenue en 804 <sup>72</sup>, Raban Maur enseigne à l'école monastique de cette ville dont il a considérablement enrichi la bibliothèque <sup>73</sup>. Plusieurs indices pourraient nous inciter à voir en Raban Maur l'auteur de notre commentaire. Comme Alcuin et notre écolâtre anonyme, il a, en effet, écrit au moins un de ses livres, son *De computo*, sous la forme de questions et de réponses <sup>74</sup>. Dans de nombreux passages de ses œuvres, il a, en outre, plagié Bède sans indiquer sa source <sup>75</sup>. Enfin il est curieux de noter que le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* de Bède le Vénérable lui a été attribué par erreur <sup>76</sup>. Il est, cependant, évident que de tels indices sont

<sup>71</sup> Cf. MANITIUS, *ibid.*, p. 288-289.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. H. PELTIER, *ibid.*, col. 1601 : « Alcuin mourut en 804 ; un billet de lui adressé à Maur, 'benoît enfant de saint Benoît', nous indique que le disciple était rentré à Fulda, avant la mort du maître, et que déjà il y enseignait. 'Valeas feliciter cum pueris tuis'. PL, 100, 399 ».

<sup>73</sup> Cf. M. MANITIUS, *ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>74</sup> M. MANITIUS, *ibid.*, p. 290, écrit au sujet du *De computo* : « Auch hier tritt Alchuines Einfluss deutlich hervor, denn die Schrift ist in dialogischer Form als Unterhaltung von Lehrer und Schüler verfasst ».

<sup>75</sup> Cf. M. MANITIUS, *ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* n° 1351. Sur l'attribution du *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* à Bède le Vénérable voir également : P. VACCARI, *Le antiche vite di S. Girolamo* (dans *Miscellanea Geronimiana*, 1920, 1-18), p. 5-7 et J. SCHILDENBERGER, *Die Altlateinischen Texte des Proverbien-Buches*, Beuron, 1941, p. 146. Il semble cependant que le commentaire de Bède ait été diffusé en Allemagne sous le nom de Raban Maur. Voir à ce propos : K. CHRIST, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert* (64. Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen), Leipzig, 1933, p. 28, p. 95 et p. 260. Il arrive, en effet, à Raban Maur de publier sous son nom des œuvres entières d'un autre exégète. C'est ainsi qu'il recopia le *Commentaire sur Ezéchiel* de saint Jérôme. « Totidem uerbis Hieronymi commentarios descripsit » écrit à ce sujet D. VALLARSI, *S. Hieronymi opera*, tome V, col. 2, adnot. a. Cf. également F. GLORIE dans la préface de son édi-

trop fragiles pour nous permettre d'en conclure que Raban Maur est réellement l'auteur de notre commentaire. Nous pensons simplement que le « *praeceptor Germaniae* » a introduit dans son pays la technique du dialogue entre maître et disciple et que notre œuvre, qui appartient à ce genre littéraire, est donc postérieure à l'année 800, date approximative du retour de Raban Maur en Germanie.

En l'état actuel de nos recherches, nous devons renoncer à resserrer davantage notre fourchette chronologique qui s'étend maintenant de l'année 800 à l'année 1000. Contentons-nous de dire qu'il est probable que notre commentaire se situe peu après notre *terminus post quem*. Selon toute vraisemblance, il s'agit, en effet, d'une œuvre de la « renaissance carolingienne ». Le genre littéraire utilisé et la pureté relative de la langue du Pseudo-Salونیus ne permettent guère de songer à une œuvre de la fin du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle ou du x<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Nous avons fondé notre démonstration sur le seul *Commentarius in Parabolas Salomonis* du Pseudo-Salونیus. Il ne fait, cependant, pas de doute, comme le montre M. C. Curti <sup>77</sup>, que le *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, le *De euangelio Matthaei* et le *De euangelio Iohannis* qui ont une tradition manuscrite commune avec le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* sont de la plume du même auteur. Nous disposons ainsi de quatre œuvres anonymes de l'époque carolingienne qui viennent enrichir notre connaissance du genre littéraire du dialogue entre maître et disciple.

### Conclusion

Le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* que nous venons d'étudier nous a montré combien il est important pour toute recherche de remonter aux sources. Dans notre cas, Brassicanus, qui n'a pas hésité à inscrire, sans raison valable, le

tion du *Commentaire sur Ezéchiel* de saint Jérôme, CC, 75, Turnhout, 1964, p. IX.

<sup>77</sup> C. CURTI, *Due commentarii inediti di Salonio ai uangeli di Giovanni e di Matteo*, Torino, 1968. Cf. notre compte rendu de ce livre dans *RÉL*, tome XLVI-1968, p. 481-482.

nom de Salonius sur un manuscrit et qui a substitué aux sigles *INT.* et *R.* les noms de Salonius et Veranus, a trompé les savants pendant des siècles. Ces derniers lui ont, en effet, emboîté le pas, sans mettre sa parole en doute. Pourtant tout invitait à la méfiance. La forme dialoguée de cette œuvre exégétique ne permettait guère de la dater du <sup>v</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle. La parenté, il est vrai ignorée, de certains passages de notre œuvre avec des extraits de Grégoire le Grand faisait de ce pape un plagiaire servile de l'obscur Salonius. En redressant cette erreur et en situant le Pseudo-Salonius entre Grégoire et Bède, nous sommes tombé sur une autre invraisemblance. Il était, en effet, peu probable que Bède le Vénérable eût pris notre Pseudo-Salonius comme intermédiaire entre lui-même et son maître préféré, Grégoire le Grand. La vérité est tout autre. Bède a plagié Grégoire, alors que le Pseudo-Salonius a fait une adaptation scolaire du commentaire volumineux de Bède.

Dans ces conditions, la forme dialoguée de notre œuvre exégétique trouve une explication cohérente et le *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* du Pseudo-Salonius vient prendre place parmi les dialogues entre maître et disciple qui, à l'époque carolingienne, ont été mis à la mode par Alcuin. Les sigles *D.* et *M.* qui figurent dans certains manuscrits confirment cette hypothèse. Jusque là nos conclusions nous semblent avoir une rigueur scientifique. Pour le reste, nous avons osé formuler quelques hypothèses : nous voyons dans notre œuvre un texte rédigé en Germanie, après le retour de Raban Maur à Fulda, c'est-à-dire après l'an 800. Nous sommes cependant, pour le moment, incapable d'identifier l'écolâtre qui a entrepris d'écrire pour ses élèves l'abrégé du *Commentaire sur les Proverbes* de Bède le Vénérable, attribué par la tradition à Salonius.

## Concordance n° 1.

*Proverbes 3, 32* : « Abominatio domini est omnis illusor et cum simplicibus est sermocinatio eius ».

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
<i>Paterius, Testimonia Greg.</i>	<i>In Parab.</i>	<i>In Parab.</i>
<i>PL</i> , 79, 895 B	<i>PL</i> , 91, 954 AB	Curti, 7, 169-171
<i>Cum simplicibus</i> igitur sermocinari, dicitur, quia de supernis mysteriis <i>illorum</i> mentes radio sui doni <i>illuminat</i> quos nulla umbra <i>duplicitatis</i> obseruat.	« <i>ET cum simplicibus</i> <b>SERMOCINATIO EIUS</b> ». ...Sermocinatio autem Domini cum simplicibus est, <b>QUIA illos CAELESTIS SAPIENTIA</b> secretis illustrat quos terreni fastus ac simplicitatis <b>NIL HABERE</b> considerat.	Omnes hos tales abominatur dominus « <i>ET cum simplicibus</i> est <b>SERMOCINATIO EIUS</b> » <b>QUIA illos</b> gratia <b>CAELESTIS SAPIENTIAE</b> <i>illuminat</i> qui <b>NIHIL</b> in se <b>duplicitatis</b> <b>HABENT</b> .
Grégoire, <i>Reg. Past.</i> pars III, cap. XI, admon. 12, <i>PL</i> 77, 65-66.		
<i>Variantes</i> :		
sui doni] suae uisitationis obseruat] obscurat.		

## Légende :

*Cum* (italiques) = mots communs aux trois auteurs.

**ACCEPTA** (majuscules) = mots communs à Grégoire le Grand et à Bède le Vénérable à l'exclusion du Pseudo-Salonus.

**SERMOCINATIO** (majuscules grasses) = mots communs à Bède et au Pseudo-Salonus à l'exclusion de Grégoire.

**duplicitatis** (minuscules grasses) = mots communs au Pseudo-Salonus et à Grégoire à l'exclusion de Bède.

## Concordance n° 2.

*Proverbes 5, 9 : « Ne des alienis honorem tuum et annos tuos crudeli ».*

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Saloni
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 896 C	<i>PL</i> , 91, 957 B	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 10, 205-208
Qui namque a nobis alieni sunt, nisi maligni <i>spiritus</i> , qui a caelestis sunt patriae sorte separati. Quis uero <i>honor</i> noster est, nisi quia etiam in luteis corporibus conditi, <i>ad</i> conditoris tamen nostri <i>sumus imaginem</i> et similitudinem <i>creati</i> ?	Ne <i>honorem</i> <b>QUO</b> <i>ad imaginem DEI</i> <i>creatus es</i> , <b>IMMUNDORUM spirituum uoluntatibus <b>SUBDAS</b>...</b>	De honore dicit quo factus est homo ad imaginem dei; alienos daemones appellat, et est sensus : Ne <i>honorem</i> tuum, <b>QUO</b> <i>ad imaginem DEI</i> <i>creatus es</i> , male uiuendo <b>SUBDAS IMMUNDIS spiritibus</b> .
Grégoire, <i>Reg. Past.</i> , pars III, cap. XII, adm. 13, <i>PL</i> , 77, 67 AB		
<i>Variantes :</i> a nobis alieni sunt] alieni a nobis sunt quia etiam in luteis] quia in luteis		

## Concordance n° 3.

*Proverbes 5, 9 : « Ne des alienis honorem tuum et annos tuos crudeli » (suite).*

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Saloni
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 896 C	<i>PL</i> , 91, 957 B	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 10, 211-213
<b>Annos</b> etiam suos <b>crudeli</b> <b>tradit</b> , qui ad uoluntatem male dominantis <b>ADUERSARI</b> <b>ACCEPTA UIUENDI spatia</b> <b>EXPENDIT</b> .	...neque <b>ACCEPTA UIUENDI spatia</b> ad libitum <b>ADUERSARI</b> immitis <b>EXPENDAS</b> .	<b>Annos</b> uocat spatia ; <b>crudelern</b> , diabolum, et est sensus : <i>Spatia</i> uitae, quae dedit deus, male uiuendo ne <b>tradas</b> diabolo.
Grégoire, <i>Reg. Past.</i> , pars III, cap. XII, adm. 13, <i>PL</i> , 77, 67 B		
Même texte.		

## Concordance n° 4.

*Proverbes* 5, 16-17 : « Deriuentur fontes tui foras et in plateis aquas tuas diuide ;  
Habeto eas solus nec sint alieni participes tui ».

## Grégoire

Paterius, *Testimonia Greg.*  
*PL*, 79, 897 A

Valde contraria uidentur  
esse quae dicit « Deriuentur  
fontes tui foras et in plateis  
aquas diuide », cum protin-  
us adiungit : « Habeto eas  
solus nec sint alieni parti-  
cipes ». Quomodo enim  
aquam scientiae solus ha-  
bere poterit, si hanc in  
plateis diuidit? Quomodo  
alieni aquarum eius parti-  
cipes non sunt, si fontes il-  
lius foras deriuantur?

Grégoire, *Hom. in Ezech.* I,  
XII, 12, *PL*, 76, 923 A

## Variantes :

Valde] Valde autem  
participes] participes tui  
aquarum] aquae

## Bède

## Pseudo-Salonus

## In Parab.

Curti, 12, 228-233

Quare dicit Salomon « De-  
riuentur fontes tui foras et  
in plateis aquas tuas diui-  
de, cum statim subiungat  
« Habeto eas solus nec sunt  
alieni participes tui »? Si  
fontes nostros foras de-  
riuamus et in plateis  
aquas diuidimus, quomo-  
do soli eas habere pos-  
sumus?

## Concordance n° 5.

*Proverbes* 5, 16-17 : « Deriuentur fontes tui foras et in plateis aquas tuas diuide ;  
Habeto eas solus nec sint alieni participes tui » (suite).

## Grégoire

## Bède

## Pseudo-Salonus

Paterius, *Test. Greg.*  
*PL*, 79, 897 A

Paterius, *Test. Greg.*  
*PL*, 79, 897 C

Fontes namque fo-  
ras deriuare est ex-  
terius aliis uim  
praedicationis in-  
fundere...

Sed cum praedica-  
mus in populis, ni-  
mirum in plateis  
diuidimus...

## In Parab.

Curti, 12, 237-239.

Fontes ergo nostros  
foras deriuamus  
cum aliis uim prae-  
dicationis infundi-  
mus, cum uerba sa-  
crae scripturae aliis  
annuntiamus ; in  
plateis aquas diui-  
dimus, cum popu-  
lis praedicamus.

Grég., *Hom. in Ezech.* I, XII, 12,  
*PL*, 76, 923 A

Grég., *Reg. Past.*,  
pars III, cap. XXIV,  
adm. 25, *PL*, 77, 95 C

## Variante :

Même texte.

in populis] populis

## Concordance n° 6.

*Proverbes* 5, 16-17 : « Deriuentur fontes tui foras et in plateis aquas tuas diuide ;

Habeto eas solus nec sint alieni participes tui » (suite).

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 897 A ... quia in auditorum multitudinem uerba scientiae dilatamus.	Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 897 C In plateis autem aquas diuidere est in magna auditorum AMPLITUDE iuxta uniuscuiusque qualitatem diuina eloquia dispensare.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 12, 240-243 In plateis ergo aquas diuidimus quando in multitudine auditorum uerba scientiae dilatamus et iuxta uniuscuiusque qualitatem diuina eloquia dispensamus.
Grég., <i>Hom. in Ezech.</i> I, XII, 12, <i>PL</i> , 76, 923 A Variante : uerba scientiae] scientiae uerba	Greg., <i>Reg. Past.</i> , pars III, cap. XXIV, adm. 25, <i>PL</i> 77, 95 C Même texte.	

## Concordance n° 7.

*Proverbes* 5, 16-17 : « Deriuentur fontes tui foras et in plateis aquas tuas diuide ;

Habeto eas solus nec sint alieni participes tui » (suite).

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 897 CD Aguas ergo in plateis diuidimus et tamen soli POSSIDEMUS quando EXTERIUS late praedicationem FUNDIMUS ET TAMEN PER EAM humanas laudes assequi MINIME AMBIMUS.	<i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 91, 958 D Aguas et in plateis diuidimus et tamen soli POSSIDEMUS quando et EXTERIUS late praedicationem FUNDIMUS ET TAMEN PER EAM laudes humanas consequi MINIME AMBIMUS.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 12, 246-248 Aguas in plateis diuidimus quando aliis uerba diuina late praedicamus et tamen soli aquas habemus quia de ipsa praedicatione humanas laudes non quaerimus.

Grég. *Reg. Past.*, pars III, cap. XXIV, adm. 25, *PL*, 77, 96 A  
Variantes :  
ergo] ergo et  
quando] quando et



## Concordance n° 8.

*Proverbes* 5, 16-17 : « Deriuentur fontēs tui foras et in plateis aquas tuas diuide ;  
 . Habeto eas solus nec sint alieni participes tui » (suite).

## Grégoire

## Bède

## Pseudo-Salonus

Paterius, *Test. Greg.*,  
*PL*, 79, 897 B  
 Cum uero nos adiuan-  
 te diuina gratia  
 intrinsecus custodi-  
 mus, et maligni spi-  
 ritus qui uere a no-  
 bis alieni sunt, quia  
 sortem beatitudinis  
 perdiderunt, ne nobis  
 in ELATIONE subri-  
 piant, sollicitudine  
 cauta circumspeci-  
 mus, soli habemus  
 aquas, quas in pla-  
 teis diuidimus, ut no-  
 bis in eis *alieni* PAR-  
 TICIPES non sint. Il-  
 li nimirum de qui-  
 bus scriptum est :  
 « *Alieni insurrexe-  
 runt in me et fortes  
 quaesierunt ani-  
 mam meam* » (Ps.  
 LIII, 5).

Paterius, *Test. Greg.*,  
*PL*, 79, 897 C  
*Alienos* quippe ma-  
 lignos spiritus uocat  
 de quibus per Pro-  
 phetam tentati ho-  
 minis uoce dicitur :  
 « *Alieni insurrexe-  
 runt in me et fortes  
 quaesierunt ani-  
 mam meam* » (Ps.  
 LIII, 5). Ait ergo :  
 « Aquas in plateis  
 diuide et tamen so-  
 lus bibe ». Ac si a-  
 pertius dicat : Si ne-  
 cesse est ut praedica-  
 tioni exterius seruias  
 quatenus per ELA-  
 TIONEM te IMMUNDIS  
 SPIRITIBUS non con-  
 iungas, ne in diuini  
 uerbi ministerio hos-  
 tes tuos ad te PARTI-  
 CIPES admittas.

*In Parab.*  
*PL*, 91, 958 D  
 « Nec sint *alieni* par-  
 ticipes tui ». IMMUNDI  
 SPIRITUS PARTICIPES  
 fiunt doctoris, si eius  
 mentem uel fastu  
 ELATIONIS, dum  
 praedicat, uel haere-  
 si, uel alio quolibet  
 uitio corrumpunt.

*In Parab.*  
*Curti*, 12, 250-2.  
*Alienos* uocat dae-  
 mones de quibus  
 psalmista dicit :  
 « *Alieni insurrexe-  
 runt super me et  
 fortes quaesierunt  
 animam meam* ».

Grég., *Hom. in*  
*Ezech.* I, XII, 12,  
*PL*, 76, 923 AB

Grég., *Reg. Past.*,  
 pars III, cap. XXIV,  
 adm. 25,  
*PL*, 77, 95-96

## Variantes :

et maligni] et ne ma-  
 ligni  
 uere] iure  
 ne nobis] nobis  
 III] Hi

## Variantes :

Aquas in] Aquas et  
 in  
 bibe] habe

## Concordance n° 9.

*Proverbes 6, 12 : « Homo apostata uir inutilis graditur ore peruerso ».*

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> PL, 79, 898 C Ecce quem SEMINANTEM IURGIA DICERE UOLUIT, PRIUS APOSTATAM NOMINAUIT, quia NISI more superbientis angeli a CONSPECTU conditoris prius intus AUERSIONE mentis caderet, FORAS POSTMODUM USQUE AD SEMINANDA iurgia non UENIRET.	<i>In Parab.</i> PL, 91, 961 A Ubi notandum quia quem SEMINANTEM IURGIA DICERE UOLUIT, PRIUS APOSTATAM NOMINAUIT, quia NISI more superbientis angeli a CONSPECTU conditoris prius intus AUERSIONE mentis caderet, FORAS POSTMODUM USQUE AD SEMINANDA iurgia non UENIRET.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 13, 266-269 Quia more superbientis angeli intus prius intumescit et cadit a mentis suae statu et sic ab amore sui conditoris et a ueritate recedit. Nisi enim prius a ueritate recederet in ecclesia iurgia non disseminaret.

Grég., *Reg. Past.*, pars III,  
cap. XXIII, adm. 24,  
PL, 77, 92 B  
Même texte.

## Concordance n° 10.

*Proverbes 6, 13 : « Annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur ».*

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> PL, 79, 898 CD QUI RECTE describitur QUOD « annuit oculis, digito loquitur, terit pede ». <i>Interior</i> NAMQUE est custodia quae ordinata seruat exterius membra. QUI ergo statum mentis perdidit, subsequenter FORAS INCONSTANTIA MOTIONIS FLUIT, ATQUE interiori MOBILITATE INDICAT, QUOD NULLA INTERIUS RADICE SUBSISTAT.	<i>In Parab.</i> PL, 91, 961 AB QUI RECTE DICTUR QUOD « annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur ». <i>Interior</i> NAMQUE est custodia quae ordinata seruat exterius membra. QUI ergo statum mentis perdidit, in INCONSTANTIAM MOTIONIS, FORAS FLUIT, ATQUE exteriori MOBILITATE INDICAT, QUOD NULLA RADICE INTERIUS SUBSISTAT.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 13, 270-275 Cur ergo de illo DICTUR : « Annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur ? » <i>Interior</i> , id est mentis, custodia est quae membra exterius seruat ordinata ; hic ergo apostata quia statum et custodia mentis perdidit, idcirco omnia membra exteriora habere meretur inordinata.

Grég., *Reg. Past.*, pars III,  
cap. XXIII, adm. 24,  
PL 77, 92 BC

*Variantes :*  
inconstantia] in inconstantiam  
interiori] exteriori

## Concordance n° 11.

*Proverbes* 9, 1 : « Sapientia aedificauit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem ».

## Grégoire

Paterius, *Testimonia Greg.*  
*PL*, 79, 899 D  
*Sapientia* quippe *domum*  
*sibi* condidit cum unigenitus  
*Dei Filius* in semetipso in-  
 tra *uterum Virginis*, me-  
 diante anima, humanum si-  
 bi corpus *creauit*.

Grég., *Moralia*, XXXIII,  
 cap. XVI, n° 32,  
*PL*, 76, 693 B  
 Même texte.

## Bède

*In Parab.*  
*PL*, 91, 966 C  
 Quia aeternitate diuinitatis  
 sufficienter dixerat, addit  
 et de *ASSUMPTA* humanitate  
 dicere : « *Sapientia* » igitur  
 « *AEDIFICAUIT sibi domum* »,  
*QUIA* hominem *Filius Dei*,  
*QUEM IN UNITATE SUAE PERSO-*  
*NAE* susciperet, *IPSE creauit*.

## Pseudo-Salونیus

*In Parab.*  
*Curti*, 17, 325-327  
*Sapientia*, id est *dei filius*,  
 dominus Iesus Christus, *AE-*  
*DIFICAUIT sibi domum, QUIA*  
*IPSE creauit* hominem in  
*utero uirginis QUEM IN*  
*UNITATE SUAE PERSONAE AD-*  
*SUMPSIT*

## Concordance n° 12.

*Proverbes* 9, 1 : « Sapientia aedificauit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem » (suite).

## Grégoire

Paterius, *Testimonia Greg.*  
*PL*, 79, 900 A  
 Quod tamen recte aliter  
 accipitur, si *domus sapien-*  
*tiae ecclesia* uocetur.

Grég., *Moralia*, XXXIII,  
 cap. XVI, n° 32,  
*PL*, 76, 693 C  
 Variante :  
 aliter] et aliter

## Bède

*In Parab.*  
*PL*, 91, 966 C  
 Vel certe *sapientiae domus*  
*ecclesia CHRISTI EST, COLUM-*  
*NAE AUTEM DOCTORES SANC-*  
*TAE Ecclesiae SEPTIFORMI*  
*SPIRITU* pleni, quales fuere  
 Iacobus, Cephas et Ioan-  
 nes ;...

## Pseudo-Salونیus

*In Parab.*  
*Curti*, 17, 334-337  
 Vere potest : *sapientiae do-*  
*mus ecclesia CHRISTI EST ;*  
*COLUMNAE AUTEM domus*  
*huius, SANCTI DOCTORES.*  
 Quae columnae septem esse  
 dicuntur quia sancti doc-  
 tores repleti sunt *SEPTI-*  
*FORMI* gratia sancti *SPIRI-*  
*TUS*.

## Concordance n° 13.

*Proverbes 9, 1* : « Sapiencia aedificauit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem » (suite).

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonius
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 900 A Quae septem columnas excidit, quia ab amore praesentis saeculi disiunctas ad portandam eiusdem Ecclesiae fabricam mentes prae-dicantium erexit.	<i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 91, 966 D ... qui nimirum columnas sapientia excidit, quia ab amore praesentis saeculi disiunctas, ad portandam eiusdem Ecclesiae fabricam mentes prae-dicantium erexit.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 17, 339-341 Excidit enim columnas quia mentes praedicatorum ab amore praesentis saeculi separauit et erexit eas ad portandam eiusdem ecclesiae fabricam.

Grég., *Moralia*, XXXIII,  
cap. XVI, n° 32,  
*PL*, 76, 693 C

Variante :  
septem] septem sibi

## Concordance n° 14.

*Proverbes 9, 3* "Misit ancillas suas ut uocarent ad arcem et ad moenia ciuitatis".

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonius
Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> , <i>PL</i> , 79, 899 C MISIT ancillas SUAS, apostolorum uidelicet animas, in ipso suo initio infirmas ut uocarent ad arcem et moenia ciuitatis supernae, quia, dum aeternam uiam denuntiant, ad alta nos moenia SUPERNAE ciuitatis leuant.	Paterius, <i>Test. Greg.</i> , <i>PL</i> , 79, 900 A Ancillas etiam SUAS MISIT quae ad arcem nos atque ad ciuitatis moenia uocarent, quia prae-dicatores infirmos abiectosque habere studuit, qui fideles populos ad spiritalis PATRIAE AEDIFICIA SUPERNA COLLIGERENT.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 17, 345-351 Resp. Ancillas uocat sanctos apostolos. Int. Quare uocat eos ancillas? Resp. Propter insipientiam, infirmitatem et paupertatem, quia idiotas, infirmos, pauperes et despectos ELEGIT apostolos quos ad praedicandum misit in mundum ut fideles populos uocarent ad arcem aeternae beatitudinis et ad moenia Hierusalem CAELESTIS,
Grég., <i>Mor.</i> , XVII, cap. XXIX, n° 43, <i>PL</i> , 76, 31 B Variantes : supernae] deest aeternam uiam] in-ternam uitam	Grég., <i>Mor.</i> , XXXIII, cap. XVI, n° 32, <i>PL</i> , 76, 693 CD Variantes : ad] deest spiritalis] spiritalis	

## Concordance n° 15.

*Proverbes* 11, 21 : « Manus in manu, non erit innocens malus ».

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 901 C <i>Manus enim manui iungi</i> solet, quando quiescit in otio, et nullus eam in usus laboris exercet. « <i>Manus</i> », ergo, « <i>in manu non erit innocens malus</i> ». Ac si diceret : Et cum <i>manus</i> cessat ab iniquo opere, malus tamen non est innocens per cogitationem.	<i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 91, 972 D <i>QUI manum iungit in manu, NIL UTIQUE OPERATUR.</i> Sed « <i>manus in manu, non erit innocens malus, QUIA ETSI</i> ab impia actione manus AD horam SUBTRAHIT, CORDIS tamen INNOCENTIAM malus HABERE NON ualet.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 21, 400-405 <i>QUI manum iungit ad manum NIHIL UTIQUE OPERATUR ; malus</i> ergo quamdiu fuerit <i>manus in manu non erit innocens QUIA, ETSI AD</i> tempus SUBTRAHIT manus ab opere malo, tamen quamdiu malus est INNOCENTIAM CORDIS HABERE NON potest ; unde superius dicit : « Abominabile est domino cor prauum ».
Grég., <i>Moralia</i> , XXV, cap. V, n° 7, <i>PL</i> , 76, 323 C Variante : in usus] usus		

## Concordance n° 16.

*Proverbes* 11, 25 « Anima quae benedicit impinguabitur et qui inebriat ipse quoque inebriatur ».

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 902 <i>QUI</i> enim nimirum <i>exterius praedicando benedicit</i> , interioris AUGMENTI pinguedinem RECIPIT.	<i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 91, 973 C <i>QUI exterius praedicando benedicit</i> , interioris AUGMENTI pinguedinem RECIPIT.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 23, 436-439 Non dicit hoc de corporali ebrietate sed de spiritali ; anima quae benedicit impinguabitur quia quicumque <i>exterius praedicando benedicit</i> , spiritalem pinguedinem accipit, id est gratia spiritali augetur et crescit.
Grég., <i>Reg. Past.</i> , pars III, cap. XXV, adm. 26, <i>PL</i> , 76, 97 B Variante : nimirum] deest		

## Concordance n° 17.

*Proverbes* 11, 25 : « Anima quae benedicit impinguabitur et qui inebriat ipse quoque inebriatur ».

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 902 A ET DUM uino eloquii auditorum mentem DEBRIARE NON DESINIT, POTU MULTIPLICATI MUNERIS DEBRIATUS EXCRESCIT.	<i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 91, 973 C ET DUM SACRO eloquio mentem auditorum DEBRIARE NON DESINIT, POTU MULTIPlici MUNERIS DEBRIATUS EXCRESCIT.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 23, 440-442 Similiter qui SACRO eloquio mentes auditorum studet inebriare, inebriatur et ipse quia sancti spiritus infusione repletur.
Grég., <i>Reg. Past.</i> , pars III, cap. XXV, adm. 26, <i>PL</i> , 77, 97 B Même texte.		

## Concordance n° 18.

*Proverbes* 11, 26 : « Qui abscondit frumenta maledicetur in populis ».

Grégoire	Bède	Pseudo-Salonus
Paterius, <i>Testimonia Greg.</i> <i>PL</i> , 79, 902 BC <b>Frumenta</b> quippe abscondere est praedicationis sanctae apud se uerba retinere. In populis autem talis quisque maledicetur, quia IN SOLIUS culpa silentii pro multorum, QUOS CORRIGERE potuit poena DAMNATUR.	<i>In Parab.</i> <i>PL</i> , 91, 973 C Qui sanctae praedicationis apud se uerba retinet, talis maledicetur in populis, quia IN SOLIUS culpa silentii pro multorum QUOS CORRIGERE potuit poena DAMNATUR.	<i>In Parab.</i> Curti, 24, 456-462 <b>Frumenta</b> uerba sunt sanctae praedicationis ; ergo quicumque abscondit haec frumenta, id est uerba sanctae praedicationis apud se retinet et non uult aliis annuntiare diuina eloquia, iste maledicetur in populis quia pro culpa silentii condemnabitur quoniam multis prodesse potuit, sed quia noluit, ideo pro multorum poena iuste punietur.
Grég., <i>Reg. Past.</i> , pars III, cap. XXV, adm. 26, <i>PL</i> , 77, 96 C Variante : quippe] quidem		

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# Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis

by

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I intend these remarks to assist readers who use the edition of Bede's *Libri Quatuor in Principium Genesis* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXVIII A, 1967), herein called *In Gen.* As I stated in the Introduction to that edition (pp. vi-x), Bede's commentary is in fact two separate works. He composed what is now Book I, the hexaëmeron, long before Books II-IV. Book I is a young teacher's didactic presentation of patristic accounts of Creation, simplifying and modifying without distorting Augustine's cosmology. On the other hand, Books II-IV are mature, personal, and homiletic.

## I. PURPOSE AND TONE

### A. GENESIS AS GOD'S WORD ON NATURE AND GRACE

Bede is the Father of English Letters, of English History, and of English Exegesis. All three roles flavor his comment upon Creation, Genesis. It is itself the genesis of a tradition which includes the *Old English Hexameron*, the Caedmonian *Genesis*, Aelfric's and Darwin's prose expositions, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Bede owed his primary intellectual debt to Augustine, who could not keep his mind and his pen from playing over Genesis. Like Augustine, Bede saw the problem of *time* as a crux in Christian doctrine, and primordial matter

as a crux in Christian science. The mature Bede appreciated more intensely than did most Augustinians why Genesis occupies the central position in the *Confessions*, and later in the anti-Pelagian discussions of predestination and election <sup>1</sup>.

My rubric repeats the title of Augustine's central anti-Pelagian tract, *De natura et gratia*. It is a tract which presumably Bede did not know <sup>2</sup>. But though the rubric points, perhaps deceptively, to Bede's ardent Augustinianism, it also calls attention to some rather significant differences. Bede is commonly stated to be as anti-Pelagian as Augustine <sup>3</sup>. But Dr. Schütt has already indicated that though he may have adhered to Augustine in his Scriptural commentaries, he definitely did not in his hagiological and historical writings <sup>4</sup>. Though Bede characteristically refuted heresy and

<sup>1</sup> J. DANÉLOU, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (trans. from *Sacramentum Futuri*, Paris, 1940), London, 1960, p. 16, cf. p. 28: « The message of the New Testament is that the New Paradise has come with Jesus ... 'To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.' The operative word is not Paradise and its possession, for the Jews had ardent hopes of this. It is *Hodie*. This *To-day* is the very essence of Christianity. » Augustine simply coagulated the apocalyptic notions of the Eternal Present, evident in his and Bede's doctrine of the Seventh Age, which has been ever with us since Christ's Advent.

<sup>2</sup> LAISTNER, in *Bede; His Life, Times and Writings* (ed. A. H. THOMPSON), Oxford, 1935, p. 263, does not list as used by Bede a single anti-Pelagian tract of the fifteen gathered in Tom. X of the Benedictine edition. However, among the rubrics of Bede's *Collectaneum*, drawn from Augustine's comments on the letters of St. Paul, are six: *De perfectione iustitiae hominis*; *De gestis Pelagii*; *De gratia et libero arbitrio*; *De correptione et gratia*; *De dono perseverantiae*; and *Contra Iulianum* (WILMART, « La collection de Bède sur l'Apôtre, » *Revue Bénédictine* XXXVIII (1926), pp. 49-52). It seems likely, because of Bede's interest in Julian of Eclanum (see below) in his opposition to *sanctissimus et doctissimus antistes Augustinus* (see JENKINS' statements, in 'Bede as Exegete and Theologian,' in THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185), that he may have seen more. But I find no evidence that he used any of them in composing *In Genesim*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. [On unconditional Election] « popes Leo I and Gregory I, in the 5th and 6th centuries, and Bede in the 8th were Augustinian. » — *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. Wm. SMITH and H. WACE, London, 1877-1887, IV, p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> See esp. M. SCHÜTT, « Ein Beda-Problem, » *Anglia* LXXII (1955), pp. 19-20.



heretics, and Arius and Pelagius were equally favored targets <sup>5</sup>, that facet of Bede's favorite topic of Grace has no place in *In Gen.* Bede seems contentedly in accord with the orthodox position defined by Caesarius' Council of Orange, A.D. 529 <sup>6</sup>.

Augustine's *natura*, not only in *De natura et gratia* but in similar contexts, meant *natura humana*: Humanity cannot be justified by or through *natura*, but only by or through *gratia*. This doctrine, though not unacceptable to Bede, was not his chief concern. He centered upon *natura externa*, God's gracious Creation, which is a book of doctrine lying open to read. His exegetical aim is not a philosophic Order, but a law which is natural because it is divine. Augustine's famous sentence in the *Confessions* <sup>7</sup>, « Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt, » which excited Pelagius <sup>8</sup>, finds no echo in Bede <sup>9</sup>. Dr. Schütt finds complete Augustinianism in Bede's Commentary on the Canticles, but does note, « Das Wort 'Praedestinatio' wendet Beda nicht an, aber die Lehre ist impliziert. »

It is not in Augustine's writings but in Bede's that a reader sees most clearly how Nature and Grace hang upon the *locus amoenus* of prelapsarian Eden. Indeed, Bede's ode to spring and creation (I, 386-397) heralds the « nature introductions » of Carolingian and Saxon versifiers which underpinned the Romance conventions. Bede's theme of beasts and saints fuses the benign Antonian and Hibernian images of animal life with the Creator's ordinations (as in I, 888-892). Man's special creation endowed him with the reason which allowed him to be lord over animals (I, 800-806). The animals, unlike man, were not created from their own substance but

<sup>5</sup> C. PLUMMER, *Ven. Baedae Opera Historica*, I, pp. LXII-LXIII.

<sup>6</sup> LABBE and COSSART, *Sacrosancta Concilia* IV, 1666.

<sup>7</sup> X, XXXI, 45.

<sup>8</sup> *De dono perseverantiae*, LIII.

<sup>9</sup> SCHÜTT, p. 9, discusses Bede's objection to Julian's treatment of the Grace of the Holy Spirit, « quasi supervenientem auxiliatricem et non praevenientem inspiratricem atque auctorem in nobis studiorum meritorumque bonorum » (*In Cant.*, P.L. XCI, 1069), equating Bede's *supervenientem auxiliatrix* with Pelagius' *gratia coöperans* and *praevenientem inspiratrix* with Augustine's *gratia praeveniens*. Bede may have derived the term *inspiratrix* from Augustine's second, incomplete, tract against Julian, P.L. XLV, I, 98.

were made from earth and water (I, 1815-1816). Bede copied Augustine (I, 1771-1775) in asserting that language is man's unique gift, which gives him the power to control nature rationally.

But though *In Gen* fathered a medieval and an English tradition, it was one of the less influential of his commentaries, as the comparatively low number of extant manuscripts indicates. Books II-IV are among Bede's finest works: thoughtful, pious, imaginative. But they do not depart from his early pledge to Acca to provide an inexpensive primer for *infirmis*. Bede's consideration for *rudibus lectoribus* would not find favor with the ambitious scholars from Alcuin on, whose aim was *eruditio*<sup>10</sup>.

When knowledge of Greek declined, the West had only crumbs of learning about the nature of the physical world. Most of those dropped from expositions of Genesis in the tradition of Origen, who tied the Neoplatonic science of Alexandria to Paul's statement in Romans I, 20: « For the invisible things of Him, from the Creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made »<sup>11</sup>. The same kind of early scholastic demand which made Isidore's *Origines* the most popular encyclopaedia made Genesis the textbook of external nature. Because Origen interpreted Scripture as demonstrably moral and therefore allegorical, the physical world itself became a form of Scriptural and therefore moral allegory. The herbals, starbooks, bestiaries, lapidaries, and other moral formulations which eventuated during the Middle Age were seeded by the patristic hexaëmera<sup>12</sup>. Said Bede: « Necessarily, Holy Scripture constantly

<sup>10</sup> Cf. B. CAPELLE, « Le rôle théologique de Bède le Vénérable, » *Studia Anselmiana* VI (1936), p. 23. An instance of such elementary exposition is I, 1738-1775, a passage of Bede's own composition inserted among passages from Augustine. « ... his restraint in the use of allegory, together with a kind of ingenuous simplicity, gives his commentaries a charm which is still attractive. » — *Cambridge History of the Bible* I (1969), p. 186.

<sup>11</sup> Called a « favourite theme » by R. P. LAWSON, *Origen: The Song of Songs* (1957), p. 351, n. 153.

<sup>12</sup> « Dans la Physique: la Genèse, dans l'Éthique: Job et quelques Psaumes, et dans la Theoria: la majeure partie du Psautier. » —

repeats that 'God saw that what He had made was good,' so that the pious believer may thus be shaped, not in response to human sensibility, which often indeed is shut off from the goods themselves (whose reasons for being and position with respect to visible and invisible creation it is not able to evaluate), but to believe and submit to an approving God », (I, 549-554). *In mensura et numero et pondere* (Sap. XI, 21 ; *In Gen* I, 972-973), Augustine's favorite phrase, was the theme of the hexaëmeral exegetes whom Bede followed, for the Six Days of Creation are the physical typification of that phrase<sup>13</sup>. Always elementary, Bede nevertheless intensified the Christian grasp of a moral order in nature. He depicted a threefold revivification of a Nature for ever dying from its own faults — all within twenty-one chapters of one book of Scriptures — by raising dead Nature in Three Ages : after the Fall, after the Flood, and with God's Promise to Abram.

Bede shows himself a textbook writer in the hexaëmeral portion of *In Gen* as in no other of his commentaries. He treats the four elements (I, 89-106) ; explains light in water (I, 185 ff.) ; depicts the *firmamentum* as a stellar heaven with stars « fixed » on the bottom, as if pasted ; the crystalline waters above, « such as can be observed in nature » (I, 252-259). « Waters gathered together in one place » suggest that the Ocean and the Great Sea and even the landlocked lakes are actually one, joined by underground caverns, as well diggers demonstrate when they strike water, which has its source in the sea (I, 342-350). Physical law operates uniformly among God's creatures, though it may subserve a higher (not necessarily humanly apprehended) law : « But if anyone should be stirred to question how waters, whose very nature is always to flow in search of a lower level, can stand motion-

C. SPICQ, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge*, Paris, 1944, p. 25 (after St. Bruno). « La Genèse était censée satisfaire toutes les curiosités sur les origines du monde et de l'homme ... » — p. 58.

<sup>13</sup> F. STRUNZ, « Beda in d. Gesch. d. Naturbetrachtung u. Naturforschung, » *Zeitschr. für deutsche Geistesgeschichte* I (1935), pp. 311-321 (specific statements from *In Gen*, pp. 316-318). B. THUM, « Beda Ven. in d. Gesch. d. Natur-Wissenschaften », *Studia Anselmiana* VI (1936), pp. 51-71.

less above a heaven whose shape appears to be round, let him remember the sayings of Scripture about God, 'He bindeth up the waters in His clouds, so that they break not out and fall down together' » (Job xxvi, 8; *In Gen* i, 259 ff.). Man, had he remained immortal in Eden, would have cultivated his garden and eaten its produce to receive the strength to reproduce his kind up to the number of God's Plan, when he would then, like the angels, eat of the tree of life (i, 899-942).

As we might expect of the author of *De temporibus*, *De natura rerum*, and *De locis sanctis*, Bede concentrates on information about chronology and Scriptural geography, not only in the hexaëmeron but throughout the four books <sup>14</sup>. The long commentary on Gen. i, 20-23 (*In Gen* i, 585-667) shows the imaginative observation of one who dwelt near the fish and birds along the North Sea <sup>15</sup>. With a grammarian's mild curiosity, Bede allows for change in language after Babel: the animals which Adam named have other names now and will have still others in the future (i, 1752-1766).

Such bits of information and instruction had belonged to the hexaëmeral tradition from the time of Philo; indeed, in these respects it is difficult to distinguish the *Enneads* of Plotinus from the Homilies of Basil. But among Bede's predecessors, especially Ambrose, such assertions were made polemically, whereas Bede made them to offer the elements of learning as a confirmation and reward of Faith and as goods in themselves. As he wrote in his Commentary on the Canticles:

I beg the reader not to judge it superfluous for me to explain rather fully the nature of trees or of aromatic herbs, many of which are contained in this volume, according to what I have learned in the books of ancient writers. This I have

<sup>14</sup> On chronology (computation), see e.g., ii, 1926-1933, iii, 733-875, 901-923; on geography, iii, 1-336, 1339-1342, iv, 228-234, 1371-1376. An anonymous writer of saec. xi (*P.L.* XC, 37C) thought geography Bede's primary interest; on aspects of his treatment of geography, see STRUNZ, pp. 320-321.

<sup>15</sup> « aquas quae et ipse aeri sunt magna naturae vicinitate coniunctae... » i, 673-674.

done, not for arrogant display, but with due regard for the inexperience of myself and my people, who, born and reared far beyond the world, that is, on an island of the Ocean Sea, are unable to know about the things which grow in the first parts of the world, I mean Arabia and India, Judea and Egypt, save through the writings of those who have been there <sup>16</sup>.

So, as Bede goes into detail about the art of making cement <sup>17</sup>, we remember that his abbot Benedict had to « cross the Ocean to Gaul, where he asked for, obtained, and then brought back masons who could build him a stone church in the Roman manner » <sup>18</sup>. Bede's people were indeed new in the old world.

But in the hexaëmeral portion Bede had no appreciable concern for human nature : that came later in his treatment of Abraham. The medieval poet's *hortus inclusus* was drawn from Augustine, not Bede. Augustine might hang free will upon the image of the First Adam and discover the psychology of mankind seeded in the Fall, as in the Thirteenth Book of *The City of God*. But Bede barely alluded to the Fall of the Angels <sup>19</sup> and never pretended to enter into the mind of either Adam or Eve. To be sure, the whole section which treats Adam and Eve and the Earthly Paradise is virtually copied verbatim from Augustine, but despite his evident haste Bede chose what he wanted. We note that Bede's one considerable insertion of his own words, in his discussion of Gen. III, 14-21 <sup>20</sup>, introduces the diabolic Tempter as a primary agent. Augustine had wanted no such distraction from man's sole responsibility for sin.

Bede had reached full maturity when he treated Abraham. Bede's Abraham is the exemplary New Adam and the type

<sup>16</sup> P.L. XCI, 1077. Note that the worldly prototype and center is the Orient, not Rome. We remember that Dante's world, despite his own extreme Romanism, centered in Jerusalem.

<sup>17</sup> In Gen III, 640-646.

<sup>18</sup> BEDA, *Historia abbatum*, 5 (PLUMMER I, 368).

<sup>19</sup> I, 1877ff., compiled verbatim from Augustine.

<sup>20</sup> I, 2083-2241, also 1939-1946. These are not Scriptural verses which Augustine used extensively, and they do not appear at all in the anti-Pelagian tracts. Augustine directly treated God's curse upon Adam, Eve, and the serpent only once, *De Trinitate* XIII, XII-XVI, a passage which may have stimulated Bede's thought.

of Christ ; in this depiction we discern a considered doctrine regarding human nature and the Grace of God. Abram's seventy-five years

designate the perfection of good action, since we fulfil the mandates of the Decalogue through the Grace of the Holy Spirit, which is described by the Prophet as septiform. To these are added five, so that in all the senses of our body we may fulfil the same divine precepts with the assisting Grace of the Holy Spirit... So in everything which he carried on either by living or by hearing or by tasting or by touching, lest there be anything whatsoever in his own body which would keep him, illuminated and encouraged by the gift of the Spirit Itself, from devoting himself to heavenly commands... With all his children of promise, among whom we also are, he stands as a model... Because of the guilt of the first transgression, all men are born into the world sons of the devil, but through the Grace of regeneration whosoever of us belong to the seed of Abraham are made Sons of God... by Our Father Who Is in Heaven ... But also when all the Elect, by giving up the habit of vice in the state of their own lives, [moderate] the wrath resulting from the first guilt and give service to the virtues, and in temporal labors persist in such a happy intercourse that the eternal rewards will follow, then ... this is the earth which the Lord promised that He would show to His followers ; for by what path of good works this is to be attained cannot be discovered by the ingenuity of purely human intelligence ; but His leadership is to be sought in all things <sup>21</sup>.

And Bede quotes Ps. LXXVII, 24. Neither here nor elsewhere did Bede think it necessary to define *electi*, but it seems clear that any soul belonging to a race or *gens* which God has Chosen and who is baptised is *electus*.

Nature and Grace are twin extensions of God to man. To be sure, it is an unalterable article of faith that *fili diabolii nascimur in mundum* <sup>22</sup>. But as the legendary Gregory the Great prayed the emperor Trajan into heaven, and Dante

<sup>21</sup> Comment on Gen. xii, 4 (III, 993-1039).

<sup>22</sup> III, 1017-1022 ; cf. *In Esdram* III (P.L. XCI, 909C) ; *In Primam Epistolam Iohannis* (XCIII, 101D).

placed Riphaeus there, so Bede seized the opportunity presented by Abimelech <sup>23</sup> to assert that « such a seal was given in circumcision for Abraham and his seed and his household, but among other races there still could be some individuals who, by an understanding of natural law might devoutly serve God, cleansed of the stain of primal offence » <sup>24</sup>. These words were carefully chosen, but the force of *adhuc* is somewhat open to question. It would appear that Bede, though he did not in any commentary shade the doctrine that Salvation could come only through Christ, yet was able to make case for all moral Abimelechs, though they were not patriarchs of the Chosen Seed.

But Grace supersedes Nature and is the more obvious evidence of God's Love. There are permanent changes in Nature, the result of miraculous acts of God. The Salt, Dead, or Bituminous Sea resulted from a change in the Jordan at the time of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (III, 1470-1480, 1535-1539). « Although God might work through the natural course of procreation, yet where there is, by an abnegation and setting aside of Nature, an obvious work of God, at that point Grace is the more obvious » (IV, 461-464). « Isaac signifies Grace, not Nature, because the son was promised to a senile man and sterile old wife » (IV, 460, copied from Augustine).

In Bede's exegesis, the Old Adam does not occupy the central position that he does in many another commentator. The New Adam was at work even before the Old (I, 760-761), and for that and other reasons the Old Testament is at least equal in value to the New. Paul had no reason to prefer the Evangelists to Moses and the Prophets who composed the Old Testament (IV, 1645-1647). The legend of the Harrowing

<sup>23</sup> Gen. xx, 2-16 (IV, 1378-1520).

<sup>24</sup> « Unde verisimile videtur signaculum in circumcisione Abrahæ tantum et semini ac familie eius esse datum ; in ceteris vero gentibus potuisse adhuc esse nonnullos, qui pro naturali scientia legis Deo devote servirent, vel hostiarum videlicet oblationibus vel certe sola veræ fidei professione a primæ praevaricationis labe purgatos, maxime superstitibus adhuc illis qui vel abolitionem humani generis in diluvio vel constructionem turris ac divisionem linguarum vel perditionem Sodomorum in memoriam tenerent. » (IV, 1424-1433).

of Hell is a revelation of reality for Bede: Gen. xvii, 14, is a sign of the renewal in Christ to come and the abolition of the transgression manifest in Adam. « For what is now done by baptism in the faith of Christ was at that time done by circumcision on the eighth day, by which the Resurrection of Christ is designated, except that the circumcised seem never to have entered into the Heavenly Kingdom before the Lord, on rising from the dead, opened the gate of His Kingdom to all the Elect by His Ascent into Heaven » (iv, 432-437). Bede is as positive as Augustine that uncircumcised or unbaptised infant souls are lost for ever when they are within the range of the Covenant or the Gospel<sup>25</sup>, and he is more explicit than was Augustine that the number of predestinate souls was fixed before, at, and after Creation<sup>26</sup>.

Bede's notion of Election is more embracing than that of later scholastics. It seems from his words that God in His Grace elected virtually all souls. He is more optimistic than, for example, Dante, whose Hell teems with discards<sup>27</sup>. All entities in Bede's Ark are saved, even though nearly all are carnal and few spiritual (ii, 1258-1261), Jews and « Greeks » (meaning all Gentiles) together (ii, 1336-1338). Even Simon Peter was perfidious until the descent of the Holy Spirit — like the black crow, not the simple dove (ii, 1838-1846); he is but one striking manifestation of the infinite Grace

<sup>25</sup> Bede quotes verbatim from Augustine at this point, iv, 440-454.

<sup>26</sup> « Quia nullius labor hominis ad numerum praedestinatorum, qui ante constitutionem mundi electi sunt a Domino, vel unam possit animam adicere » (iv, 1039-1041); « completa in fine seculi summa electorum » (iv, 1057). See J. BEUMER, « Das Kirchenbild in den Schriftkommentaren Bedas, » *Scholastik* XXVIII (1953), pp. 50-51, and CAPELLE, pp. 28-29. « Dieser Kommentar findet sich bei keinem andern Kirchenväter, die die Lot-stelle auslegen, » wrote Schütt, p. 10, n. 3, who made this passage central to her theme that Bede's exegesis is not consonant with his hagiography.

<sup>27</sup> Both Dante and Bede use the standard image of the stars in the vault of heaven as the Elected Saints (iv, 38; *Paradiso* xxiii, 16-21); but we remember that Dante thought there were only 1022 stars in that vault (*Convivio* II, xv, 20). Bede, near death, also became embittered; he warned bishop Egbert lest « tuarum aliqua pars ovium inter hedos ad sinistram Iudicis secerni ... mereatur » (*Ep. ad Egbertum*, 14, ed. PLUMMER I, 418).



and Forgiveness of God. However rigid the principle of Predestination and Election, Bede's God in His Infinite Mercy elects virtually all His creatures to the everlasting Communion of Saints<sup>28</sup>. Bede seizes upon Gen. I, 10, to portray a memorable lesson in Providence and Salvation. In the great mound of waters at Creation are included all of the baptismal waters of all time: And yet God is said to have seen that it was good when the dry land appeared and the waters fell away, because in fact the Controller of all water, foreseeing the baptism that would come to pass, praised at the very outset what only now is perfected. « Small wonder, since in Him the perfection of things lies not in the consummation of the event but in the predestination of His will » (I, 370-377).

## B. THE ENGLISH AS CHOSEN PEOPLE

Although Bede named his best-known book *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he also spoke of it without the epithet. An instance in the Dedicatory Letter<sup>29</sup> seems to indicate that he thought of it as a history of his people, not his Church. There was no real difference. He thought of the English as Children of God. Though some English writers sometimes spoke of sending missions to Germany as to their own *nationem*, Bede regularly called the continental Saxons *barbari*<sup>30</sup>. Whereas Gregory of Tours started his history with Adam, and Paul the Lombard started with his pagan ancestors, Bede started with the geography of Britain, as if it were the Promised Land.

Bede's primary models were Eusebius-Rufinus and then Gregory of Tours. A number of manuscripts of Gregory's *Historiarum libri x* call it *Historia Ecclesiastica*<sup>31</sup>, which it is.

<sup>28</sup> See CAPELLE, pp. 28-29.

<sup>29</sup> PLUMMER I, p. 8, line 9.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *Hist. eccl.* V, IX. x (PLUMMER I, pp. 298, 300).

<sup>31</sup> W. LEVISON, « Bede as Historian, » in *Bede: His Life, Times and Writings*, p. 133. On that page Levison states that Bede did not have access to Cassiodorus' *Historia Tripartita*, but in the same volume, p. 245, Laistner gives evidence to the contrary.

But there are marked differences among these three ecclesiastical historians. The Hebraic concept of a Chosen People in search of a Promised Land lay deep in the Christian historiography which Bede developed. Eusebius-Rufinus had depicted the Christian Church as they knew it, in terms of separate churches, each essentially representing a *gens*, stretching from Spain to India. Levison has asserted that « It was Bede's intention to add a British and Anglo-Saxon supplement to the older work, and he thus produced the first special ecclesiastical history of an occidental people. » We may refine that remark after further study of the Christian-Latin historiographical tradition. There are seeds of the concept of tribal Election in Jordanes, Isidore, Gildas, and Gregory which Bede only made to flourish <sup>32</sup>.

Tribalism was common to all ancient peoples. The Hebraic God elected gentiles by races, as the term implied. In Acts x, Peter perceived (35) *in omni gente qui timet Eum et operatur iustitiam acceptus est Illi*. With Cornelius before him, he thought of individuals within a race, but the witnesses all marveled (45) *quia et in nationes gratia Spiritus Sancti effusa est*. Since God predestines *gentes*, a Christian historian's business was to show that predestination was a fact of his race. We may doubt that Cassiodorus, Jordanes, or Isidore was impelled by this concept, but it seems dimly to haunt Gregory's *Historia*, even though Gregory was not himself a Frank. But Gildas' tract, though as formless as a history as it is formless as a homily, clearly enough states God's foreordination of his race. After Bede there are echoes in Paul and Widukind.

I do not suggest that Bede composed his *Historia* primarily as a demonstration of the Election of the English, but that Election is among his foremost doctrinal concerns. In citing Gildas against the British for their failure to evangelize the pagan English, he wrote, « Yet Divine Goodness did not abandon His People, whom He foreknew, but dispatched far more worthy bearers of the Gospel to bring them faith » <sup>33</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Professor Robert W. HANNING, *The Vision of History in Early Britain*, N.Y.C., 1966, seems to be following a fruitful path here.

<sup>33</sup> *Hist. eccl.* I, 22 (PLUMMER I, p. 42).

This concept subsumes the Apostolic Succession in one aspect. Levison has described how interested Bede was in the levitical succession (after his model Rufinus) <sup>34</sup>, and also how he treated the English as one people despite the several kingdoms: « Bede took the history of the English Church as a united whole <sup>35</sup>. » That the king was his people and determined the cult, and that the *bretwalda* determined it for all English kingdoms under his sway, Bede indicates, for instance, as he describes how Egbert of Kent sent Wighard to Rome for consecration as Archbishop of the English <sup>36</sup>. He consulted with the Northumbrian king Oswy, whose church, as a result of Oswy's decision at Whitby, had just turned toward Rome <sup>37</sup>. The Apostolic Church had initiated this conception of a clergy for a chosen people by assuming that its three clerical orders were gentile extensions of the orders of the Temple, and very early in the history of that Church we hear of the deacons being called levites. Bede was so immersed in this history that for him « English Church » and « English People » were virtual synonyms.

The last three books of *In Gen* provide adequate consideration of the Election of the Gentiles, especially the English: « Unless the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been made as Sodom » (Rom. ix, 29). Abraham is the hero of Books III and IV: his covenant eventuates in the English church. Bede lays the theological ground for evangelization of many Gentiles as sons of Abraham, not alone the Israelites of Gen. xii, 2, but the Ishmaelites, Idumeans, and the line of Chettura from Gen. xvii, 6 (III, 944-950). Then he almost immediately extends it to all peoples of the earth on the basis of Gen.

<sup>34</sup> For Bede's strong feeling of the efficacy inherent in laying on of hands, as in bishop to faithful, see *Ep. ad Ecgbertum*, 8 (PLUMMER I, p. 411).

<sup>35</sup> *Bede*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>36</sup> *Hist. eccl.* III, 29; *Hist. abbatum*, 3. Bede's words regarding the conversion of Kent (*Hist. eccl.* I, xxvi, ed. MYNORS, pp. 76-78) seem to belie the Constantinian tradition expressed in papal letters (*Hist. eccl.* I, xxxii, p. 112; II, x, p. 168; etc.), but *Hist. eccl.* II, xiv-xv, supports and defines it.

<sup>37</sup> Bede interprets Gen. xx, 4, to show that king Abimelech was his people (IV, 1389-1393).

xii, 3, according to the promise of Isaiah lv, 4 : « Exiling himself at the command of the Lord, he heard that all the races which had been divided among diverse lands and tongues should be regathered in him for their common blessing » (iii, 967-970). Salvation will come for all the saints, before and after Christ ; for in the loins of Abraham, Mary already was at rest, and Matthew's genealogy of Christ, the Son of David the Son of Abraham, starts with the Third Age which Abraham ushered in (iii, 971-976). In that Son we and the patriarchs together will be saved (iii, 979-984). In Abraham's loins are at once the Chosen People and the chosen peoples, as in catholic interpretation of Rom. ix, 6 ff. The usually restrained Bede employs excessive diction : *Haec est maior superiore ac longe praestantior promissio benedictionis*. The statement in the covenant of Gen. xv, 4, « So shalt thy seed be, » is not spoken about those Elect alone who were to have been born in the flesh from Abraham's line, but likewise about us, of whom the Apostle says, « And if you be Christ's, » then are you the seed of Abraham ; for the Lord spoke first of the Israelites born in his flesh and then led him (Abraham) outside to count the stars, which represented as well the coheirs born in the spirit (iv, 45-63).

In the prescience of God, the covenant of circumcision is a type of baptism which unites old and new : « Abraham and his seed were circumcised in the flesh of their foreskin in order that he (Isaac), who was to be born of Abraham's seed, might typically prefigure Him who would purge His Elect of every stain of sin and grant everlasting blessing. » (iv, 391-394). That the infants were to be circumcised on the eighth day prefigures the eternal communion, mystically expressing in this number *all* the Elect (iv, 412-415). Gen. xvii, 12, precludes a limitation to Israel (iv, 420-422). In Gen. xvii, 14 : « The foremost secret of this circumcision comes to light : not only a sign of the renewal in Christ to come but also the abolition of the transgression manifested in Adam ; for what is now done in baptism in the faith of Christ was done at that time by circumcision on the eighth day. » (iv, 430-434) Only by Christ's Harrowing of Hell could the patriarchs be saved, so that all Elect depend upon the Resurrection (iv, 434-437). These are thoughts which ap-

parently originated with Bede ; immediately after writing them down he copied Augustine's statement on the condemnation of unbaptised infants.

Such passages prepare for the climactic statement explaining Gen. xviii, 1, the apparition of the Lord, or of the angels (see below, pp. 184 ff.) :

This apparition is unquestionably the most sacred in the life of Abraham. Not alone in the rite of circumcision and the change of name indicating fatherhood of *all* races does he come to understand the arcana of God, but in the Vale of Mambre the most arcane is made evident : that not only the circumcised but the foreskinned are to partake. For Mambre belonged to the race of Amorrhæus but with his brothers he had become federated with Abraham. Hence appropriately the Vale of Mambre designates our humility, we who, taking our physical origin from the gentiles, have Abraham as father in the spirit and faith. The Apostle derived our origin in both flesh and courage from Abraham when he said, « We declare unto you the life eternal, which was with the Father and hath appeared to us. That which we have seen and heard, we declare unto you, that you also may have fellowship with us » (I Joh. i, 2-3).

If, as Bede had stated, not one soul can be added to the number predetermined before Creation, a people so newly come to Christ as the English needs all assurance of Election.

Around the central principle of national Election revolve some details of contemporary import. Hebrews vii, 5-17, justifies the gentile priesthood in the type of Melchisedech. Bede emphasizes the relation of king and high priest, depicting its status at the start of each Age : II. Noah (as both), III. Melchisedech - Abraham, IV. David (as both), V. Zorobabel - Jesus (ii, 1956-1967). Bede's *schema* requires Abel as priest for the First Age, but there is no station in it for Aaron - Moses.

The civil ruler is responsible for keeping his subjects God-fearing (ii, 2095-2101). This balance of clerical and secular power, which concerned the whole Middle Age, was Bede's special topic in his *Epistola ad Ecgbertum* <sup>38</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Sects. 11 and 14 (PLUMMER I, pp. 414-415, 418).

Here are some random observations which illustrate Bede's provincial interests: His detailed insistence that Christian tradition never included animal sacrifices (III, 1393-1420) suggests a contemporary local problem. We note that Bede's antisemitic passage, II, 409-419, was copied verbatim from Augustine; moreover, at that point he is at pains to stipulate that he copied, as he is not at pains elsewhere<sup>39</sup>. But why did he include an antisemitic passage at all — one which is not theoretical<sup>40</sup>? It looks to be a product of active antisemitism<sup>41</sup>. Though we cannot clearly see the contemporary nature of the Jewish problem, we can understand Bede's immediate concern about the Hagarines<sup>42</sup>. Bede *imposes* teutonic monogamy upon the Old Testament, not making but assuming the point (II, 701-704). The inserted admonition from Deut. VII, 4, of no clear relevancy (II, 957-960), suggests some social problem of intermarriage; — with the British<sup>43</sup>? Bede expresses resentment against the sons of Tubalcain, city life, metal foundering (II, 532-562), while glorifying agriculture: the heroes Noah and Melchisedech are farmers. Cain did not sin by not being a tiller of the soil or by not offering to God the fruits of the earth, but by lacking piety and devotion (II, 42-46). Such strong denial in this special instance empha-

<sup>39</sup> Bede's tacit copying from Augustine has misled Bischoff (*Sacris Erudiri* VI [1954], p. 208, n. 1) to remark, « Es ist eine Spitze gegen die irische Curiositas, wenn Beda in seinem Hexaëmeron sagt ... » and to quote *In Gen* I, 209-213. Bede copied the remark from Augustine as insistence on God's « pure intellect. » Verbatim quotation from patristic sources seems to decline in Bede's later writings, esp. in *In Gen*, Books II-IV. The occasions when he does copy do not fall into a pattern. An interesting instance is the commentary on Gen. xv, 9-10 (IV, 110-131), copied from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* XVI, IV, 2. It seems to me that this is the kind of Scriptural puzzle which did not interest Bede but might greatly interest the type of brother who in a later age would have created bestiaries. To copy verbatim from Augustine here would save Bede time, while quieting fruitless discussion.

<sup>40</sup> As, for example, in his *Quaestio* VI (*P.L.* XCIII, 458D).

<sup>41</sup> For a further suggestion of active interest in the Jews in Bede's England, see below, p. 194.

<sup>42</sup> See Introduction, *Corpus Christianorum* CXVIII, p. IX, n. 19.

<sup>43</sup> Bede evidently borrowed this passage, for he quoted Deuteronomy *antiqua versione*; but I have not traced the source.

sizes his favor for tillers of soil. His interest in the *progenies Cain* (II, 498. 598. 625) is in line with the scôps' images in early verse : Grendel was of Cain's family, for example. The story of Caedmon and the *Old English Genesis* indicate an English interest in Satan's Fall, but Bede gives it scant attention in this Commentary (I, 146 ff. ; III, 135-140), though he does blame Moses' cursory authorship for its omission from the Scriptural account <sup>44</sup>.

## II. BEDE'S EXEGETICAL PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE

Surveys of medieval exegesis by Father Spicq and Professor Smalley, Professor Auerbach's compact essay « *Figura*, » and Father Daniélou's *Sacramentum Futuri* are widely respected. Father de Lubac's discursive volumes form a colossal treatment of this topic. I do not wish to enter into the field represented by these works. But because surveys inevitably distort the qualities of individual authors, I wish to specify Bede's as they are evident in the Commentary on Genesis, and to relate them to principles which he stated in other writings <sup>45</sup>.

### A. SCRIPTURE AS VERBAL TRUTH

*The Tradition of Exegesis.* Setting forth points of view for God's Word naturally proceeds from a faith that it is perfectly true and good, however viewed <sup>46</sup>. In the eternity of angelic intelligence, no such setting forth is necessary, for one and indivisible Truth is instantaneously perceived. However, fallible man, as he perceives the *superficies*, must circle the Word while one sense after another imperfectly reveals Truth. From this circling are born the manifold

<sup>44</sup> In *Ep. ad Ecgbertum*, 17 (PLUMMER I, 422), he blamed the Fall of the Angels on greed. Note that in contrast with the *Old English Genesis*, the *Exameron Anglice* or *The Old English Hexameron* (ed. S. J. CRAWFORD in Grein and Wülker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, Bd. x, Hamburg, 1921) follows Bede's Recension I closely.

<sup>45</sup> There is no comprehensive study of Bede's exegesis.

<sup>46</sup> Plato assumed that God is Good (*Tim.* 29 ff ; see JOWETT'S

meanings or senses of Scripture. A commentator lends his senses to those brothers in God who are less acutely sensible.

From Hellenistic days, masters stated that those who would respond to the Word of God ranged from the *idiotae*, who viewed only the most sensory aspects of literal truth, to the *eruditi*, who most nearly approached the perfected angelic intelligence which could penetrate the *integumentum* to the *nucleus* of spiritual understanding <sup>47</sup>. The Latin doctors, Augustine and Gregory especially, transmitted to Bede this tradition of Alexandrian masters like Origen <sup>48</sup>. In this doctrine Plotinus the Neoplatonist joined his codisciple Origen ; for example, here is a short passage from VI *Ennead*, VII :

The knowledge of other objects came about through Intelligence, even the knowledge of a thinking being. But by what immediate apprehension can we grasp the Principle that is superior to Intelligence? We may answer that we apprehend it by that part of us which resembles it. For there is in us something of it ; or, rather, there is no place where it is not for those that can participate in it. As it is everywhere, we can at any place receive something of it by directing to it that part of us which is capable of receiving it. Take the illustration of a sound in a desert and imagine a man located at any spot in that desert. Wherever it is that he listens to this sound, he will in one sense hear all of it and in another sense not. [trans. Joseph Katz]

However much Bede depended upon Augustine for doctrine and learning, he caught the interpretative spirit from Gregory <sup>49</sup>. He accepted, diffidently at first but confidently enough

*Plato* V [1892], 423 and refs.), cannot cause evil, and because of his goodness created the universe. « All these thoughts are common topics of the *Hexaëmera* » (F. E. ROBBINS, *The Hexaëmeral Literature*, Univ. of Chicago diss., 1912, pp. 4-5, who lists authorities).

<sup>47</sup> Bede explicates *In Cant.* (P.L. XCI, 1095CD).

<sup>48</sup> For the possibility of Bede's having read JUNILIUS' *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, a handbook of Antiochene exegesis, see LAISTNER, « Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe, » *Harvard Theological Review* XL (1947), pp. 19-31, esp. p. 29. Like him, « I have failed to find any trace of Junilius in Bede. »

<sup>49</sup> So LAISTNER, in *HTR* XL (1947), p. 29. See esp. *Moralia* XXIII,



in the maturity of his authorship, the role of *eruditus*. His role was viewer, or point-of-viewer. *Educatio*, *praedicatio*, *aedificatio*, and *conversatio* were themselves but aspects of an essentially single art<sup>50</sup>. The Christian *magister*, like the Word itself<sup>51</sup>, catches up *idiotas* and *idoneos* at one and the same moment. Therefore, however often Bede might speak of some single point of view, *litteralis*, *spiritualis*, *typicus*, *allegoricus*, or whatever, he never suggested that that view presented Truth itself in its unity<sup>52</sup>. The *sensus* was only his momentary accommodation to his own and his brothers' weak sensibilities, however far toward his heavenly home his mind might lead him. To debate how many senses existed in one verse or in all of God's Word would be irrational<sup>53</sup>. As Augustine often asserted, One, however often multiplied by Itself, is still One. So exegesis was a never-ending quest for new points of view<sup>54</sup>.

*Truth Everywhere: Words and Facts.* The Fathers, including Bede, were clear about the distinction upon which Aquinas

xix, 34 (P.L. LXXVI, 271B); *Hom. in Ezech.* I, iv, 4 (807); vii, 10 (844). In the last he compares Scripture with the Burning Bush, which speaks to each in his language and is not consumed. The three senses treated there are the literal, typical, and contemplative.

<sup>50</sup> H. DE LUBAC, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture* I, (Paris, 1959), pp. 653-654 is valuable at this point but doubtless goes too far in attributing new insights to old words ad infinitum through the Holy Spirit — i.e. perpetual revelation.

<sup>51</sup> « God wrote the Holy Books to answer by their means the multitude of questions and problems of every man ... He composed a Scripture in which He answered the questions of all. » — GREGORY, *Moralia* XXIII. xix, 34 (P.L. LXXVI, 271B), quoted DE LUBAC I, p. 653, n. 2.

<sup>52</sup> There has been but one Truth manifested to mankind, the Incarnate Christ, Who realizes the shadows of Scripture. Augustine anchors on the Gospel of John vi, 46: *Contra Faustum Manich.* xii, 3 (P.L. XLII, 255), 39 (275); xvi, 2 (316), 25 (332), 26 (334); and succinctly *En. in Ps.* xlvii, 1 (CC XXXVIII, 538).

<sup>53</sup> See R. P. C. HANSON, *Allegory and Event*, London, 1959, pp. 257-258, on Origen's suggestions « which it is exegetical suicide to entertain. » Cf. DE LUBAC I, p. 628.

<sup>54</sup> DE LUBAC I, 656, has gathered quotations from the Fathers, Origen through Isidore, based on the image of wheels within wheels, *rotae intra rotas*: see esp. GREGORY, *Hom. in Ezech.* i, 7 (P.L. LXXVI, 844-848). Cf. the *topoi rota-rosa* and *flores murique hortorum*.

rested his interpretations <sup>55</sup> — that is, between the suggestion of words and the theology of things. Words are symbols, which may symbolize many realities. In doing so they are literary allegories, a form of expression familiar to all literate peoples : Aeneas may symbolize Everyman quite as much as does the Augustine of the *Confessions*. Such is the tool of all exegetes and literary critics ; but it is basically an « abstraction <sup>56</sup> », simply a device for edification. God's Word, and it alone of all writing, records the facts : they must be facts because they are true. These facts are not verbal symbols but very entities recorded in words. The entities recorded in the Old Testament are *types*, *figures*, or *prefigurations* — creatures of God in His Prescience, not of man. History is typified, not by words, but by history. The letter, the fact, the action, the history is foreshadowed. God's creatures, whether organic, inorganic, or conceptual, in God's Word make Truth manifest by a method of divine revelation in somewhat the way that Dante's habitants of the celestial spheres foreshadow the Great Rose. Manifesting Himself as the Word, the Son, the Second Person, Christ stated the constitution on which the exegesis of Truth is erected : « The works which the Father hath given Me to perfect, the works themselves which I do, give testimony of Me, that the Father hath sent Me ; neither have you heard His voice at any time, nor seen His shape... If you did believe Moses, you

<sup>55</sup> M. P. BARROWS, *Bede's Allegorical Exposition of the Canticle of Canticles*, University of California (Berkeley) diss., revised, 1963, pp. 184-186, citing M. W. BLOOMFIELD in *Modern Philology* LVI (1958), p. 76.

<sup>56</sup> « Since in figural interpretation one thing stands for another, since one thing represents and signifies another, figural interpretation is 'allegorical' in the widest sense. But it differs from most of the allegorical forms known to us by the historicity both of the sign and what it signifies. Most of the allegories we find in literature or art represent a virtue (e.g., wisdom), or a passion (jealousy), an institution (justice), or at most a very general synthesis of historical phenomena (peace, the fatherland) — never a definite event in its full historicity. » — ERICH AUERBACH, « Figura, » *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, 1959 (trans. from *Neue Dantestudien*, Istanbul, 1944), p. 54.

would perhaps believe Me also ; for he wrote of Me » (John v, 36-37, 46).

Paul expounded the divine nature and extent of these figures in Galatians iv, 22-31<sup>57</sup>. The allegorical tradition was also based on Matt. ii, 15, xii, 40 ; Marc. ii, 27-28 ; Ioh. xix, 36-37 ; Rom. v, 14 ; I Cor. iv, 20, x, 11, xv, 21-22 ; II Cor. iii, 13-17 ; Col. ii, 16-17 ; Heb. viii, 1-5, ix, xiii.

If a summary of this exegetical tradition were possible, it would be Auerbach's words : « Of course Christianity has no lack of magic symbols ; but the *figura* [type] as such is not one of them... Figural prophecy relates to an interpretation of history — indeed it is by nature a textual interpretation — while the symbol is a direct interpretation of life and originally, no doubt for the most part, of nature. Thus figural interpretation is a product of late cultures, far more indirect, complex, and charged with history than the symbol or myth<sup>58</sup>. » But summation is not possible. Auerbach's statement does not, cannot, measure the acceptance in each exegete's mind of a type or a prefiguration as indisputable evidence of the immutable Providence of God as opposed to the insubstantial manifestations which such words as *typus* and *praefigurationes* etymologically suggest. Bede's « threshold of acceptance » can only be found (if found at all) in Bede's own words.

« *Levels of Meaning* » or « *Senses of Scripture*. » Recently historians and critics of exegesis have induced each other to presume that the Fathers accepted and adhered to rules and formulas of interpretation of considerable rigor and rigidity. It is easy to exaggerate the force of such acceptance. To be sure, the Alexandrian and Latin Fathers did evolve a polysemantic interpretation as criticism of a literature which in their opinion exceeded the traditional claims of vaticination and inspiration. They were excited and delighted with their results. But their methods of interpretation were intended to *free* the faithful readers from inherited claims of reason by attributing cogency to shifting points of view.

<sup>57</sup> AUGUSTINE, *Epistulae ad Gal. expositio*, 40 (*Clavis*, No. 282 P.L. XXXV, 2132-2134).

<sup>58</sup> Op. cit., p. 57.

Yet some recent theoreticians, exercising their skill and ingenuity in formulation, have variously imposed formal order upon the Fathers' heterogeneous documents<sup>59</sup>, thus returning Scriptural interpretation to a rigidity from which Fathers like Augustine had tried to free it. Indeed, the words of Augustine and other Fathers have increasingly been quoted to justify imposition of such rigidity. True, at passing need, a Father was apt to state one principle of order or another as illustration or as guidance. Occasionally their immediate followers might turn such guides into doctrinal statements. Such illustrations, which tended to turn into formulations, became multitudinous as exegesis piled up. They would be self-contradicting if taken as systems<sup>60</sup>. Recently there has been a tendency to reduce the multitude to a basic two: a formula of « threefold sense », attributed to Origen, and a formula of « fourfold sense », attributed to Cassian.

Origen tells us in *Peri Archon* that as man is divided into three elements, body, soul, and spirit, so the Scriptures yield three meanings, literal (*somatikos*), moral (*psychikos*), and intellectual (*pneumatikos*), the last sense only for the 'graduated' (*teleios*) Christian<sup>61</sup>. This formula suggests the philosophers' threefold division of knowledge into physics, ethics, and contemplative wisdom<sup>62</sup>.

Cassian<sup>63</sup> first fully expressed the fourfold scheme<sup>64</sup>: « Theoretical knowledge is divided into two parts, that is,

<sup>59</sup> DE LUBAC thoroughly discusses this problem, I, pp. 657-667. Nevertheless, he has arbitrarily imposed a framework of fourfold interpretation.

<sup>60</sup> « After him [Gregory] doctors maintained a threefold (Paschasius), a fourfold (Aquinas), a sevenfold (Angelom of Luxeuil), and eightfold (Odo of Cluny), and even an infinite sense of Scripture. » — T. HOMES DUDDEN, *Gregory the Great* II, p. 309.

<sup>61</sup> HANSON, p. 235; cf. DE LUBAC I, pp. 198-199; BARROWS, pp. 26-28. This formula was more influential among western Doctors than adherents to the fourfold notion usually suggest; see, for example, GREGORY, *Moralia*, Ep. miss. III (col. 513).

<sup>62</sup> See R. P. LAWSON, *Origen*, p. 318, n. 66. Dr. BARROWS, p. 107, calls attention to the patristic analogy of Solomon's works (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles) to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

<sup>63</sup> *Collationes* XIV, VIII (P.L. XLIX, 962 ff.).

<sup>64</sup> Harry CAPLAN, « The Four Senses of Spiritual Interpretation, »

into historical interpretation and spiritual intelligence... The classes of spiritual knowledge are *tropology*, *allegory*, *anagogy*. » He illustrated all senses with separate passages from Scripture, thereby suggesting that no one Scriptural clause bears more than one kind of interpretation. But then he cited the classic Galatians iv <sup>65</sup> and a verse of Psalms capable of supporting all four kinds. Bede popularized this illustration by his treatment in *Schemes and Tropes*, xii <sup>66</sup> : « According to the Psalm, *Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem ; praise thy God, O Sion* (CXLVII, 12), the four figures flow together into one, so that one and the same Jerusalem may be understood in four ways : according to *history*, the city of the Jews ; according to *allegory*, the Church of Christ ; according to *anagogy*, the City of God in Heaven ; according to *tropology*, the soul of man <sup>67</sup>. » de Lubac says <sup>68</sup> that patristic and medieval exegetes asserted that the threefold mystical sense in this formula (i.e. the non-literal senses) mirrored Christ's threefold advent : « The first advent, 'humble and unattended', on our earth performed the work of Redemption, which is carried out in the Church and its sacraments : the object of 'allegory' in its correct sense. The second advent, wholly inward, takes place in the soul of each true believer, and it is tropology which brings it to light. The third and last advent is reserved for the 'end of the world,' when Christ will appear in His Glory and will search out His own to take with Him ; that is the object of anagogy ». Allegory equals faith, tropology charity, anagogy hope <sup>69</sup>. Perhaps because this formula

*Speculum* IV (1929), pp. 282-290, established the outline history of this interpretation which later students have tended to follow.

<sup>65</sup> Summarized in *P.L.* XLIX, 964C : « The four senses are found in this sentence of the Apostle : the historical in the words *Abraham had two sons* ; the allegorical in these, *which are the two Testaments* ; the tropological, *whereof one was according to the flesh*, etc. ; the anagogic, finally, in these, *But that Jerusalem is above*, etc. » BARROWS, p. 183.

<sup>66</sup> *P.L.* XC, 185-186.

<sup>67</sup> BARROWS, pp. 34-35.

<sup>68</sup> I, p. 621.

<sup>69</sup> I, 623. DE LUBAC refines the system, pp. 624-625, by dividing tropology in two and anagogy in two (speculative = eschatology ; contemplative = spirituality).

evolved after the time of Augustine and therefore lacked the support of that authority, it stayed in the limbo of popular, ill-defined notions — often quoted but seldom verified <sup>70</sup>.

*Bede as Expositor of the Fourfold Sense.* In a succinct passage, the distinguished Charles Plummer treated Bede's exegetical practice. He has been followed, with various degrees of specificity, by Jenkins, Carroll, and Barrows <sup>71</sup>. Capelle summarized such views when he remarked <sup>72</sup> that Bede followed the method of his master Augustine, using critical terms only for guidance and suggestion, not as a fixed route to understanding. Augustine's *Christian Doctrine* presumes that each believer will find his own interpretation of the Word of God according to his individual capacity. For each, Augustine presents a hermeneutic method whenever and in whatever form he has need of it, always in the hope that the infinite conflicts, overlappings, and confusions in interpretation will be resolved by the Rule of Faith, the consensus of the catholic communion, and the authority of the Church in the light of Christian charity. Beyond this all-enveloping hope, Augustine makes no serious attempt at philosophical, theological, or logical consistency. The Scripture is Truth, but man's comprehension is partial and fumbling at best: « But if from the same words of Scripture not one alone but two or more meanings are inferred, even if the meaning of the author remains hidden, there is no danger so long as whatever is drawn from them can be shown to accord with truth drawn from other passages of the Holy Scriptures ... For there may be a passage which the most skilful writer will feel that he cannot plumb, or another which he feels departs

<sup>70</sup> « Only Honorius of Autun actually tries to apply the four-level plan consistently ... But Honorius seems to have had few if any followers. » — BARROWS, p. 185. DE LUBAC, I, p. 644, quotes Aquinas, *In Gal.*, c. v, lect. 7, who gave the application by four senses of *Fiat lux*, as well as other scholastic instances.

<sup>71</sup> Charles PLUMMER, *Baedae Opera Historica* I (1896), pp. LVI-LXII. Claude JENKINS, « Bede as Exegete and Theologian, » *Bede*, ed. A. H. THOMPSON, Oxford, 1935, pp. 152-200. Sister M. T. A. CARROLL, *The Venerable Bede: His Spiritual Teachings*, Washington, 1946. Barrows, *op. cit.*, supra.

<sup>72</sup> *Studia Anselmiana* VI (1936), p. 17.

from the rule of piety. If he cannot find his way around either kind, and the desire of the writer is unclear, then it is not meretricious to infer a meaning in accord with sound faith » <sup>73</sup>.

Possibly this view has always been clear to faithful readers. However, another view has been developing, beginning with that of Father Spicq. In surveying a range of centuries, he wrote that « dès qu'ils en dissertent, les uns, à la suite d'Origène et S. Jérôme, retiennent la trichotomie : histoire, morale ou tropologie, mystique ou allégorie, les autres exploitent le quadruple distinction de Cassien et d'Augustin, reprise par Bède et Raban Maur... <sup>74</sup> » de Lubac picked up such remarks ostensibly to refute them <sup>75</sup>; he went into detail about Bede's using three senses as much or more than four, and then not uniformly; he scorned Loewe, who had asserted that Bede knew only three senses and who had surmised that Walafrid may have first formulated the fourfold sense <sup>76</sup>. But in the end, the formula of a fourfold sense proved no easier for him to resist than for Spicq; he finally wrote <sup>80</sup>: « Saint Bède le Vénérable est sans doute l'esprit le plus scientifique du haut moyen âge, curieux à la fois de critique, d'histoire et de science naturelle; or c'est lui qui a frappé la formule définitive du quadruple sens ». True, one is not always sure, when reading his statements, whether Père Lubac is using « quadruple sens » literally or metaphorically. But among those who misread, if misreading it is, is Willmes, who within the decade issued an extensive comment on Bede's exegesis: « The key to the understanding of every mystery Bede found in the spiritual meaning, which arises from faith and becomes an allegory of Christ's Advent in the flesh, a tropology or moral interpretation of the internal action of Grace, and an anagogy indicating the eschatological

<sup>73</sup> *De doctr. christ.* III, 27; *De Genesi ad litteram* I, 21 — as quoted by PARÉ, BRUNET, and TREMBLAY, *La renaissance du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les écoles et l'enseignement* (1933), p. 217.

<sup>74</sup> C. SPICQ, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine*, Paris, 1944, pp. 98-99. This statement is caught up almost verbatim in *Cambridge History of the Bible* I (1969), pp. 264-265.

<sup>75</sup> I, p. 139.

<sup>76</sup> P. 142.

<sup>80</sup> P. 664.

events to come »<sup>81</sup>. Having set up this fourfold sense, Willmes tried to account for Bede's references to a threefold sense by following de Lubac<sup>82</sup> in demonstrating that the tropological and allegorical senses are essentially one, and eventually conceded, «es finden sich manche Inconsequenzen in ihrer Anwendung »<sup>83</sup>.

Counteracting such heady formulations is the statement of Dr. Barrows, who closely examined Bede's allegorical exposition of the Canticles :

It is a striking fact that nowhere else [than in exposition of Cant. iv, 11] in this Allegorical Exposition of the Cantic does Bede use the four Cassianic terms together. In fact he uses *allegoria* (or its derivatives) only in one other place in the Exposition, aside from the title, *tropologia* and *anagoge* nowhere else, and *littera* only fourteen times in all... A count of the technical terms of allegorical interpretation used by Bede in this work reveals the following facts : his commonest words (except, of course, for such expressions as *significat*, *quod est aperte* or *patenter dicere*, and the like, which are too common to count) are *figura* (41), *typus* (20), *mysterium* (18), and *sensus* or *intelligentia spiritalis* (6). Aside from the conspicuous absence of Cassian's terms save in the one place where Bede discusses the four-level system directly, the interesting thing that this study of terminology demonstrates is that Bede uses his three favorite terms in close association with each other, often in the same context, and with substantially the same meaning. In other words, he seems to use all three only for the sake of stylistic variation.<sup>84</sup>

## B. BEDE'S STATEMENTS OF EXEGETICAL THEORY

Four passages scattered through Bede's works, representing four stages of his life, deal especially with his theory of exegesis. All others seem accidental — that is, analogies useful for illuminating some quite different concept. As Barrows

<sup>81</sup> *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* XLIV (1962), p. 289.

<sup>82</sup> I, pp. 139-144, 154 f.

<sup>83</sup> P. 304.

<sup>84</sup> BARROWS, p. 164.



says, « These passages stand out in each case like a foreign body in the commentary, for they are always illustrated with material other than the text under consideration ... It is apparent that Bede was interested in the theory as a thing in itself, a common place which served perhaps as a symbol of the fulness of Scriptural meaning, but never as a tool for exegesis »<sup>85</sup>.

1. *De Schematibus et Tropis Liber*. The earliest treatment appears in *Schemes and Tropes*, which according to Laistner<sup>86</sup> was composed together with his *Art of Meter* A.D. 701-702<sup>87</sup>. Schemes and tropes, wrote Bede, are the figures and manners of speaking in which the Holy Scriptures are woven together<sup>88</sup>:

Often for the sake of elegance (*decoris*) the arrangement of words in the Scriptures is found to be delineated (*figuratus*) otherwise than in common speech. The grammarians call such arrangement *schema* in Greek, and we call it *habitus* or *forma* or correctly *figura*, because by this means the discourse is to some extent clothed and adorned. Again, an expression is found to be *tropica* when it is changed over in meaning from its normal signification to one close to it, to fill a need or for ornamentation. Indeed, the Greeks boast that they were the inventors of such figures or tropes. But so that you may know, beloved son, and also that everyone may know who chooses to read these words, that Holy Scripture surpasses all other scriptures not only because of its authority, which is divine, or its utility, since it leads to life eternal, but also because of its antiquity and its felicitous phrasing, after gathering examples from it I have set about showing that there is no scheme or trope of

<sup>85</sup> Pp. 182-183.

<sup>86</sup> *Handlist of Bede MSS*, 1943, pp. 131-132.

<sup>87</sup> The text in *P.L.* XC, 175-186, is copied from GILES' *Beda Opera Omnia* VI (1843), pp. 80-98, which is copied from the Basle folio edition of 1563. C. HALM has edited *ST* without *DAM* from three MSS in *Rhetorici Latini Minores* (1863), pp. 607-618. Dr. Calvin KENDALL has prepared new texts of both works, which will soon be published among the didactic works of Bede in CC, vol. CXXXIIIB. The Preface to that edition will suggest a date of composition later than 701/702.

<sup>88</sup> *HE* v, 24 (PLUMMER I, pp. 359-360). The passage following comprises the introductory sentences of *ST*, *P.L.* XC, 175A-B.

any kind that the masters can adduce from any period of eloquence whatever that Holy Scripture has not anticipated.

In short, Scripture employs the same artistic devices as are found in any literature, but it is first with the best. Bede regarded all human composition as merely adumbration of God's Word. Holy Scripture may be interpreted according to the principles and methods of Greek rhetoricians and grammarians ; but Bede will now furnish a better text than any grammarian before him, only because his is the perfect standard.

Bede then lists, describes, and illustrates seventeen schemes : *prolepsis* (*praeoccupatio*), *zeugma* (*coniunctio*), *hypozeugis* (*subiunctio*), etc.<sup>89</sup>. We might call them figures of speech. He then defines tropes : « A trope is an utterance moved over from its usual significance to an unusual similitude for the sake of embellishment or by necessity »<sup>90</sup>. The thirteen tropes, which we might call figures of thought, are metaphor, catachresis, metalepsis, metonymy, antonomasia, epithet, synecdoche, onomatopoeia, periphrasis, hyperbaton, hyperbole, allegory, and homoeosis. Many of these have subspecies. Bede describes all species and subspecies, with illustrations drawn exclusively from Holy Scripture. Only the twelfth, *allegory*, need detain us. It has seven subspecies : irony, antiphrasis, enigma, charientismus<sup>91</sup>, parhoemia<sup>92</sup>, sarcasm, and asteismus<sup>93</sup>. After he has defined and illustrated each of the subspecies, Bede concludes the chapter on *Allegory* with a passage which I wish to quote in full :

Note that *allegory* can occur in facts quite as much as in words<sup>94</sup> : in facts, as the Apostle expounded the statement, « Abraham had two sons : the one by a bondwoman and the

<sup>89</sup> P.L. XC, 176C-180B.

<sup>90</sup> Col. 179C.

<sup>91</sup> See CHARISIUS, *Ars grammatica* IV, 2 (ed. Keil I, 276, 20).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 276, 22.

<sup>93</sup> See DONATUS, *Ars grammatica* III, 6, « De tropis » (ed. Keil IV, p. 402) ; cf. *Commentum Einsidlense* (Keil VIII, p. 273) ; MARIUS PLOTIUS SACERDOS, *Ars Gram.* I, « De tropis » (Keil VI, 461-462) ; POMPEIUS, *Commentum*, « De tropis » (Keil V, p. 312).

<sup>94</sup> « ... allegoria aliquando factis, aliquando verbis tantummodo fit » (col. 184D).

other by a free woman, which are the two Testaments »<sup>95</sup>; but also in words, as in Isaiah xi [1]: « There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root, » wherein it is signified that the Lord Savior will have been born of the family of David through the Virgin Mary. Sometimes one and the same thing is allegorically signified by facts and words both: by facts, as in Genesis xxxvii [28], « They sold him to the Ishmaelites for twenty [alii thirty] pieces of silver »; but in words as in Zacharias xi [12], « And they weighed for my wages thirty pieces of silver. » Likewise in facts, as in I Kings xvi [12-13], « Now David was ruddy and beautiful to behold, and Samuel anointed him in the midst of his brethren. » In words, as in Canticles v [10], « My beloved is white and ruddy, chosen out of thousands. » Each of these passages signifies that the Mediator of God and men, though adorned with wisdom and virtue, still was to be ruddied by the flow of His own blood and anointed by God the Father with the oil of gladness before His fellows [Ps. xlv, 8]. Likewise the *allegory* of word or of work figuratively signifies sometimes an event, sometimes a type, sometimes a tropological, that is moral, lesson, sometimes anagogy, that is, a sense leading to things above<sup>96</sup>. For history is figured through history (*per historiam historia figuratur*) when what was to be done in the first six or seven days is compared with the same number of ages of this world. History is figured through the word when what the patriarch Jacob says in Genesis xlix [9], « Juda is a lion's whelp: to the prey, my son, thou art gone up, » etc., is understood of the reign and conquests of David. The « spiritual sense » of Christ or the Church comes through the word when the faithful grasp that same saying of the patriarch with regard to the Lord's Passion and Resurrection. In the same way, an allegorical fact designates tropological, that is moral, perfection. For example, in Genesis xxxvii [3] the coat of divers colors which the patriarch Jacob made for his son Joseph suggests the grace of the many dif-

<sup>95</sup> « Quoniam Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla, et unum de libera, quae sunt duo Testamenta » (Gal. iv, 22. 24).

<sup>96</sup> « ... anagogen, hoc est, sensum ad superiora ducentem » (col. 185B).

ferent virtues in which God the Father tells us always to be clad to the end of our life, and grants us the means. The allegory of word signifies the same perfection of morals, as in [Luke XII, 35], « Let your loins be girt and lamps burning, » etc. The allegory of fact expresses anagogy, that is, the sense leading to higher things. So [Gen. v, 21. 24] Enoch, the seventh from Adam, being translated from the world, figuratively foretells the Sabbath of future bliss, which after the good works of this world, which are carried out in six ages, will serve the Elect for ever. The allegory of word demonstrates the same joy of celestial life, as in Matthew xxiv [28], « Where-soever the body shall be, there shall the eagles also be gathered together, » because where the Mediator of God and men exists in the body there now the souls of the just are lifted up to Heaven, and, after the great glory of the Resurrection, their bodies also will be gathered there. Occasionally in one and the same thing or word figuratively will be present simultaneously the historical meaning and the mystical sense of Christ or the Church and the tropology and the anagogy. For example, the Temple of the Lord according to history means the building which Solomon built ; according to allegory it means the body of the Lord of which He said, John II [19], « Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up » ; or it means His Church, to whom it is said [I Cor. III, 17], « For the temple of God is holy, which you are » ; according to tropology, each of the faithful, to whom it is said, I Cor. [III, 16], « Know you not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit, Who is in you ? » ; according to anagogy, the dwellings of supernal joy, to which he aspired who said [Ps. LXXXIII, 5], « Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house, O Lord ; they shall praise Thee for ever and ever. » In like fashion what is said in Psalm cXLVII [12-13], « Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem ; Praise thy God, O Sion. Because He hath strengthened the bolts of thy gates ; He hath blessed thy children within thee, » <sup>97</sup> can correctly be understood as meaning historically the citizens of the earthly Jerusalem, allegorically the Church of Christ, tropologically the elect soul, anagogically the heavenly home. In

<sup>97</sup> Compare Cassian, above p. 137, from whom Bede derived this example.

speaking of the Church according to allegory, we have followed the example of the most scholarly expositor, Gregory, who in his *Books of Morals* consistently limited the term allegory proper to those statements or facts which explain Christ or the Church through figure.

In short, Bede taught his disciples in class that a fourfold meaning, which may be present in either things (facts, actions) or words, is not more or less than a polished and elevated way of expressing something which might have been said simply. There are seven species of allegory, which is itself only one of thirteen tropes, or figures of thought. Any one of the seven forms of allegory may be one of two kinds, of facts or of words, and each of these fourteen kinds may bear one, two, three, or four senses, for each of which Bede does not hesitate to apply two or more names, one of which is, indeed, *allegoria* again, now in a minutely specific sense *if* it has any specific meaning at all.

Bede may have composed *Schemes and Tropes* when he was a young teacher, possibly thirty years old, and he may have modified his views with experience, but never to the point of retracting his words. The large number of manuscripts of this work still extant and the frequent appearance of quotations from it indicate that it was regarded as sound doctrine in ecclesiastical schools for many centuries.

2. *In Apocalypsin Praefatio*. Before the year 709, Bede composed his *In Apoc* <sup>98</sup>, with a dedication to Hwaetbert in which he gave a full digest of the exegetical rules of Tyconius <sup>99</sup> as reported by Augustine <sup>100</sup>. Though embarrassed to depend upon a Donatist, Augustine had praised the seven rules as keys to obscurities of Holy Scripture :

Wherever one wishes to say one thing so that another is understood, even though the name of the particular trope employed is not found in the art of rhetoric, he uses a figurative expression. When such expressions are found in accustomed places,

<sup>98</sup> LAISTNER, *Handlist*, p. 25.

<sup>99</sup> *In Apoc*, Ep ad Eusebium (P.L. XCIII, 132-134).

<sup>100</sup> *De doctr. christ.* III, xxx-xxxvii (trans. D. W. ROBERTSON 1958), pp. 104-117 ; see F. C. BURKITT, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius* (Cambridge Texts and Studies III, 1, 1894), p. xxi.

the mind follows them without difficulty ; when they are in unexpected places, labor is necessary [to understand them, more for some and less for others, as the gifts of God are greater or less in the minds of men, or as they have greater or less assistance <sup>101</sup>.

In short, as Bede agrees, any kind of figure is legitimately employed in the Word of God. Bede may have been enthusiastic about the Tyconian rules because they could help him in the particular task of explaining the Apocalypse, as they did ; or, still in his thirties, he may have believed that they were generally more helpful than they eventually proved to be. Jenkins says that « no one who considers carefully Bede's exposition of Tyconius and the illustrations that he gives, and then turns to Bede's own commentaries, can fail to observe the marked influence which the rules have exercised upon his whole method » <sup>102</sup>. This view is supported by Carroll <sup>103</sup> and by Laistner, who says that Bede names Tyconius no fewer than ten times <sup>104</sup>. Though I have not been aware of so decided an influence, I believe that Bede did have Tyconius in mind when he wrote *In Gen* III, 745-747, and *De Tabernaculo* (P.L. XCI, col. 422). At all events, the seven rules, which involve extensions of typical grammatical figures like synecdoche, do not deviate from acceptable patterns of literary criticism. They are not based upon the concept of levels of meaning or of polysemantics.

3. *In Samuelem Praefatio*. About the year 716, <sup>105</sup> Bede dedicated his Commentary on Samuel to Acca, writing :

All these things were written for our correction, learning, and comfort <sup>106</sup> ... But in what sense we may stumble upon correction in these writings, by what reason learning, by what perception comfort, to what end all things speak of and herald

<sup>101</sup> *De doctr. christ.* III, 37 (p. 116).

<sup>102</sup> *Bede*, p. 155.

<sup>103</sup> P. 32.

<sup>104</sup> *Bede*, p. 253 ; however, Laistner found no evidence that Bede used Tyconius in either of his two commentaries on Acts, which Laistner edited.

<sup>105</sup> LAISTNER, *Handlist*, p. 65.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. I Cor. x, 11.

those days, we must anxiously and diligently attend, imitating within the range of our modest power *that scribe, instructed in the kingdom of heaven, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old* (Matt. xiii, 52)... For if we try to bring forth from the treasure of the Scriptures only the old (that is, in Judaic fashion to follow only the literal meaning of the figures) how can readers and listeners acquire correctional doctrine in these sinful days, comforting doctrine among soulshaking troubles, spiritual teaching amid the innumerable errors of this life? <sup>107</sup>

Bede seems almost to be advocating a system of fourfold interpretation here, with « correction » equaling moral meaning, « learning » literal, « comfort » anagogic, and « speaking » and « heralding » equaling tropological or spiritual or allegorical. But if we look without prejudice, he appears merely to be saying to Acca just what Ambrose said to Augustine, that the letter killeth often where the spirit giveth life. Each man, required to be his own expositor, must in the end subject his personal exposition to the arbitration of faith, hope, and charity alone.

4. *Quaestiones V et VI*. Bede did not himself list *Octo Quaestionum Liber* among his works, but Lehmann and Laistner have demonstrated that he composed it, possibly after his list of his own writings was published in A.D. 731 <sup>108</sup>. This brief work contains some of Bede's mature thought, and most closely states the principles of exegesis that seem to dominate *In Gen* ii-iv. Here is the relevant portion of the reply to Quaestio V:

Regarding the apostolic statement, Romans xiv, 5, « Let every man abound in his own sense » ... the Apostle did not speak in the indicative mood, *abundat*, but in the imperative: « Let every man abound in his own sense. » In this way he commands that if we are not able to arrive at the more sublime secrets of the divine sacraments, yet we may humbly and

<sup>107</sup> P.L. XCI, 499-500.

<sup>108</sup> See LAISTNER, *Handlist*, pp. 155-157. A text is available in P.L. XCIII, cols. 455-462; *Quaestiones* ix-xv, which continue to col. 478, are spurious. See *Clavis*, No. 1364, and Levison in *Durham University Journal* XXXVII (1945), p. 79.

devoutly serve the Lord in those which we truly understand and feel are understood and trustworthy. And thus will be fulfilled what he ordered, that every man should abound in his own sense, when we take care abundantly to perform those good works which we are taught to believe in and to do by the great doctors, to the end that, through the execution of those which we know, we may deserve likewise to attain a perception of those sublimities which we never did know. Hence he rightly subjoins (Phil. III, 15), « If in anything you be otherwise minded, this also God will reveal to you. » ... Just as it is well known to have been done by the blessed Cyprian, who, with his fellow bishops who were in Africa, determined against the custom of the Church that heretics should be rebaptized. But because in his own sense, which seemed to him right, he was zealous to abound in good works, he soon deserved to be corrected, and to be led back to the universal norm of the Holy Church through the instruction of spiritual men.

This passage may seem remote from the theory of exegesis, but the two are one. God and His Holy Spirit have granted Grace of the Word to man that he may follow it to the extent of his small understanding ; and the elect soul will do so. But God and His Holy Spirit have also granted to their doctors the power of understanding, that they may guide men aright. In God's Providence the Elect may stray, but the doctors will be present with their doctrine, to prevent their falling into the pit. So says the Apostle.

Bede's stress upon the insight, inspiration, and authority of the doctors strides toward Alcuin's belief in the infallibility of the Fathers. Wrote Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum* <sup>109</sup> ;

The vision of the Divine Face is not denied to us, but only to us while we are living in this mortality. In the future, however, it is promised to the clean of heart (Matt. v, 8). The likeness of His Face and of perpetual blessedness is shown not only to the Fathers when the Lord appeared to them in the form of angels, but even to us today. When we read the writings of the Fathers, it is shown to us not obscurely.

<sup>109</sup> P.L. XCI, 1095D.



In Genesis, when the Flood ended, Noah opened the cover of the Ark. That *tectum* typifies Christ the Mediator, and Noah typifies the Doctors of the Church. After the sacrament of baptism, the words of the Doctors unlock the secrets of the Lord's Incarnation for each believer according to his modest ability <sup>110</sup>. The way to Salvation (the Tree of life) through lost Eden is the symbolic Cherubim, who stand for *scientia multiplicata* because through discipline in *scientiae celestis et per laborem afflictionum temporalium* we reach Home <sup>111</sup>. We must believe in both the words and deeds recorded in the words of the early Fathers <sup>112</sup>, but the value of Bede's and other modern teaching lies only in its power of suggestion : *Ita fieri oportuisse credendum est* <sup>113</sup> seems a sentence to suggest his rather pragmatic attitude — we should believe that this was a good way to do it.

*Quaestio VI* concerns the words of David in lamenting the slaying of Saul and Jonathan among his sons : « In this lament he seems to have cursed the mountains of Gelboe on which they were slain ». (II Reg. 1, 18-27) Bede writes :

Why are these events set in accord with the time or the mystery of the Lord's Passion so that these matters (just as you have described them in writing) are repeated in all the churches as part of the Responsories on the Holy Sabbath of Easter in memory of that same Passion <sup>114</sup>, as if the impious king, killed by enemies because of his crimes, were able to figure (*figurare*) the innocence of king Christ, Who did not sin, neither was guile found in His mouth (I Pet. 11, 22) ... It ought not to seem grotesque to you that the evil acts of the reprobate should signify something good, or again that the good works of the just should bear a contrary signification. On this matter read the *Moralia* of holy pope Gregory, at the point where

<sup>110</sup> *In Gen* 11, 1878-1881.

<sup>111</sup> I, 2298-2305.

<sup>112</sup> II, 2364-2366.

<sup>113</sup> I, 1782.

<sup>114</sup> There is no such responsory in *Sabbato Sancto* in R.-J. HESBERT, ed., *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, Vol. II, pp. 316 ff. The appropriate verse (II Reg. 1, 21, 19) occurs elsewhere (p. 459). However, it does appear among the *Gregorii spuria*, P.L. LXXVIII, 768A, in *primo nocturno*. My thanks to my colleague, Professor Richard Crocker.

he explained how blessed Job cursed his day, saying, « Let the day perish wherein I was born, » etc. (Iob III, 3), and you will see that it is most common in Scriptures to find both a good signification in the deeds of evil men and evil in the deeds of good men. With respect to Uriah, the most faithful knight of king David, his most pious and innocent deeds or words are interpreted with a bad significance, and conversely David himself in his greatest crime is to be accepted in a good significance. Otherwise, if it were not possible for good to be signified through evil or evil through good, it would never be right to write with black ink, but we ought always to write with shining gold, because « God is light, and in Him there is no darkness » (I Ioh. I, 5). And again in the captions of the Psalms, the names of Absalom and Dieg, those reprobate men, should not be written in bright red, but only in black color. Therefore, just as in the pages of books we can figure (*figurare*) evil and good in whatever color we wish without any restraint, so likewise in the matter of significations we can most correctly express both good and evil through whatever deeds of men — granted that it happens much more often and is much sweeter to hear that good is figured through good and evil through evil. But just as with pictures on the walls it is not proper to depict the dark Ethiopian in white or the white body or hair of the Saxon in black pigment, so in retribution of merits according to his work which anyone may receive and of whatsoever he will be in fact, such likewise will he appear in his features before the Judge; and nothing at all will pertain to that matter which anyone has figured but what he shall have done.

Bede repeats this opinion in *In Gen* iv, 1515-1520 : « Scriptures are apt to represent (*designari*) evil through good men and good through evil men. Even the blessed pope Gregory did not hesitate to interpret the impious kings Saul<sup>115</sup> and Jechonias<sup>116</sup> as images of the Lord Savior; and conversely he says that the extremely faithful act of Uriah designates the perfidy of the Jews »<sup>117</sup>. Nevertheless, a prop-

<sup>115</sup> GREGORY, *Moralia* xxxiv, 22 (P.L. LXXVI, col. 742).

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. xxviii, 8 (459).

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. iii, 28 (LXXV, 626).

er sense (in this instance, spiritual) may be signified simply by association of words: « Because the Holy Ghost descended upon the Lord (Luc. III, 22), the word dove or doves rightly signifies the spiritual sense and gifts »<sup>118</sup>.

The analogy of words and pigments recalls the portraits in the Wearmouth chapel<sup>119</sup>. Bede listed five categories of *picturae* there, for each of which he used the word *imagines*, as he did above. *Imagines* are « depictions » or « echoes »<sup>120</sup>, « nothing more ; they have no truth in themselves. So Gregory, in his famous letter to Augustine of Canterbury, spoke of *veris imaginibus in cogitatione inquinatur*<sup>121</sup>. And Bede spoke of man's creation in the image of God only in the sense of potentiality for eternal life, and not otherwise<sup>122</sup>; that creature may be corrupted by sin. But since *imago* and *typus* equate<sup>123</sup>, then types, figures, and images « echo » Truth only : discernment depends upon the believer's interpretation under patristic guidance. Exegesis is literary criticism, not theology.

### C. BEDE'S CRITICAL VOCABULARY

Terms normally considered technical have no definite or consistent meaning in Bede's exegesis. For example, the word *typus*: In *Gen* III, 881-884, suggests that the *typus* is an overt revelation, *divinae providentiae consilio*. *Sara ecclesiae sanctae typum insinuet* as Abraham is the type of Trinity. But note that *insinuet* merely « suggests », Egypt and Chanaan *typicis sensibus designant* this world and the next (III, 1199-1202). Bede regularly uses *designare* as interchangeable with *insinuare*; neither word asserts either fact or reality. *Typus* may lead to a « spiritual, » a « moral, » or an « anagogical » meaning, or any combination of them. In *Gen* II, 2146-2151, uses *typice* twice as a rhetorical

<sup>118</sup> In *Cant* II, v (P.L. XCI, 1099).

<sup>119</sup> *Hist. Abb.*, 6 (PLUMMER I, pp. 369-370).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. OROSIUS II, XIX, 10.

<sup>121</sup> *HE* I, 27 (PLUMMER I, p. 59).

<sup>122</sup> In *Gen* II, 2194-2201.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. III, 1766.

term for something like synecdoche — a characterizing entity for a principle, or, as Bede says (II, 2156) *rem invisibilem per rem visibilem*. In III, 1767, *typus* is equated with *imago*; in III, 1212-1219, *typice* is equated with *mystice*. At the same time the moral meaning is *mystice* (I, 2311-2312) and the anagogic is *mystice* (III, 1137). So with other terms: II, 505-517 is pure eschatology, but the term is *spiritaliter*, not *anagoge*; II, 1718-1738, is both moral and anagogic. In IV, 1091-1093, *spiritaliter intellegenda* points to what Cassian called tropology, as it does in nearly all lines in III, 542-709. I have set off lines II, 294-455, as *Interpretatio mystica*, in accord with Bede's own statement, but there are no moral lessons included in it. In twenty lines (I, 1780-1799) interpreting a single verse, he employs the following possibly technical terms: *altioris mysterii gratia, significabatur, sacramenta salutis, tanti sacramenti, figura, figurabatur, mysterii gratia, typico verbo*. These all refer to Eve's derivation from Adam's rib: a type, a figure, a mystery, a sacrament — later (I, 1804) lumped together as *concontinentibus figuris*.

Conversely, in many interpretations which closely fit our preconceived meaning for these terms, Bede uses none of them. Lines II, 1636-1651, are tropological and mystical with a hint of anagogy, but Bede uses only *significant* and *figuratum est*. II, 479-494, without critical terms, is a mystical passage (*ipsi sunt civitas eius et templum*), a tropological passage (*humiliter eius praecepta sequentes*), and an anagogical passage (*futuro sabbato*). In his exposition of Gen. IX, 21 (II, 2285-2293) Bede points to a series of analogies with Christ's Passion, not once employing a critical term. In commenting on Gen. III, 8, *post meridiem*, Bede deserts his copying from Augustine to remark on his own: « Hence the Lord aptly ascended the Cross at noon and, after promising the thief a dwelling in paradise, *post meridiem, id est nona hora*, gave up the spirit: so that, you see, at the same hour at which the first man had touched the tree of transgression the second man ascended the tree of redemption, and at the same hour of day at which He had expelled transgressors from paradise He would lead the confessor into Paradise » (I, 2005-2011). This is « history prefigured in history » in a precise case, but Bede does not use either the word *figura* or *typus*.

In iv, 574-581, he points out a moral and a literal meaning (*excepto spiritali intellectu*) which « much edifies readers, » but again he uses no critical term. In ii, 1265-1313, all four senses are involved, but no technical term is used.

« Significance » may shift very quickly, and what may generally be the meaning of a fact or word may lose that meaning in any particular verse: *Abraham quippe hoc loco populum Israel cum suo sacerdotio designat* (iii, 1749-1750).

Despite Bede's explanations elsewhere of the Cassianic fourfold sense, the only formula explicated in *In Gen* is threefold (iv, 695-717, on Gen. xviii, 6-7). Sara's *tria sata similiae* represent a « spiritual sacrament, » the threefold meaning of Scripture, as in *Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae* (Ps. xxv, 8) <sup>124</sup>. Says Bede: These are three measures because a threefold sense governs the understanding of Holy Scripture — the historical that is, the allegorical, and the anagogic. Bede appears in this passage simply to have dropped *tropologicus sive moralis* from Cassian's fourfold formula. But what he is in fact doing is illuminating the text before him by means of a literary analogy: the threefold sense is an illustrative instance, not a working theory. I shall indicate below how Bede, assuredly more strongly devoted to the figure of the Six Ages than to any figure of the Four Senses, still discusses figures of two, three, four, seven, or eight ages without qualification or attempt at reconciliation, as fits his particular context. To repeat, significance is where he finds it.

*Figurae* or *typi*, however viewed, are not the only centers of exegesis. Bede, as a confirmed teacher would, comments widely upon the grammar, computation, history, and geography as if valuable for their own sake. iii, 295-336, is an « allegory » only in the literary sense of play on words, using alleged derivations of place names to depict qualities of races. Such treatment Cassian might consider tropology, since individuals and not Christ and His Church are in focus.

<sup>124</sup> Bede follows Gregory, *Ep.* v, 53a.3; *Hom. in Ezech.* I, vii, 10; *Moralia* xvi, 19. Gregory elsewhere (e.g. *Moralia*, Praef. iii [P.L. LXXV, 513C]) specifies a threefold sense as literal, typic, and moral. But he also describes a twofold sense (a clear exposition is *Hom. in Ezech.* I, ix, 30 [P.L. LXXVI, 883]) in differing and contradictory categories, as well as fourfold senses.

Bede's statement against mechanics and urbanity (II, 532-562) might be considered *interpretatio moralis*, but only in the Gregorian untechnical sense; it is a didactic « lesson » from literal experience. Thus Bede reaffirms what he had asserted in *Schemes and Tropes*, that Scriptures are composed in the metaphors and analogies of poetry, only better. So (IV, 1578-1580), « Isaac is 'nursed on milk' whenever an elect soul, that is, a Son of Promise, recently born in Christ, grasps the first rudiments of faith ». This is the same literary process as the allegorizing of Homer. He often creates « allegories » in the literary rather than the technical sense. The « mystical » section of Book II is such: Cain = the Jews, Abel = Christ, the earth = the Church. In *magno mysterio* the Ark was completed on the tenth day of the first month for the people of God, the second month for the people of the New Testament, and the tenth for the *denarium* of the Heavenly Kingdom promised by the Lord. This is sheer wordplay. Carroll<sup>125</sup> has shown that *mysterium* normally means to Bede simply « hidden meaning » — anything below the superficial. His words, indeed, sometimes suggest a kind of take-it-or-leave-it: *Quod si in hac lectione ... allegoricum quid sentire delectat, significatur ...* (IV, 1460). He conceived of Moses as a human author, attributing weaknesses in authorship to him (I, 137 ff., 146 ff., 177 ff., III, 757 ff.), but he did not favor the practice of blaming the unintelligible upon the human (III, 1267 ff.). Inconsistencies may have arisen from Ezra's editing (II, 1385 ff.)<sup>126</sup>.

A characteristic passage is II, 716-735, in which Bede gives three lexicographical meanings for *Adam* and favors them all as instructive, using each asserted meaning as a basis for extensive interpretation. The first is literal (*homo* from *humo*, for God formed him from dust), the second anagogic (*superna speculari et ad celestia contuenda debeat oculos mentis*

<sup>125</sup> *Op. cit.*, supra, n. 71, p. 120.

<sup>126</sup> CARROLL, p. 33, says that Bede's tract, *De eo quod ait Isaias* (P.L. XCIV, 702-710) « is Bede's rather hesitating attempt to elucidate this text, without denying the doctrine of the eternity of hell. Bede does not hazard an interpretation of what Isaias understood or wished to have understood by it, but only presents what *he* understands by it. »

*adtollere*), and the third, which Bede called *mysticus* and also *sacramentum*, we would, I think, call literal (*multum decebat ut nomen protoplasti omnes mundi plagas in se mystice contineret, per cuius progeniem, mundus erat omnis implendus*). Bede does not regard etymology as a device of literal interpretation : « Jerusalem is called *visio pacis*, but more of that hereafter ; meantime let us examine the literal text » (III, 377-380).

Literal interpretation can be thorny. Though he is the best of chronologists, Bede cannot fully explain a missing two years *secundum litteram* (III, 733-737). He seems to have cared little for a rational, let alone a foolish, consistency ; despite his repeated emphasis upon the unalterability of God's Plan, despite emphasis on the literality of numbers and extents of time, as for example in Mathusalah's age, still he copies Jerome's statement verbatim (II, 974-981) that God altered the period of the Flood from 120 to 100 years because men were impenitent. Bede's explanation is that God is truly One and man's limited sensibility prevents his grasping an enveloping Truth ; for shortly thereafter (II, 1010-1015) he quotes Augustine : [*Dei*] *est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia quam certa praescientia ; sed utitur Scriptura talibus verbis ut se quodammodo familiarius insinuet nobis qui mutare coeptum aliquid et in aliud transferre non nisi penitendo solemus*. He goes on to state (II, 1017-1021) that Scripture adapts itself to the slowest and lowest intellects, which constitute the great majority by far.

This miraculous adaptation of Scriptures is one of Bede's firmest principles. It entices him into the pedantry of lingering over unfathomable inconsistencies in the literal statement. So with the time of Creation (I, 432), the primitive light (I, 445), though later (I, 504) he returns to it with some explanation, and the number of tribes descended from Noah (III, 339-356). For him, the building of the Ark is primarily « allegory » in the technical sense of « spiritual, » and he so explains it in commenting on Gen. VI, 13 - VII, 10 (II, 1060-1512) as Christ and the Church ; though toward the end (1493 ff.) the explanation becomes anagogic, and in one place (II, 1132-1145) tropological. The specifications of the Ark proceed directly from the Son and are therefore profoundly meaningful

(II, 1218-1222). Hence in II, 1370-1435, he very literally measures the Ark, discussing Origen's « geometrical cubit » and Josephus' solution. But he concludes that all the facts recorded are, thanks, to divine power, shot through with miracles. Questioning how eight human beings could tend all those animals, he advises his readers to still their questioning and abide in the faith that all is well. Two literal statements may contradict each other *mystice* (II, 918) <sup>127</sup>.

How Bede relates literal to allegorical, however many senses, merits attention. The nature of his subject determines his interpretation. He says of Canticles, *nil carnale et iuxta litteram resonet*, but *totum se spiritaliter ac typice velit intellegi* <sup>128</sup>. Since with the Fathers (e.g. Jerome) he reproached the Jews for slavish adherence to the letter, he could not emphasize its worth ; he speaks of *paupertas sensus carnalis* (I, 1388). A « mere » historical meaning is not sufficient (III, 1437-1440). A reason for composing exegesis of the historical books is to make evident the allegorical way around the inherent evil of the carnal sense <sup>129</sup>. As he wrote in the Preface to the Commentary on Ezra <sup>130</sup> : « Having stripped away the husk of the letter, we find the other more profound and sacred meaning in the marrow of the spiritual sense, which clearly delineates the Lord Himself and the Temple and His City (which we are) in the prophetic figures, to be sure, but in manifest array... Those events which Ezra and Nehemiah recorded, they taught were done under the figure of Christ and the Church ». In IV, 718-731, Sara's hearth-cakes, cooked in the ashes, are the nourishing figurative meanings hidden within literal ashes.

<sup>127</sup> Gregory (*Hom. in Ezech.* II, 1, 3 ; *P.L.* LXXXVI, 936), in discussing Ezechiel's visionary City of God (XL, 1-2), says that the words cannot be taken literally (*accepi iuxta litteram nullatenus potest*) because the physical measurements are self-contradictory. Then : « In Scriptura autem sacra et ea quae accipi secundum historiam possunt, plerumque spiritaliter intelligenda sunt, ut et fides habeatur in veritate historiae, et spiritalis intelligentia capiatur de mysteriis allegoriae. »

<sup>128</sup> *P.L.* XCI, 1205C.

<sup>129</sup> *In Sam*, Praef. (*P.L.* XCI, 499B).

<sup>130</sup> *P.L.* XCI, 808B.



Yet Bede has a master's interest in the literal meaning despite his preacher's aim to surmount it; the « science » of the literal statement is needful for his comparatively rude people. Every grammatical entity (morphology, syntax, diction) is capable of yielding meaning, and should be treated as Truth <sup>131</sup>. In the early lines of *In Gen* he sounds the note of adherence to the letter: « We should carefully consider that when one devotes his attention to allegorical interpretations, he therewith abandons the clear historical statement by such allegorizing » (I, 29-31). He asserts (IV, 1254-1256) the literal truth of the unnatural conception and delivery of Lot's daughters: *Non potest factum dubitari quod tanta auctoritas factum esse refert*. Even Books II-IV, composed toward the end of his life, reveal no essential change in attitude from *In Apoc*; in that Preface to Eusebius <sup>132</sup> he stated that he had deliberately simplified his treatment in both content and syntax, « having regard for the inflexibility of mind of our people, that is, the English, who not long ago, that is, in the time of the blessed pope Gregory, received the germ of faith ».

We can best examine Bede's attitude toward the relationship of literal and allegorical by looking at his treatment of the work of the Six Days (see below, pp. 191-198). Despite his addiction to the formula of Six Days and Six Ages, in accord with Ecclesiasticus XVIII, 1, he follows Augustine in emphasizing the instantaneous nature of God's creative act. Yet the delegation of creation to the Second Person created a time sequence in terms of mankind's « Word » (I, 291-295). By copying verbatim from Augustine (I, 212-218) he states that there are levels of literality in every word. In *appellavit diem*, God is pure Intellect without partaking of linguistic imperfections. The phrase *ordine distincto providentiae* (I, 80) suggests that Gen. I literally lists the logical and hierarchical values without committing to history a literal time-sequence.

<sup>131</sup> E.g. « Quod ipsis etiam Scripturae syllabis probatur; quae, postquam verbo praeteriti temporis perfecti dixit ... subiunxit mox verbo temporis praeteriti plusquam perfecti » (I, 1319-1323). Other instances are II, 55-59; 98-107. Trinity depends on a point of grammar *faciamus*, I, 746-767.

<sup>132</sup> P.L. XCIII, 134A.

*Requies* does not mean «rest,» but means «cessation,» as many instances show (I, 1028). Such ambiguities arise from divine concession to human incapacity. Yet he cannot follow Augustine without modification, for the historical Six Ages are very real to him. By modifying Augustine's doctrine he became the exemplar of the subsequent literal approach <sup>133</sup>. In discussing the «primitive light,» he duplicated *DTR*, v; in that work he had very skillfully associated himself with Augustine before contradicting him *iuxta traditiones patrum aequae catholicorum* <sup>134</sup> with a mechanical and literal explanation. He asserts now that the *die* of Gen. II, 4, *tempus sit intantum illud sex dierum primorum in quo universa mundi est creatura formata* (I, 1300-1303). Of course, at every turn (e.g. IV, 938-949) he condemns anthropomorphism: God only metaphorically (*tropice*) molded man from the dust (I, 1387-1396) <sup>135</sup>. Once again we must conclude that Bede adhered to no verbal system. Rather, his is the preacher's homiletic method: Scripture is to be grasped primarily through the faithful imagination, everywhere illuminated.

As he meditated, Bede surely recognized that types and senses are, like all analogies, only persuasive from one point of view; that they become ridiculous or deformed as soon as the exegete's stance shifts. Hence, like Augustine, he constantly returns to the standard of charity. The type which Bede most frequently mentions in this Commentary is Adam-Eve as Christ-Church; this juncture results (see the comment on Gen. IV, 1 [II, 3-15]) in Ecclesia's bearing the murderer Cain. But Bede seems to welcome rather than to avoid the implication as an opportunity for moral discussion. Undoubtedly he felt that some figures are of more weight than others. Those of greatest weight are the ones that can be justified by Scripture itself: «According to mystical senses, king Cyrus designates the Lord Savior in both name and deeds, not according to our conjecture but from the plainest words

<sup>133</sup> B. SMALLEY, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1952, p. 239.

<sup>134</sup> JONES, *Beda's opera de temporibus*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1943, p. 187.

<sup>135</sup> Rejection of literal meaning is not confined to the First Book; see III, 1365-1376; IV, 366-370.

of Isaiah <sup>136</sup>. » The change of names of Abram and Sarai, literally recorded, is a sufficient guarantee of the divine origin of the types of Christ and the Church (iv, 466-468). Though differing from Augustine in the weight he accorded to the letter, he founded his exposition on the same rock : *Neque ullatenus se scripturam recte intellexisse quisquam putet, in qua institutionem caritatis invenire non potuit.* (iv, 715-717).

Bede concludes his Commentary with a paean of faith, in which, having reached the decisive moment of separation of Ishmael and Isaac, he introduces the passage from Galatians, and then writes :

[Paul] says that since the grace and liberty of the Gospel through Christ has brought its light, the carnal observance of the Old Testament must cease. The heirs of the New Testament must through faith fulfil the Old by a changeover to the spiritual sense. For what the Lord says in the Gospel must be understood, that « one jot or one tittle shall not pass of the Law till all be fulfilled » (Matt. v, 18). Those things which the Law and the Prophets clearly state about the faith of truth or the works of justice and about purification of heart for seeing God ought always to be literally accepted. But whatsoever was hitherto ordered for a carnal people to observe carnally, like the circumcision itself, the offering of sacrifices, the daily cleansing of unremitting disease, not so much of men as of houses and garments, and other carnal works of this kind — the kind of thing which up to the time of the Lord's Incarnation had to be observed to the letter — such should not be literally received. From that day when the Lord, rising from the dead, appeared to His Disciples, it became proper indeed, according to the authority of Prophecy, for those passages of Scriptures to be read in the Church according to the sense as they understood them and discerned their enigmas in the manifest light of Prophecy, so that, with the illumination of Grace, they be kept spiritually and not carnally. (iv, 1678-1692).

Christ's Resurrection is the perfect instant of unity of flesh and spirit, and therefore of literal and allegorical mean-

<sup>136</sup> In *Esdras* 1 (P.L. XCI, 811A).

ing. The Old Testament cannot be discarded : it is the milk before the butter. Abraham took the butter and the milk (iv, 746-751) : « Through milk is expressed the original and, so-to-speak, elementary law of Moses ; through butter, the perfection of the Evangelical doctrine. Through milk, the simplicity of the eternal meaning of Scriptures ; through butter, the strength of the mystical sense, which customarily grows out of the literal meaning ». And so (iv, 547-555), « We should never think that, because Ishmael and his mother were cast out at the behest of Sara after Isaac grew up, the act should signify that the Old Testament should be cast out as superseded by the New ; but rather, that carnal observance of Law with those who, despite the shining Grace of the Gospel, try to keep carnal legal observance is something to be cast from the domain of the Church. The Law, grasped in a spiritual sense, should not lose one iota or one point until the end of all things ».

## APPENDIX

### INDEX INTERPRETATIONIS VERBORUM CRITICUS

(Cf. Bedae liber de schematibus et tropis II, 12)

**AEDIFICARE** aedificat legentes excepto spiritali intellectu iv, 575 ; cf. *In Esdram* (P.L. XCI, 821) : Anagogico id est altiori sensu aedificationem insinuat Ecclesiae.

**ALLEGORIA** <sup>137</sup> *Sara et Melchisedech* allegoricum significatur : Ecclesia temptationibus potestatum mundanarum esse pulsanda iv, 1463. triplex sensus iuxta historiam, allegoriam, anagogen *vide supra* p. 153. apertam historiae fidem allegorizando derelinquat I, 30.

<sup>137</sup> BARROWS, pp. 165-166, noting that Bede used the word but once in *In Cant*, despite its subject, and not at all in *Retr.* though six times in the much earlier *Exp.*, suggested that Bede came to feel that the word was ambiguous. In commenting on Nehem. III, 30 (P.L. XCI, 909D) he contrasts Judaic observance of Sabbath with the Christians' *observantia allegorica*.

ANAGOGÉ <sup>138</sup> *Vide supra*, AEDIFICARE. anagogicus sensus, id est sensus ad superiora ducens IV, 697, 703.

CARNALIS *Vide* LITTERA, HISTORIA. Sensus I, 1388 (paupertas); II, 2128; IV, 1725. Israhel III, 954; lex IV, 551; observantia IV, 1674; philosophia II, 1662; populus IV, 1682; sapientia II, 1650. *Antonym* spiritalis: II, 308; IV, 126, 1682, 1692, 1725. *Verbatim ex Aug DCD XVI, iv, 2*: « Carnales [sc. animantiae] inter se dividuntur, spirituales autem non modo » IV, 126. Carnaliter: I, 1738; IV, 551, 1652, 1683.

CONGRUERE II, 1725, 1839, 2436; III, 285; IV, 405. nomen Isaac congruit mediatori IV, 505. incongrue IV, 409.

DENUNTIARE II, 1136, 1496.

DESIGNARE *Vide* SIGNUM.

EXEMPLUM IV, 398, 1045, 1220. in cuius [Isaac] exemplum absoluimur IV, 1548.

EXPRIMERE II, 678; III, 627, 812, 813; IV, 749, 1088.

FIGURA <sup>139</sup> *Cf.* ALLEGORIA, MYSTERIUM, TYPUS. « Quod grammatici Graece schema vocant, nos habitum vel formam vel figuram recte nominamus » *et postmodum* « figurarum vel troporum repertores » (ST I, Praefatio). « Cuncta sacri eloquii series mysticis est plena figuris, nec tantum dictis et factis, sed et ipsis in quibus agitur locis ac temporibus congruit illud apostolicum, quia *omnia in figura contingebant illis, scripta sunt autem propter nos* » III, 1611-1614; *sic etiam* III, 1682-1686; *Tab* (P.L. XCI, 394, 439); *Retr.* x, 5-6 (ed. Laistner, p. 125). *figuraliter* = mystice II, 678. propheticae figurae in medulla sensus spiritalis *In Esdram*, Praef (P.L. XCI, 808B). os Adam detractum non solum figurat figuram Ecclesiae sed altior mysterium sacramentum salutis aedificavit typico verbo I, 1780-1805, cf. II, 1910-1917.

<sup>138</sup> DE LUBAC (I, pp. 624-625) distinguishes two forms: the eschatological and the mystical or contemplative; cf. BARROWS, p. 160.

<sup>139</sup> « I find Bede's use of *figura* to waver between (1) the rhetorical and (2) the prophetic senses » (BARROWS, p. 168), sc.: (1) Quod si in capillis cogitationes, in oculis sensus fidelium spirituales figurari dixerimus (P.L. XCI, 1132A); (2) nomen et persona [David] figurans soleat habere Regis aeterni (1134B).

*Figura in sensu allegoriae rerum (praefiguratio, sensus propheticus)*: I, 1788; II, 1839; III, 284; IV, 409, 1700. Isaac III, 885, 1399; IV, 517; Melchisedech II, 1964; III, 1420, 1674, 1683; Saul et Iechonia IV, 1517; circumcisio Isaac IV, 1542; arca II, 1220-1226; diluvium II, 1643; aries III, 1399; aetates mundi II, 1964; panis ac vinum *Bedae in Luc.* VI (xxii, 19; CC CXX, 318)<sup>140</sup>.

*Figura ut schema sive tropus rhetoricus*: numerus II, 2424; Sem, Japheth, Cham II, 2310; III, 284; Christus IV, 328; femina Lot IV, 1206; (?) Eva I, 2155; f. in suis [Iudeorum] operibus exprimebat III, 627; diluvium II, 1504; Abraham advena IV, 607; animantes oblatis II, 1984; anni Noe II, 2414; iter III, 1235; angeli comedentes IV, 787.

*Figurate* I, 2132; II, 1496, 1910, 1939, 2276, 2421; III, 134, 1688 (*cf.* P.L. XCI, 722). *figuraliter* II, 678. *figurare* I, 1793; II, 1222, 1504, 1643, 1984, 2310, 2414; III, 1235, 1399, 1674; IV, 409, 607, 787; *figurata verba* I, 2155. *tenere figuram* IV, 517, 1206. *etymologia* IV, 1361.

*Praefigurare* II, 1494, 1833; III, 1565; IV, 124, 392, 532, 659.  
*GRATIA*: *in extenso* III, 1433-68    Dei g. II, 1863, 2055; IV, 65, 378, 414; per Ipsum II, 1779    Domini Iesu g. II, 2033; IV, 1735    SS gratia II, 1565, 1830, 1843; IV, 1725    communi spiritus g. IV, 1647    spiritu g. admoniti II, 1830    divina g. III, 1442; IV, 686, 1526    celestis g. III, 1440; IV, 608    g. mysterii II, 2428; IV, 240    altioris mysterii g. factum est I, 1784    g. novi testamenti IV, 389, 531, 1542, 1659    g. evangelii II, 1768, 1778; III, 1758    contra g. evang. III, 693    g. Dom. passionis III, 1427    g. regenerationis II, 680    g. Dei per I.C. liberamur II, 2055    Dom. misit g. SS III, 498    septem SS g. II, 1565; typice congruit II, 2434    de plenitudine Dei g. II, 1863    natura et g. IV, 460, 1526, 1628    mandata decalogi per g. SS III, 995; divina praecepta iuvante SS g. III, 998; IV, 1655    Dom. visitationis et consolationis g. III, 1085    lucis g. I, 82; luci g. spiritalis II, 1828; inlustratio g. IV, 1691    benedictionis divinae g. III, 1442; IV, 781    promissio g. IV, 1530, 1629    pactum g. IV, 378    donum g. IV, 1530    hereditas g.

<sup>140</sup> See GEISELMANN, *Eucharistielehre*, Sach-Register s.v. « figura. »

quae est in Christo iv, 1739 typum altioris g. iv, 1546 figura g. (Christus ex templo) iv, 329 g. mater iv, 1731 g. beatæ retributionis ii, 1865 g. bonae actionis ii, 1866 gratiam pro gratia ii, 1865 g. et veritas quae per I.C. facta est iv, 531 ; i, 772 ; iii, 1416 g. et libertas iv, 1675 amplior g. i, 2233 g. nos remunerat iv, 781 tempus g. iv, 536 oblatam Deus gratanter accepit ii, 2033 Dei g. ad Iudeos iii, 1757 electi per g. Dei absolvendi iv, 414 per manus impositionem g. ii, 1843 omnes qui g. tanguntur in animo iv, 686 electio g. iv, 1528 nobis g. prodesse confirmant iv, 1737 commendandae nobis g. iii, 1440 ; iv, 65 prius g. vestitur Adam i, 1980 adhaerens g. sui conditoris i, 765 circumcisio significat g. iv, 389, 420 Abraham g. luce inradiatus iv, 608 ; mox maiore Dei g. dignus iii, 1066 Isaac virtutum g. designat iv, 1325 ; significatur g. non natura iv, 460 ; g. N.T. praefigurabat iv, 532 g. beati Loth iii, 1452 Petrus clarescente g. evangelii iii, 1758 non historici studii g. iii, 1439 absque gratia iv, 1655 contra g. repugnabat iv, 1707 qui g. virtutem negant iv, 1740 non arbitrium propriae libertatis iv, 1528.

**HISTORIA** *Vide* CARNALIS, LITTERA. apertam historiae fidem i, 31 ; ii, 926, 2274 ; iv, 698, 711. historicus sensus iv, 697. studium iii, 1438.

**HUMILIS** intellegentia ii, 1018 ; cf. spiritalis int. iii, 1266-1276.

**IMAGO** ii, 1086, 2194, 2198, 2200. typus et imago iii, 1767.

**INDICARE** ii, 1501 ; iv, 413, 1219.

**INSINUARE** *Syn.* significare (?) ; indicare iv, 1219 (?). i, 33 ; ii, 461, 1014, 1268, 1277, 1493, 1658, 2429 ; iii, 883 ; iv, 518, 1128, 1214, 1410. aetas Noe ii, 1493. convenienter iv, 1069 ; patenter iv, 1033, 1627 (*de Gal. iv*) ; mystice i, 2231 ; iii, 1137 ; typice iii, 1709 (cf. figurate, P.L. XCI, 722) ; spiritaliter ii, 505.

**LITTERA** *Vide* HISTORIA. *syn.* carnis (?) ; cf. P.L. XCI, 1205C. *ant.* spiritus ii, 906 ; sacramentum ii, 2345 ; mystica ii, 1693, 2211. sensus l. ii, 2083, 2217, 2386 ; simplicitas l. iv, 748. iuxta (ad, per, secundum) l. ii, 295, 906, 1693, 2345 ; iii, 734 ; iv, 1200, 1682, 1687, 1693, 1748. velamen

II, 1579 ; IV, 728. textum III, 380. [femina Loth] iuxta I. factum esse credendum est IV, 1200. ad salutem I. legis confidunt IV, 1655. de I. generari IV, 749.

MORALIS sensus IV, 1275, 1332.

MYSTERIUM Vide « Interpretatio mystica » II, 294-455. *syn.* sacramentum, subintegumentum (*vide* Plummer I, p. LVII, n. 1 ; Carroll, p. 120 ; *Oxf. Dict. C.C.*, p. 1198) ; *ant.* littera II, 295, 1697, 2211. Cf. *Quaest. xxx Bedae* I, 12 (P.L. XCI, 722). Christus = Adam : Ecclesia = Eva altioris mysterii gratia I, 1784, 1795 ; IV, 240. arcana m. celestium II, 1762. circumcisio IV, 290, 385. certum m. IV, 240 m. futurae resurrectionis II, 2166. electiones praecogniti IV, 240. aetas Noe II, 2428.

mysticus *Syn.* typicus II, 2122 (?) ; figuratus II, 667 ; III, 1565 ; *ant.* carnalis II, 308. est plena figuris nec tantum dictis et factis sed et ipsis in quibus agitur locis et temporibus congruit illud apostolicum (I Cor. x, 11) III, 1611 ; cf. III, 1072. sensus II, 667, 1976 ; IV, 749 ; significatio I, 2031 ; III, 1110 ; figura III, 1611. sacrificium III, 1722 numerus (septem, etc.) III, 990 linteo m. Petri II.. 2122

mystice I, 2231, 2311 ; II, 295, 308, 632, 662, 734, 863, 918, 1135, 1697, 2211 ; III, 6, 1080, 1104, 1138, 1219, 1565 ; IV, 413, 1563. vinea [Passionis], id est gens Iudea, m. signatum est II, 2327. terra = caro I, 2195 ; numerus m. designet II, 1107 (cf. II, 2428 ; III, 6 ; IV, 290) ; Ecclesia arcae m. convenit II, 1254. = figuraliter II, 678.

PERSONA IV, 264, 617, 669, 1189, 1194.

PERTINERE IV, 1294.

SACRAMENTUM Vide MYSTERIUM (cf. Plummer I, p. LVII). *ant.* littera II, 2345. I, 1786, 1788 ; II, 1764, 1794 ; III, 1418 ; IV, 526, 1542. sacramentis spiritalibus II, 1240 dom. incarnatio IV, 784 circumcisio IV, 1542 s. Christi et Ecclesiae I, 1826 Passio II, 2314 ; III, 1418 nuptiae I, 1840 nomen Adam II, 728 (= mystice 734 ?) baptisma II, 1646, 1666 ad imaginem Dei II, 2197 numerus II, 2436 ; III, 1588 sabbatum IV, 526 aetas Ishmael IV, 546 cibus angelorum IV, 674.

SIGNUM Vide ST II, 12 : allegorice significatur. circumcisio s. regenerationis IV, 448 (cf. 528) arcus s. [foederis] II, 2236 et divinae propitiationis 2244 et futuri iudicii 2238



[circumcisio] s. foederis iv, 382, 412 = mysterium iv, 385  
s. inimicitiae in natura i, 2115 s. devorationis spiri-  
talis i, 2100.

signare iv, 523

significare i, 1785, 2033, 2283, 2284; ii, 1068, 1070, 1502,  
1637, 1874; iii, 753; iv, 129, 182, 185, 187, 496, 550, 711,  
733, 752, 1039, 1330, 1371, 1477, 1486, 1494, 1499. mystice  
ii, 863, 2212; iii, 6, 1110; typice iii, 1212. numerus ii, 1068;  
iv, 438 allegoricum s. iv, 1463 non quod hoc erat, sed quod  
hinc significabatur ii, 2155 lex voluit animam s. per sangui-  
nem ii, 2156.

significantia iii, 813

significatio ii, 1908, 2218; iii, 1685. mysticis s. i, 2031;  
typica s. iii, 1706. non solum rerum sed et nominum s. iii,  
1685.

designare *Syn.* insinuare iv, 1216. i, 2131; ii, 1081, 1127,  
1271, 1762, 2129, 2301; iii, 132, 995, 1371, 1750; iv, 534,  
604, 1057, 1130, 1146, 1216, 1242, 1292, 1304, 1325, 1508,  
1516, 1540. mystice ii, 1107 sanguis carnalia desideria d. ii,  
2129 figura d. ii, 2424 'abyssi magnae' nomine designata  
est scriptura ii, 1578 columba d. mentem electorum ii, 1804  
numerus iii, 1593 Agar et Ishmael V.T. d. iv, 209-211.  
SIMILITUDO fabri i, 131.

SIMPLICITAS stili iv, 726.

SPIRITALIS *Syn.* anagogicus ii, 908 (?); typicus *In Cant*  
(P.L. XCI, 1205C); mysticus iv, 592. *Ant.* carnalis  
iv, 126, 1651, 1676, 1692; terrena iii, 954; litteralis  
ii, 908, 1580. iii, 1588; iv, 727, 1343. sensus ii, 908;  
iv, 545, 553, 574, 586, 729, 1676; intellegentia ii, 1580,  
2101; iii, 1268; iv, 1240; intellectus iv, 574. spiritaes  
praefiguratos iv, 124 iuxta s. sensum Babylon est dia-  
boli civitas iii, 542 *de Gal. iv*: iv, 1671-1677 Scriptura  
V.T. diutius velamine litterae praeclusa s. intellegentiae  
venas mundo aperire non potuit, sed per Dominum  
revelata ii, 1579-1582 devoratio i, 2101 sacramenta  
ii, 1240; iv, 674 Israhel iii, 954 s. circumcisio iv, 399  
epulas s. iv, 753 lex iv, 1651 suavitas iv, 729.

spiritualiter i, 2284; ii, 505; iii, 1376; iv, 545, 1091, 1692.

TROPICUS *Vide MORALIS.* i, 1392 (= metaphorice). tropo-  
logica, id est iuxta moralis intellegentiae regulas — *In*

*Sam.* (P.L. XCI, 564) Petrus... tropice... dicit (I Pet. v, 13) — *In Marc.*, Praef. (CC CXX, p. 431).

TYPUS *Vide* FIGURA, ALLEGORIA, MYSTERIUM. III, 883; IV, 1546. t. et imago III, 1766 t. gerit I, 1438; II, 1226, 1821, 2418 numeri II, 2418 arca quam in figuram fecit Noe corporis humani et nostri t. tenet II, 1226.

typicus verbum I, 1795 sensus III, 1199 mysterium III, 1072.

typice II, 349, 1919, 2147, 2149; III, 1212, 1708; IV, 392, 529. Noe II, 1132 numeri (VII et L) II, 2436 filii Abrahae (*ut Gal. iv*) IV, 1617 t. praefigurare IV, 392 baptisma II, 1919 (cf. *In Luc* VI [CC CXX, p. 375]).

#### D. NUMBER SYMBOLISM <sup>141</sup>

Augustine's enthusiasm for number symbolism in exegesis assured its popularity in the West. He constantly quoted Sap. xi, 21: «Thou hast ordered all things in measure, number, and weight». Note, said he:

«All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made,» (John I, 3) so as not to imagine that «nothing» is something ... Sin was not made by Him, and it is plain that sin is nothing, and men become nothing when they sin. An idol was also not made by the Word ... These things were not made by the Word, but whatever was made in the natural manner, whatever pertains to the creature ... For every creature, great and small, was made by Him. By Him were made things above and things beneath; spiritual and corporeal, by Him were they made. For no form, no structure, no agreement of parts, no substance whatever that can have weight, number, measure, exists but by that Word,

<sup>141</sup> PLUMMER (I, pp. LX-LXI) and JENKINS (*Bede*, pp. 173-189). For a more general survey, see Ursula GROSSMANN, «Studien zur Zahlensymbolik des Frühmittelalters,» *Ztschr. f. kath. Theol.* LXXXVI (1954), pp. 19-54; she seldom mentions Bede, in all but one instance citing spurious works when she does. See also DE LUBAC II, II, pp. 7 ff., and H. L. MARROU, *St. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, Paris, 1938, pp. 449-453.

and by that Creator Word to Whom it is said, « Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and in number, and in weight »<sup>142</sup>.

The Word forms numbers, and through numbers can the Word be comprehended : « For there is such force in number that anything said is finite but what is not said is infinite »<sup>143</sup>. For Augustine the mystical, not the literal, meaning is important<sup>144</sup>. His most philosophical statement concludes a special treatment of the perfection of God's work in six days :

We cannot say that the number six is perfect because God completed all His works in six days, but because God created all His works in six days the number six is perfect. And so, even if these things should not exist, He would be perfect ; but unless He were perfect, these things would not be perfected through Him<sup>145</sup>.

« The mind is summoned to the love of God from the pattern of number and arrangement which underlies things »<sup>146</sup>. *Numerus omni rei speciem praebebat*<sup>147</sup> : « Examine the sky and earth and sea, and whatsoever in them shine from above or creep below, fly or swim, have forms because they have numbers : take numbers from them and they are nothing »<sup>148</sup>. « Yet when you see measures and numbers and order everywhere, seek out the artist. And you will find no other than where the sum of measure and the sum of number and the

<sup>142</sup> *Ioh.* I, 1, 13 (P.L. XXXV, 1385-1386).

<sup>143</sup> *Mus.* I, xi, 18 (P.L. XXXII, 1094).

<sup>144</sup> « All those matters which seem insoluble doubtless contain good sense ; but I do not know whether they all can be made to agree literally, especially with respect to numbers, which in Scriptures are the most sacred and replete with mysteries, from which we very rightly derive our belief, though we could not know therefrom. » (*Quaest. in Hept.* I, clii [P.L. XXXIV, 589]). Other central passages are : *De Civ. Dei* XI, 30 (XLI, 344) ; *Ioh.*, xxv, (XXXV, 1599) ; *De doctr. christ.* III, 34 (XXXIV, 86) ; *Trin.* iv, 6 (XLII, 895). Without knowledge of number, the meanings of many important and mystical passages remain closed (*De doctr. christ.* II, 16 [XXXIV, 48]).

<sup>145</sup> *De Genesi ad litt.* IV, iii-vii (P.L. XXXIV, 299-301).

<sup>146</sup> *Mus.* vi, 14 (P.L. XXXI, 1186).

<sup>147</sup> *De Genesi ad litt.*, col. 299.

<sup>148</sup> *De libero arbitrio* II, xvi, 42 (P.L. XXXII, 1263) ; stated in more detail in *Mus.*, xvii (XXXII, 1191-1193).

sum of order is, that is God, of Whom it is truly said that He 'ordered all things in measure and number and weight' »<sup>149</sup>. *De musica* I, 12, best summarizes Augustine's principles of numerology : For one thing to be wholly integral, it must have a beginning, middle, and end. Among numbers this is the 3. It is made up of an odd and an even number. Three is the first really odd number. Even numbers are whole if they have equal parts on both sides ; consequently 4 is the first wholly even number. The number 1 is the principle of numbers ; it enjoys neither middle nor end. 2 must likewise be a principle, for beginning and middle or beginning and end cannot exist together alone. The joining of the two principles results in the first whole number :  $1 + 2 = 3$ . The most direct apprehension of numbers lies through music, geometry, and astronomy<sup>150</sup>. The literary realization of God as a geometer, an arithmetician, is Genesis ; hence authors of hexaëmera are markedly Augustinian. Isidore, the phrase-maker for subsequent generations, shows that the literal arithmetic and the mystical numerology were regarded as a single discipline :

The method of numbers is not to be neglected, for it elucidates many a passage of Holy Scriptures otherwise mysterious. It is not pointless for the praises of God to say, « Thou hast ordered all things in measure, number, and weight. » For the number six, which is perfect in its fractions by a significance in its number, declares the perfection of the world. Likewise the forty days in which Moses and Elias and the Lord Himself fasted are not to be understood without concentration on numbers<sup>151</sup>. So likewise other numbers in Holy Scriptures cannot have their figures plumbed except by those who know this art. For it is given to us on every hand to depend upon the discipline of numbers — when we tell the hours by it, when we determine the cycle of months, when we identify the length of the returning year. By number, indeed, we are in-

<sup>149</sup> *P.L.* XXXII, 1095-1098.

<sup>150</sup> *De ordine* II, 5 (*P.L.* XXXII, 1001).

<sup>151</sup> Isidore took directly from AUG., *De doctr. christ.* II, xvi, 25 (*P.L.* XXXIV, 48), in reference to Exod. xxiv, 18 ; III Reg. xix, 8 ; Matt. iv, 2.

structed lest we become confused. Take number from everything and everything perishes. Remove arithmetic from life and everything is confounded in blind ignorance, and men who do not know the method of calculation cannot be differentiated from other animals <sup>152</sup>.

So completely Augustinian is Bede in this respect that *In Gen* contains few novelties or surprises. His exposition of numbers in the building of the Ark (*Liber II*) contains the most novel observations; it combines with his statements in *Tab.* and *Tem.* to emphasize his rather exceptionally architectural approach to Revelation. As I have indicated, Bede tends to avoid modifying, obscuring, or negating the literal meaning (e.g. III, 745-747), but he regularly adds a second meaning: *numerus mystice designet* (II, 1107). I therefore briefly tabulate his interpretations of the prime numbers:

2. Uneven numbers are good (clean) and even numbers bad. The uneven numbers denote virgins (II, 2023). Two is evil, as the first step from unity to multiplicity. Bede very gingerly approaches Jerome's doctrine that God did not say that the works of the Second Day were good because the day was evil; but he does quote pseudo-Clement on the principle of division in operation on the second day (I, 295-324). « This same conviction (which, however, is lacking in the Oriental Fathers and the early Westerns, including Ambrose and Augustine) played a great role with later medieval cosmologists » <sup>153</sup>. The unclean animals enter the Ark in twos (II, 1461-1466).

3. Nothing exceptional. See 10 and 27 (= 3<sup>3</sup>).

4. Bede is strangely silent about this elementary and terrestrial number <sup>154</sup>, except that it is a factor of 40.

5. The number of sensibility (III, 997-999), but Bede does not, like Augustine, emphasize its affinity to Law.

<sup>152</sup> *Etym.* III, IV. Isidore composed a handy textbook on the subject: *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis Scripturis occurrunt* (*Clavis* No. 1193; *P.L.* LXXXII, 179-200). Alcuin's view is much the same, *Enchiridion*, Praef. (*P.L.* C, 572-573).

<sup>153</sup> STRUNZ, in *Zeitschrift f. d. Geistesgeschichte* I (1935), p. 318.

<sup>154</sup> See AUG., *Serm.* CCLII, x (*P.L.* XXXVIII, 1178).

6. « The number six is held to be perfect because it is the first to be the sum of its aliquot parts, viz., the sixth, which is one, and the third, which are two, and the half, which are three; for one and two and three make six. You can find no number of this kind among the monads (units) except this one, and none among the decads (tens) except the number twenty-eight. Therefore God completed the whole arrangement of heaven and earth so that He Who established « all things in measure and number and weight » likewise by that number in which He worked might show that His works were perfected » (I, 966-974). Bede's favorite number will be further discussed below (p. 191 ff.) with relation to the Six Ages.

7. 7 is also closely knit to the concept of Six Ages. It signifies the crossing over of saints from earth to heaven (II, 1850-1866). A « spiritual » number, it is uneven and good; but it is made up of the first uneven number, 3, and the first even number, 4. For its manifold Scriptural senses, see the list in Isidore's *Liber numerorum*, 8 (P.L. LXXXIII, 86 ff.). Seven birds or cattle are deputed to the army of the Lord because the Grace of the Holy Spirit is septiform (II, 2017-2019). Ishmael's age at Isaac's birth was 14; that is, Ishmael represents the Old Law, in which the Sabbath is central, but it is doubled because the Law commands rest for the bodies here and rest for the souls in the world to come (IV, 540-543). Seven symbolizes martyrs or virgins (II, 2032). The dove, sent on the seventh day, is the light of eternal Grace (II, 1820-1831). The Ark came to rest in the seventh month because 7 symbolizes rest (II, 1654-1658, 1718-1722). « Scripture is apt, by the number 7, to signify the fulness of the thing spoken of » (II, 248-249), as in the Psalter's « Seven times a day have I given praise to Thee » (CXVIII, 164), which is the same as « His praise shall be always in my mouth » (II, 266-272), together with mention of the seven vengeance, the seven charges, the seven generations from Adam to Lamech, Cain's slayer. Thus much *iuxta litteram dicuntur* (II, 295), but then Bede retraces his steps to pick up texts which *mystice dominicae passioni vel conversationi in carne et persecutioni ac perditioni Iudeorum testimonium ferunt* (295-297) and therein (410-419) explains (copying Augustine) the seven charges (*vindictas*). See 14 below.

8. Augustine summarizes the significations of 8 in his *Ep. LV*, 13 (P.L. XXXIII, 215); the letter was well known to Bede. 8 mystically designates saved souls (II, 1106-1107) because all rest in the Eighth Age, because the 8 humans on the Ark were saved (II, 1096-1109), <sup>155</sup> because the Resurrection occurred on the Eighth Day (II, 1657-1658), the Lord's Day <sup>156</sup>, the New Sabbath, because children circumcised on the Eighth Day typify that baptism which leads to Salvation (IV, 396-417, 1553-1555). The « Psalm of David : pro octava » <sup>157</sup> has as its subject the eternal Sabbath which follows the Last Judgment and the End of the World. Cf. Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy*, 1956, ch. XVI.

9. Square of 3 : *de simplici ac recta linea ad quadraturam perveniat* (II, 1728). Dante's favorite number was not treated at all by Augustine, and it appears very seldom in early medieval number symbolism <sup>158</sup>, especially before the general circulation of pseudo-Dionysius. See 27.

10. As the sum of 3 and 7, the number of the Law is perfect, leading to a spiritual life under the image of Trinity (II, 921-923) — based on Augustine, *CD II*, xvi, 25 (P.L. XXXIV, 48); *Ep. Man.* I, x, 11 (P.L. XLII, 180). Bede does not borrow Augustine's depiction of 10 as the sum of the first four numbers; Augustine enunciated this concept only in *DQ I*, 57 (P.L. XL, 39), a work not known to Bede. But the *denarius* given the workers in the vineyard (Matt. xx, 1-16) signifies the entrance to eternal life (II, 1547-1570, 1740-1758). See 40.

11. Noah is the tenth (good) generation, whereas the sons of Noah are in the eleventh (bad), even though 10 is even and 11 is uneven; for 11 transgresses or exceeds the Law <sup>159</sup>.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. AUG., *Contra Faust. Manich.* XII, 15 (P.L. XLII, 263).

<sup>156</sup> AUG., *Contra Faust. Manich.* xvi, 29 (col. 335); *De serm. Domini in monte I*, 4 (P.L. XXXIV, 1235).

<sup>157</sup> Ps. vi and xi both have this rubric, and Augustine has both in mind, but Bede, though referring to both (I, 995), centers on vi (I, 998; see *DTR*, c. x, and below p. 195).

<sup>158</sup> GROSSMANN, p. 36.

<sup>159</sup> AUG., *De Civ. Dei* XV, xx, 4 (P.L. XLI, 465); *Quaest. Evang.* II, 6 (XXXV, 1336); *Quaest. in Hept.* II, 108 (XXXIV, 635); *De*

However, Scripture avoids connecting the sons with this evil number (II, 915-919). The evil Noema is the eleventh child of Lamech (II, 599-609). See 77.

12. Bede does not comment upon the only verse (Gen. xvii, 20) in which 12 appears <sup>160</sup>.

14. =  $2 \times 7$ . Ishmael completed his 14th year when Isaac was born, as remarked above (7).

15. Represents what is higher than purely secular knowledge: 7 (the day of Entombment, mystically the faith of the Church) + 8 (the day of Resurrection, mystically baptism and hope of future rest) = 15 (cubits above the mountains during the Flood) (II, 1654-1664) <sup>161</sup>. This formula also applies to the 150 days of water on the earth (II, 1666-1672) and to the 150th Psalm (II, 1712-1716).

27. *Ternarius quadratus solidus* (II, 1722-1735, 1921-1926). 27 is the day of the month when the Ark came to rest, representing perfection of faith, as if the Church, four-square, looks to rest in this life and eternal peace in the next.

30. The Ark, 30 cubits high (Gen. vi, 15), is the one hope of the Elect: to observe the Law in the contemplation of Trinity (II, 1198-1202). Following Jerome's exposition of Mark iv, 8, Bede states that 30 represents married life (II, 1338-1341).

40. Forty days and nights wash away sin (controlled by Law, 10) throughout the world (4) (II, 1601-1608) <sup>162</sup>. Forty days pass after the mountains (Salvation) appear: 10 (Law)  $\times$  4 (Gospels) (II, 1766-1770). Bede does not discuss in this Commentary the period of total abstinence, a common topic in Augustine: « In the number of 4 the daily and annual cycles are fulfilled — the daily in morning, noon, evening, and night stretches of hours; the annual in spring, summer, autumn, and winter months. We should abstain and fast from delight in those seasons even while we live in the seasons, although in the very courses of seasons the doctrine of scorning times and seeking eternity is suggested to us. The number

*consensu evangelistorum* II, iv, 13 (XXXIV, 1077); *Serm.* LI, xxiii, 34 (XXXVIII, 353); LXXXIII, vi, 7 (517).

<sup>160</sup> For the standard exegesis, see GROSSMANN, pp. 37-38.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. AUG., *En. in Ps.* cl (P.L. XXXVII, 1960).

<sup>162</sup> Cf. AUG., *Serm.* CCLII, x (P.L. XXXVIII, 1178).



10 signifies knowledge of Creator and creature ; for trinity is of the Creator while the number 7 indicates the creature — whence likewise God is to be beloved with whole heart, whole soul, whole mind (Matt. xxii, 37) » <sup>163</sup>.

50. The pentecostal number of the Holy Spirit, the Hebraic number of universal rest and remission of debts (II, 1190-1198, 2423-2427).

75. Seven = perfection of good action ; ten = mandates of Law ; five = carnal senses. Therefore Abraham (Gen. xii, 4) in all ways made himself ready to leave Haran (III, 989-1008).

77.  $7 \times 11$  = complete forgiveness for sin (see 11 above). Christ appeared in the 77th generation (Luke III, 21-38 ; *In Gen* II, 632-637) <sup>164</sup>. Cain's brood of 77 perished in the Flood (II, 620-643) and Lamech's vengeance thus ended.

100. *Ut saepe dictum* (II, 1478-1486 ; III, 718-722 ; IV, 512-525, 1558-1575 ; and Aug. *Ioh.* cxxii [P.L. XXXV, 1963]) 100 is the number which in finger-reckoning transfers from the left to the right hand (see Bede, *DTR*, 1). It is 10 squared (four-square perfection) (II, 1067-1079) <sup>165</sup>. *Mystice significare* (IV, 1563). The Ark, built in 100 years, saved the faithful. Abraham bore Isaac in the 100th year (III, 723-725) and remained 100 years in the Land of Promise (IV, 1558-1575) ; Isaac sowed and received a hundredfold (Gen. xxvi, 12) ; the good earth yielded a hundredfold (Mark IV, 20), and so did the followers of Christ (Matt. xix, 29).

150. The « sacrament » of 15 (II, 1666-1672).

300. Symbolizes the Cross, since it is symbolized by the Greek letter Tau, shaped like a cross (II, 867-870, 1183-1188, 2416-2423) <sup>166</sup>.

318.  $300 = T$ ,  $10 = I$ ,  $8 = H$  (in Greek) ; hence 318 represents Christ crucified. That Abraham overcame 318

<sup>163</sup> *De doctr. christ.* II, xvi, 25 (P.L. XXXIV, 48) ; also *Serm.* CCLXIV, 5 (XXXVIII, 1216).

<sup>164</sup> See AUG., *Serm.* LII and LXXXIII, iv-vi (P.L. XXXVII, 353 and 517-518).

<sup>165</sup> See AUG., *De Civ. Dei.* XX, 7 (P.L. XLI, 668).

<sup>166</sup> See Rosemary WOOLF's remarks in *Speculum* XXXII (1957), pp. 807-808.

enemies and freed his brother mystically prefigures us as brothers saved by the crucified Christ (III, 1590-1607) <sup>187</sup>.

350. 300 (Cross) + 50 (Jubilee — joy of hope) = 7 (Grace of Holy Spirit)  $\times$  50 (true rest of Elect) (II, 2410-2443).

366. The solar cycle mystically signifies those who all their lives faithfully obey the Lord (II, 861-865).

600. Represents those saved at the Last Judgment (100) after life on earth (6) (II, 1473-1486). Also the age of Noah on entering the Ark = 100 (perfection of faith and profession)  $\times$  6 (sacraments of the Church) (II, 2410-2412).

1000. The cube of 10 is « perfect » in every dimension ; cf. 27, above.

### III. TOPICS

To appreciate Bede's exegetical position and views, I have chosen four diverse topics for special treatment.

#### A. *Spiritus Dei* (Gen. I, 2)

Among hexaëmeral writers, each syntactical element of the verse *Et spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquas* (Gen. I, 2) was cause for discussion. Does *spiritus* denominate *Deus* or *Logos* or *aer* or *Sanctus Spiritus* or *Trinitas*? In what sense (*super*) *ferebatur*? And in what sense *aquas* <sup>188</sup>? Bede agreed with the Latin Doctors — Jerome and Ambrose, as well as Augustine — that *Spiritus Sanctus* is signified. In advancing this interpretation, Augustine had found himself explaining with difficulty and no slight confusion the composition of the chemical elements: heaven (fire) and earth are two, and the waters which the Spirit moves over is a third; but if

<sup>187</sup> This figure seems to have originated with the *Epistle of Barnabas* IX, 8; then CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Strom.* VI, XI, 84), whence AMBROSE, *De Abr.* I, XIII, 15. AUGUSTINE, *Quaest. in Hept.* VII, XXXVII (*P.L.* XXXIV, 805) makes 18 = 3  $\times$  6 = three perfected Ages (before Law, under Law, under Grace). There is doubtless a connection with the 318 Nicene Fathers.

<sup>188</sup> Kazimierz SMOROŃSKI in *Biblica* VI (1925), pp. 361-371.

*spiritus* does not denote *aer*, what does? Bede did not consider that question important. Only Augustine believed that the Spirit did not move through space (Jerome linguistically established the synonym *fovebat*) but contemplated, *in similitudinem fabri* <sup>169</sup>, and Bede followed him (I, 123-137). A comparison of available texts of Bede and Augustine <sup>170</sup> at this point provides a measure of eighth-century England (and consequently of Carolingian Europe) with patristic Rome. Not for many centuries would western man again be able to accept Augustine's disdain for mechanisms: « Whoever has known the words measure and number and weight only visibly has known only mechanically (*serviliter novit*) » <sup>171</sup>. Bede accepted the task of reducing Augustine's preachments to apprehensible terms without violently destroying Augustine's incomprehensible God. He united the concept of an incorruptible and unchangeable will of God <sup>172</sup> with Augustine's notion of the fabricator, and condensed Augustine's long search for Trinity <sup>173</sup> into a single allusion (*quaesitu* I, 144) to Ecclesiasticus. He reduced Augustine's chapter <sup>174</sup> on the diffusion of the Holy Spirit to a single didactic but remarkably incisive sentence: « It should not childishly be thought that the Creator Spirit, of whom it is written, 'The Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world' (Sap. I, 7), should move over the waters in a place relative to those things which were in the process of creation » (I, 123-126). Thus Bede wrote directly to his simpler audience, who would probably not raise more refined questions; but to do so, Bede himself had to understand Augustine's tracts. His was not a scissors-and-paste method.

<sup>169</sup> *De Genesi c. Manichaeos* I, v, 8 (P.L. XXXIV, 177).

<sup>170</sup> *De Genesi c. Manichaeos* I, v, 7 (P.L. XXXIV, 177); *De Genesi ad litt. imperf. liber* IV, 13-18 (225-227); *De Genesi ad litt.* I, v-vii (XXXIV, 249-251); *Contra Faustum Manich.* xxii, 11 (XLII, 405-406); *Conf.* XIII, xiii, 4-9 (XXXII, 846-849); *De Civ. Dei* VIII, xi, XI, xxxii (XLI, 236; 346).

<sup>171</sup> *De Genesi ad litt.* IV, iv, 9 (P.L. XXXIV, 300).

<sup>172</sup> *Conf.* XIII, iv (P.L. XXXII, 846).

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

The question of the waters is related to the work of the second day, Gen. 1, 6-7, which Bede worked through step by step, 1, 247-324. According to Bede, again reducing Augustine to simple (often physical) imagery, God set the firmament in the waters, dividing the waters which the Spirit moved over. That firmament is the seat of the fixed stars. Since Bede posits a congealed and rigid sphere not unlike the dome of the Pantheon, he almost seems to paper the concavity with stars. The upper water tempers the stellar heat and shields the corporeal universe from the refulgent glory of the Upper Heaven, where the angels normally dwell. The angels, who leave that heaven to communicate with man, assume a sensible form (including the ability to eat, as we shall see), which they discard upon return.

This structure was not new in outline ; indeed, most patristic exegetes varied it only slightly ; but major philosophers, physicists, and Fathers had objected to it on a number of mechanistic grounds. Augustine had dealt with those objections <sup>175</sup>, and found them effective enough to keep him from offering a positive explanation of the physical problems. Hence Bede, perforce adopting a less philosophical view than his master, needed to be a bit inventive. I believe that he was the first to use the Scriptural solidifying of the waters of the Red Sea as a demonstration of the state of the waters of the firmament. That demonstration became very popular <sup>176</sup>.

Thus Bede wrote simply and imaginatively a more mechanistic explanation than that of Augustine. Bede's became the basis of the most common cosmology to be found for the next four centuries <sup>177</sup>.

<sup>175</sup> *De Genesi ad litt.* II, 1, 1-5 (P.L. XXXIV, 263-267) ; *De Genesi ad litt. imperf. lib.* VIII-IX (232-233).

<sup>176</sup> Bede had already briefly discussed his conception in *DNR*, v-VIII (P.L. XC, 197-202) ; see Pierre DUHEM, *Le système du monde* III, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>177</sup> See, e.g. PRUDENTIUS OF TROYES, *De praedestinatione contra J. Scotum* (P.L. CXV, 1294).

## B. MELCHISEDECH

The appearance of Melchisedech after Abram's military victory is a Scriptural enigma : †

And Abraham brought back all the substance, and Lot his brother, with his substance, the women also and the people. And the king of Sodom went out to meet him, after he returned from the slaughter of Chodorlahomor, and of the kings that were with him in the Vale of Save, which is the king's vale. But Melchisedech the king of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of the most high God, blessed him, and said : Blessed be Abram by the most high God, who created heaven and earth. And blessed be the most high God, by whose protection the enemies are in thy hands. And he gave him the tithes of all. (Gen. xiv, 16-20)

These riddles in English are posed by the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts : Who was Melchisedech ? What was Salem ? If priest as well as king, how, why, and by what dispensation <sup>178</sup> ? Jerome was aware that the pronouns of the last sentence were all ambiguous when he translated, *Et dedit ei decimas ex omnibus*. Did Abram render tithes to the priest ? A tenth of the spoils of war ? Or his familial substance ? Or did Melchisedech render some kind of tenths to Abram ?

Verse 4 of Psalm cix, « The Lord hath sworn, and He will not repent : Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech », complicates the meaning. This Psalm, a key to the sacerdotal position of Christ, begins, « The Lord said to my Lord », and has almost universally been interpreted as a Divine Revelation ; for Trinitarians, it was the words of the First to the Second Person concerning the priestly order of Melchisedech, of which Christ was the reality <sup>179</sup>.

Finally, the author of the Letter to the Hebrews quoted the verse of Psalm cix and expounded it (Hebr. v, 6 ; vi, 20 ; vii, 17). As that Letter acquired canonical status, its author's

<sup>178</sup> Cf. DANTE, *Paradiso* VIII, 125.

<sup>179</sup> The Maccabees, in assuming priesthood by excluding the house of Aaron, justified themselves by this text. See R. H. CHARLES, *Book of Jubilees* (1902), pp. LIX, 191.

interpretation became the orthodox interpretation: that Melchisedech, as type of Christ, had in common with Him a nonlevitical origin, a hierarchical superiority to the patriarch Abraham, an incalculable beginning and end, a priesthood and kingship in one, and a reign of peace. Of course, very early in the Apostolic Age, Christians established the typology of the bread and wine as the Eucharist <sup>180</sup>.

The prenicene period also spawned heterodox interpretations, to the point of producing the heretical Melchisedechians, who deified the king-priest and exalted his name. Sects of Hebrews and Christians in various ways believed Melchisedech to be the Son of God in human form, the Holy Spirit, an angel, Shem, or otherwise <sup>181</sup>. Even Ambrose of Milan seems to have adhered to some form of the first of these beliefs <sup>182</sup>. Considering Augustine's voluminous comments on other parts of Genesis, his taciturnity here suggests wariness. He does list the Melchisedechians as heretics <sup>183</sup>. He mentions that

<sup>180</sup> Canon Missale: « Sacrificium nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanatum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam. » — Francis Henry DICKINSON, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclaræ ecclesiae Sarum* I (1861), col. 458. CYPRIAN's *Ep.* LXIII (*P.L.* IV, esp. cols. 387-388) on the Eucharist is a clear statement of what was evolving as the orthodox position. It is contained in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, 12, 20-27) and in CLEMENT's *Stromata* IV, 25.

<sup>181</sup> G. BARDY « Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique, » *Revue Biblique* XXXV (1926), sketches the views of Philo (pp. 496-497), the rabbis (497-498), the Letter to the Hebrews (498-499), Justin (499), Theophilus of Antioch (499), Tertullian (500), Cyprian (500), Origen (500), the Gnostics (501), Theodotos of Byzantium (502), Hippolytus of Rome (503-506), and the Melchisedechians (506-509). See also P. HEINISCH, « A.'s Sieg über die Könige des Ostens und seine Begegnung mit Melchisedech, » *Studia Catholica [Katholik]* II (1925), pp. 152-178, 217-232; J. DANÉLOU, *Bible and Liturgy* (1956), ch. IX.

<sup>182</sup> *De Abraham* I, 3, 16. Bardy also cites *De mysteriis* VIII, 46 (*P.L.* XVI, 404); *De fide ad Gratianum* III, II, 88; *De sacramentis* IV, 3, 10-12 (*P.L.* XVI, 438).

<sup>183</sup> *Haer.* xxxiv (*P.L.* XLII, 31): « Melchisedech ... non hominem fuisse sed virtutem Dei esse arbitrantur. » Augustine seems to have derived his knowledge from pseudo-Tertullian; see BARDY, p. 504. Philastrius listed the Melchisedechians, c. LII. Bardy was convinced that no such heretical sect in fact ever existed, but that the notices stem from remarks of Epiphanius.

« some » cannot decide whether Melchisedech was man or angel <sup>184</sup>; he explains <sup>185</sup> John VIII, 56, by asserting that Abram at the time of the offering of bread and wine *knew* that Melchisedech prefigured Christ as everlasting priest; and he states <sup>186</sup> that the Eucharistic sacrament was first recorded in that verse of Genesis, and notes that the type of Christ was not of the order of Aaron, « for that order was to be taken away when the things shown forth which were intimated beforehand by these shadows ». Gregory I seems not to have mentioned Melchisedech.

Among Bede's favorite authors, Jerome paid most direct attention to Melchisedech, especially in Letter LXXIII, to Evangelus, A.D. 398 <sup>187</sup>. The editor's rubric summarizes the content: « The book of an unknown author, who asserts that Melchisedech was not a man but the Holy Spirit, impugns the statements of early Christians. Jerome shows that Melchisedech was in fact a Canaanite, or, if the Jews are to be believed, Shem, the first son of the patriarch Noah ». Evangelus (who is not positively identified) had sent the tract to Jerome for comment. Jerome recognized therein *amosis-simam quaestionem*, which he found treated in many a tract. All his authorities regarded Melchisedech as a Canaanite except Origen and his disciple Didymus, who thought him an angel <sup>188</sup>. That Melchisedech was a priest before Aaron is not to be wondered at, said Jerome, for among the patriarchs Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Job were in some sense priests; and there are many types of Christ outside the Hebrew race. What emerges from the whole disputation of the Letter to the Hebrews is that before Levi and Aaron Melchisedech was a priest from among the Gentiles, whose great merit so stood out that he effectively blessed, in the loins of Abraham, all priests of the Jews yet to come. All else in the Letter relates to the typification of Christ and of the Church.

<sup>184</sup> *Quaest. in Hept.* I, LXXII on Gen. xxv, 22 (P.L. XXXIV, 567).

<sup>185</sup> *Ep.* CLXXVII, 11 (P.L. XXXIII, 769).

<sup>186</sup> *De Civ. Dei* XVI, xxii (P.L. XLI, 500).

<sup>187</sup> ed. VALLARSIIUS I, cols. 440-446.

<sup>188</sup> Actually, such a statement by either Origen or Didymus does not survive; but statements that they believed Melchisedech to be a type of Christ do; see BARDY, p. 29.

In the course of this discussion, Jerome quoted the original verses in Hebrew and translated them, stating that the Hebrews believed Melchisedech to be Shem and demonstrating that the identification was chronologically possible. Acknowledging that *decimas ex omnibus* seemed ambiguous, he asserted that the Letter indicates that Abraham rendered a tithe of the spoils of battle to Melchisedech. Salem is not, says Jerome, Jerusalem, as Josephus and all Christians believe, but a still-existing town of Salem (cf. Gen. xxxiii, 17-18), near Scythopolis, where, among a stretch of ruins, the palace of Melchisedech is pointed out to visitors<sup>189</sup>. With characteristic acidity he concluded his letter: « It is my business to cite instances, your business to judge their worth. But even if you reject them all, you certainly will not accept as interpreter and guide in spiritual matters one who, though inexpert in language and in science, with supercilious show of authority pronounces that Melchisedech is the Holy Spirit, establishing credence in the fashion stated in the Greek aphorism, 'Ignorance generates confidence, knowledge fear' ».

Vallarsi<sup>190</sup> referred to the pseudo-Augustinian *Liber Quaestionum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, No. cix<sup>191</sup>, as containing the doctrine which Jerome refuted. More recent critics have not hesitated to assert that it is the identical work that Jerome had before him<sup>192</sup>. Souter demonstrated that « Ambrosiaster », the author of the Commentary on the Pauline Epistles (*Clavis* No. 184), was almost certainly the author of the *Quaestiones*. *Quaestio CIX*, which Souter thought to be an incorporated homily, is not a stellar work: it is repetitious, over-insistent, and unconvincing. Its polemical tone, directed against what the author suggests (sections 15-17) is a multitude of opponents of his views, seems pur-

<sup>189</sup> Jerome changed his mind more than once about this identification; see BARDY, pp. 506-507.

<sup>190</sup> D. VALLARSIUS, ed., *Hieronymi opera omnia* I (Verona, 1734), I, 440, note e.

<sup>191</sup> *Clavis* No. 185; ed. A. SOUTER, *CSEL*, Vol. 50, pp. 257-268.

<sup>192</sup> Alexander SOUTER, « A Study of Ambrosiaster, » *Cambridge Texts and Studies* VII, iv (1905): « generally believed identical » (p. 163).



poseless. Since « Ambrosiaster » probably was a layman, he may have wished to advance the cause of lay administration of the sacraments; but if so, the purpose is well hidden. At all events, there is no indication that Bede knew the work; nor does he seem to have known Jerome's letter. He makes no reference to it, and I do not find an identity of phrasing<sup>193</sup>. But the exchange aptly summarizes ideas in circulation.

Augustine's and Gregory's neglect of the topic suggests that Melchisedech was not the subject of a *famosissima quaestio* in their circles. If not in their circles, then what encouraged Bede to treat the matter with far more emphasis than did his usual models?

In explaining the passage, Gen. xiv, 18-20, Bede hastily made his point with respect to three subjects: Communion of Saints (cf. I Cor. xii, 26), Magnification of the Lord (cf. Matt. v, 16), and the Anagogy of Blessedness after Battle (III, 1649-1666). These three lead to his quoting Ps. cix, 1 and 4, on the Son's coequality: « Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech ». « At this point », wrote Bede, « it is proper for our poverty to speak and write very briefly in expounding this verse and the priesthood and reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is figured in Melchisedech ». I merely follow, he says in essence, the Apostle's subtle discussion in Hebrews. The verse, « Who first indeed by interpretation is king of justice; and then also king of Salem, that is, king of peace » (Hebr. vii, 2), shows how the figure of Melchisedech should be understood so that he may teach us most expertly how to find in the literal statements of the Old Testament the significations not only of things but of names. So, just as Melchisedech in his own name and person figuratively proclaims Christ the King of Justice, so also does the name of his city proclaim the Church of the Saints, to wit, the City of the Great King.

<sup>193</sup> Would he not have used something from Jerome's discussion of the lineage of Shem (*Ep.* lxxiii, 5) in his *DTR*, *Chronicon*, had he known it? At that point Bede was hard pressed to establish his chronology against the established Eusebian one, and he would have welcomed the assistance of Jerome, whose name was attached to the Eusebian Chronicle.

Bede accepts Salem as Jerusalem, which so often signifies the Church. The bread and wine foreshadows the sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, left to the Church. The offering typically suggests that not only we, who come after the Lord's Passion in the flesh, but also Abraham himself, who received the promises, and all his seed, should through the offering of the Lord's Passion be chosen for the gift of eternal blessing. Before Abraham received the Covenant, Melchisedech made him understand by means of bread and wine that he and his seed would receive the promised blessing through the King of Justice and Author of Consummate Peace, through the High Priest, and through mystic sacrifice of bread and wine. Therefore the Jews should not exalt themselves over the Christians by reason of the levitical priesthood, since those priests offer sacrifices of flesh but we offer sacrifices of bread and wine to the Lord. For our sacrifice is superior in both time and worth.

In this fashion it is established that Melchisedech was the High Priest for Abraham the patriarch, « And, without all contradiction, that which is less is blessed by the better » (Hebr. vii, 7). The Apostle superbly understood how Melchisedech (and therefore the gentile priesthood) excelled the priesthood of Aaron and Levi to come. Abram (and therefore all Jews who lived preeminent in the Law) could be saved only by His Grace (cf. the words of Peter, Acts xv, 10-11). « Therefore, Abraham gave tithes from all to Melchisedech the priest, from whom he received the benediction, because beyond question what Abraham understood as the type and image of the better priesthood, Melchisedech represented — that is, what Abraham accomplished in the Law, Melchisedech executed as the figure of evangelical priesthood ».

Bede concluded his disquisition : *Haec de Melchisedech paucis sint dicta prout nostro operi sufficere videbantur* (iii, 1774). He professed simply to digest the doctrine of the Letter to the Hebrews ; but he chose from that doctrine what was consistent with his other concerns in the Commentary regarding the English Church and People. Plummer remarked about Bede's zealous orthodoxy : « There is hardly any form

of heresy known in his time which was not refuted in his writings »<sup>194</sup>. Yet, though certainly he had knowledge of the Melchisedechians through several catalogues of heresies known to him, if in no other ways, clearly he was not interested in condemning the heresy or any heterodox interpretation of the Scriptural passage. Nor was he concerned with history (the literal meaning) beyond using it as a step to an allegory which allowed him to certify the legitimacy, indeed hegemony, of the gentile priesthood. It is to be doubted that either he or his visualized audience was involved in any direct debate with the Jews<sup>195</sup>. Here, as elsewhere, he looked in Genesis for the roots of his English communion.

At the same time, he thought it not amiss to establish once again the grounds for rejection of animal sacrifice or offering. In commenting on Gen. XIII, 18 (III, 1391 ff.), regarding Abram's third altar, Bede demonstrated that no living sacrifices (except the prefigurative sacrifice of the lamb for Isaac and for the Passover) were made to God from the time of the Abramic Covenant to the giving of the Law. In that comment he had anticipated this later topic : « With this figure accords the fact that Melchisedech, priest of the High God, who lived in the days of the patriarchs, is said to have offered to the Lord not the blood of victims but bread and wine, and to have established the form, not of the priesthood under Law, but of the Evangelical priesthood. Indeed, he blessed Abraham himself, *cui benedictio et in quo benedictio omnium gentium erat promissa* (III, 1424-1425), so that it would be evident in all ways that the promise given to the fathers would be fulfilled not through the ceremonies of Mosaic Law but through the Grace of the Lord's Passion ». It is also to be noted that Bede's doctrine depends upon and reënforces the doctrine of the Descent into Hell, which depends heavily upon I Peter III, 18-20 — verses to which Bede often refers.

<sup>194</sup> I, p. LXII.

<sup>195</sup> However, see below, p. 194.

## C. ABRAHAM, THE ANGELS AND TRINITY

The scene at the Oak (or Vale) of Mambre <sup>196</sup> narrated in Genesis XVIII puzzles readers both as Revelation and as literature. God's covenant with Abraham had already been confirmed at the time of the circumcision; but the election of Abraham and Sara is here repeated, as if for the first time, in new and somewhat contradictory terms. These duplications and contradictions are commonly explained by Scriptural archeologists as resulting from conflation of texts: they attribute the whole of Gen. XVIII to « J », for « the Lord » of this chapter is « Javeh » <sup>197</sup>.

Since Abraham and Sara prepare a meal for the persons, commentators also depend on this text for evidence of material nourishment for supernatural beings. Though Genesis XVIII nowhere mentions *angeli* or any equivalent term, from early times (Cyprian or before) editors and commentators were apt to assume that the *viri* of the chapter were the *angeli* of Gen. XIX, 1.

The Mosaic author enigmatically refers to the visitor(s) in both singular and plural, as « dominus » and as « viri », most frequently as three and one. Therefore Trinitarian interpretations developed among exegetes. There are suggestions, but no literal specifications, of a theophany in the chapter. The words of Jesus, « Abraham, your father, rejoiced that he might see my day; he saw it and was glad », (John VIII, 56) evidently refer to this scene in Genesis XVIII and to no other text <sup>198</sup>.

We would expect such puzzles to stimulate excessive exegetical activity. True, the sum of patristic, scholastic, and humanistic exegesis of this chapter or parts of it does bulk large; yet we are more apt to be impressed by most exegetes' tacit avoidance than by any amount of commentary <sup>199</sup>.

<sup>196</sup> For identification, see P. DHORME in *Revue Biblique* XL (1931), pp. 367-368. Full treatment in F. VIGOUROUX, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* IV (1912), 625-635.

<sup>197</sup> James HASTINGS, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible* I (1902), p. 14.

<sup>198</sup> So says, e.g., HILARY OF POITIERS, *De Trinitate* IV, 27.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. DANIELOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, 1960, p. 117.

Did many feel that neither their inspiration nor their learning could render less enigmatic the Mosaic words themselves? For example, Ambrose concluded his *De Abraham* with Genesis xvii and skipped to *De Isaac* (Gen. xxi ff.)<sup>200</sup>.

Although Augustine devoted relatively slight attention to Genesis xviii, he did not avoid the enigmas. His most extensive treatment appears in his tract *Against Maximinus on the Trinity*<sup>201</sup>. It clearly phrases many of the problems:

« This God, » you say, « also appeared to Abraham. » We cannot deny that God appeared to Abraham. Indeed, the most faithful Scripture speaks very plainly on this point, saying, « God [Augustine's text reads *Deus*] appeared to him at the Vale of Mambre. But the text does not say whether the Father or the Son ... When Abraham saw three, he called them « Lord » and not « Lords, » since Trinity are, indeed, three persons but one Lord God ... We see here [xviii, 2-3] that three men appeared and were called one Lord, and one Lord was asked that He not pass away from His servant, since it was proper for His servants to view God. Then he addressed the three persons [4-5] ... It is manifest that they were invited as men, for this type of service by which needy bodies may be refreshed would not have been proffered to them unless they were thought to be men. And Scripture records that they severally responded [5] ... But when it comes to the point of promising a son to Abraham out of Sara, because divine generosity was extended, not human service man to man, Scripture tells of one, who says, « Where is Sara, thy wife? » [9] ... When Sara laughed, the same Scripture reads, « And the Lord said to Abraham : Why did Sara laugh? » [13] ... as if one Lord spoke singularly. And after these words, in order that men may be stated to have severally departed, it also says, « And when the men rose up from thence, they turned their eyes toward Sodom, » and Gomorrha, « but Abraham walked

<sup>200</sup> F. HOMES DUDDEN, *Life and Times of St. Ambrose* II, p. 682.

<sup>201</sup> « The line of argument taken by Augustine resembles so strongly that which is expressed in the formulary which we call the Athanasian Creed that if this were lost it might almost be supplied from the language of Augustine in this treatise. » — H. W. PHILLOTT in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* III (1882), 874.

with them, bringing them on the way » [16]. Then again Scripture returns to the singular number [17] ... But Scripture says in what follows, « And they turned themselves from thence, and went their way to Sodom ; but Abraham yet stood before the Lord. And drawing nigh, Abraham said, Wilt thou destroy the just with the wicked ? » [23] ... And after the colloquy of the Lord and Abraham, the Scripture continues by saying, « And the Lord departed, after he had left speaking to Abraham, and Abraham returned to his place. And the two angels came to Sodom in the evening » [xviii, 33-xix, 1]. These are the ones of whom it is said a little earlier, « Then the men turned about and went to Sodom. » But it had not said there were two, although it had said at the outset that three men appeared to Abraham and were hospitably received by him ... Why does it not say, He who was the Lord and who had spoken with Abraham departed, but His two angels who were with Him went on to Sodom without Him ? For all three who appeared to Abraham were called men, just as Scripture characteristically calls men angels. Nor did Abraham more eagerly or humbly minister to any one of them than to the other two, but washed all their feet equally, and served food to them all equally. Therefore he saw God in all of them... In them he saw God not with eyes of the body but of the heart<sup>202</sup>.

Augustine quite consistently maintained that the Son appeared but once to human eyes in the visible flesh and that « the one and only God, that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, ever remains not only invisible but also unchangeable »<sup>203</sup>. But few of the earlier Fathers had held

<sup>202</sup> *Contra Maximinum* II, xxvi, 5-7 (*P.L.* XLII, 806-809). See also *De Trin.* II, x, 19-xi, 21 ; *De Civ. Dei* XVI, xxiii and xxix ; *Quaest. in Hept.* I, xxxiii (*P.L.* XXXIV, 557).

<sup>203</sup> *De Trin.* II, ix, 16. « The Latin Church alone has, since Augustine, sanctioned the expression *personae*, in the *Symbolum Quicunque*. Augustine himself said, yet, 'Tres personae, si ita dicendae sunt.' » — McCINTOCK and STRONG. *Cyclopaedia* X, p. 555. Customarily the Trinitarian phrasing which Orthodoxy accepts is traced to Theophilus of Antioch ; but it only certainly appears in Tertullian's generation. See, for example, J. HASTINGS, ed., *Dict. Apostolic Church* I, 460. A classic treatment, in which a distinction between « Greek »

his view : « Plus volontiers encore, ils [un bon nombre de Pères] reconnaissent la pluralité des personnes divines dans le récit des théophanies et, en particulier, dans l'apparition de Mambré où trois personnes apparaissent en même temps »<sup>204</sup>.

However, their identification of Abraham's three visitors with Trinity introduced far more problems than it solved. For instance, in the very next generation after Tertullian, Novatianus rejected this notion of Trinity, and concluded that *Dominus* in Gen. XVIII referred only to the Son :

It was no other than the Son of God, Who is also God, that we must believe to have appeared to Abraham and been hospitably entertained by him. As Abraham's guest, He rehearsed in a mystery that which He was one day to be, when He came among the sons of Abraham ; for He washed their feet to show that it was He Himself, thus paying back to Abraham's sons the right of hospitality, which their father had long ago advanced to Him<sup>205</sup>.

Novatian's identification of « the Lord » as an appearance of the Son in the flesh recurred sporadically in all periods of Western exegesis. But after Augustine, exegetes most commonly acknowledged the presence of a mystery by introducing the terms *figura*, *mysteria*, and *spiritalia* : the *fact* was men, the *figura* was Trinity. Abraham's insight into the divine arcana was expressed by the word *Dominus*. Said Gregory the Great : « Abraham saw the day of the Word when in *figura summae Trinitatis tres angelos hospitio suscepit : quibus profecto susceptis, sic tribus quasi uni locutus est, quia etsi in personis numerus Trinitatis est, in natura unitas divinitatis est* »<sup>206</sup>.

Consistent with our findings in examining other topics, we find that Bede's interest in the scene at Mambré centers first in its implications for gentile Election and only secondar-

and « Latin » views becomes important, is Th. DE RÉGNON's *Études de théologie positive sur la sainte Trinité*, 4 vols., Paris, 1892.

<sup>204</sup> *Dict. théol. cath.* XV, 1552. See also *Catholic Encyclopaedia* XV (1912), p. 99 ; *Reallexikon für die Antike und Christentum*, I (1950), 21-22.

<sup>205</sup> *De Trinitate* XVIII, 3.

<sup>206</sup> *Hom. in Evang.* I, XVIII (*P.L.* LXXXVI, 1151D), quoting John VIII, 52.

ily in any view of Godhead. « This appearance of the Lord is unquestionably more sacred than all the previous ones » (iv, 558-560), because at that moment Abraham learns the arcana of God — that he will be father of *all* races and that the circumcised and the foreskinned alike will partake in God's Plan (563-565). Amorrheus and his brothers did not belong to the race of Abraham, but were federated with it; hence it is quite proper that the Vale of Mambre should designate our humility, we who have our fleshly birth from the gentiles but have Abraham as our father in spirit and faith. Only after treating that topic does Bede turn to consideration of Trinity.

He succinctly states: *Quod « tres viri ei apparuerunt » mysterium est sanctae Trinitatis*. He may have been the first exegete to introduce Isaiah vi, 3, at this point as doctrinal support (iv, 620-622). Within the statement of *mysterium* he offers a more literal interpretation than does Augustine: *Diem quippe Domini vidit, cum tres angelos videns unum adoravit, et allocutus est Dominum, quia in trium distinctione personarum unius cognovit essentiam maiestatis* (667-669). Augustine had refused to assert that three, the number of men, was meaningful; he called explicit attention that Lot equally saw God in but two <sup>207</sup>. Bede's view was anticipated by Isidore, whom he would not name, though doubtless he had read Isidore's opinion <sup>208</sup>; he merely attributed the doctrine to *expositores sacrarum litterarum*.

Once the exegetical tradition had fixed *tres viri* as angels, then Genesis xviii became a *locus communis*; the gist of the topic was angels eating. « Les anges qui apparurent à Abraham avaient accepté le repas qu'il leur avait préparé selon les mœurs de cet âge hospitalier, Gen. xviii, 8; mais celui qui se montre plus tard à Mamré déclare qu'il ne mange point, Jud. xiii, 16, et Raphaël dit aux deux Tobie qu'il n'a mangé et bu avec eux qu'en apparence. Ibid. 19 » <sup>209</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> See esp. *Quaest. in Hept.* I, xxxiii (P.L. XXXIV, 557).

<sup>208</sup> On Bede's unusual attitude toward Isidore and avoidance of his name, see my *Beda's opera de temporibus*, pp. 131-133.

<sup>209</sup> *Dict. théol. cath.* I, 1190.



Tertullian had taught that under the governance of God angels could become men in flesh and action but retain their spiritual substance, and that man also by God's governance could similarly assume the characteristics of angels <sup>210</sup>. Augustine used Gen. XVIII, 4, as evidence that angels could assume human material form as they wished <sup>211</sup>: « Can we say that the angels' eating with Abraham was a spectre and not the real thing? Is it not clear that Abraham killed a calf, made cakes, and sat down to table; that he ministered to the angels, and dined? All these are clearest facts most clearly expressed ». Then Augustine discussed Tobit, letting each passage stand in its literal meaning <sup>212</sup>. In the *City of God* he reached his definitive conclusion: « Not the *power* but the *need* of eating and drinking is taken from these bodies <sup>213</sup>.

Gregory the Great saw as one problem the two problems of one in three and of angels eating. Adding to Augustine's concept, he said that angels have to take on material form in order to communicate with men about material things. « It is not remarkable that when they were received at Mambre they should be called now angels, now Lord: the word 'angels' expresses the fact that they minister externally, and the name Lord shows that He rules them internally » <sup>214</sup>.

In *De natura rerum*, VII (P.L. XC, 200), Bede had taught that high heaven contains the « angelic virtues », which assume ethereal bodies when they visit us, so that they can even be mistaken for men when eating; and they then leave the bodies behind them when they return to heaven. In Gen. XVIII, he differentiated between spiritual (IV, 585 ff.) and nonspiritual (574 ff.) meaning, both of which are *mysterium* (593) and *figura* (607). But in the exposition of verses 6-7, he joined spiritual and nonspiritual, regarding the literal food and the *spiritalia sacramenta* as one, apparently because

<sup>210</sup> *De resurrectione carnis*, LXII (P.L. II, 885); cf. *De carne Christi* III, 6 (CC II, 877), VI, 7 (885).

<sup>211</sup> *Serm.* CCLXXVII, 9 (P.L. XXXVIII, 1262); cf. *Ep.* xcvi, 8 (P.L. XXXIII, 355), and *De Civ. Dei* XV, xxiii (P.L. XLI, 468).

<sup>212</sup> *Serm.* CCCLXII, 10 (P.L. XXXIX, 1617).

<sup>213</sup> Not only of the angels, but of the risen Christ. *De Civ. Dei* XIII, xxii (P.L. XLI, 395).

<sup>214</sup> *Moralia* XXVIII, 1, 8 (P.L. LXXVI, 450).

he saw the whole event as edifying : *multum aedificat legentes* (575). In edification, the spiritual and carnal meanings interact : edification is inseparably tied to eternity <sup>215</sup>. Abraham's and Sara's pious haste is proper morality because it is proper spirituality : the haste in preparing the carnal food is explained by the Good News, the Evangel, John VIII, 56 (line 684). Bede uses verses 14 and 15 of Psalm CXLVII to form the link : « He who hath placed peace in thy borders and filleth thee with the fat of corn sendeth forth His speech to the earth : His Word runneth swiftly ». In bringing out this relationship of Good Word and Good Corn, Bede enters into the details of « threefold meaning » (695-705) as a relevant instance of the divine forces underlying Sara's « three measures », not as a critical theory introduced simply because Bede enjoyed the tools of exegetical trade. He very appropriately, though unexpectedly, established a parallel between the *tuos fines* of that Psalm and the *decorem tuae domus* of Psalm xxv, 8 ; then with the *templum Dei* of Corinthians (line 702) he completed his spiritual circuit by quoting, « The kingdom of God is like to leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal » (Luke XIII, 21). He then returns us to Sara's *tria sata similiae* without abandoning either the imagery of the letter or the unity dependent on the spirit.

Indeed, this unprecedented approach to the topic of angels' food cogently demonstrates Bede's poetical rather than theological bent in exegesis. He is concerned with auditors rather than readers, brothers who in the facets of Scripture may see reflected images of the ideal in the actual. His is a homiletic, not a tropological, method, based on the precept drawn from Augustine that no one should think that he understands Scripture in which he cannot find instruction in charity (IV, 715-716).

In this treatment he doubtless was inspired by Gregory the Great <sup>216</sup>, who used Genesis XVIII for depiction of Christian domestic economy, especially the proper relation of husband

<sup>215</sup> I have dealt with this trait of Bede's at length in my *Saints' Lives and Chronicles* (1947).

<sup>216</sup> *Moralia* XI, LXVI, 106 on Job x, 22 (P.L. LXXV, 917-918).

and wife : Wife is flesh and husband is intellect, and flesh should be subservient and hidden within doors. I doubt that readers can obtain insight into Bede's effective literary style in any better way than to compare Gregory and Bede in their treatments of this chapter. Gregory, eloquent moralist that he was, spoke with all the force of Roman tradition and Roman patrician power ; but Bede restored the sense of human sympathy to those passages which had for too long a period been formulated for the sake of doctrine and mass applicability. Bede completed his discussion by comparing Abraham's and Sara's charity with Adam's and Eve's arrogance, and in so doing dissolved traditional rhetoric in poetry.

Although I am not alone in noting a likeness between the Scriptural Abraham and the Adam of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, I hope, *Deo volente*, in some more appropriate place to delineate the remarkable similarity between that Adam and his Eve and Bede's Abraham and Sarah — the more remarkable because bibliographical history clearly suggests that Milton could not have read Bede's Commentary<sup>217</sup>. Major links between Bede and Milton at this point were Gregory's commentaries and their common interest in the doctrine of Six Ages. But, I like to believe, the most important link is some identity in poetic imagination and inspiration.

#### D. SIX AGES OF THE WORLD

Nearly all of the identifiable interests of Bede as teacher attach themselves somehow to the doctrine of the Six, Seven, and Eight Days of Creation, the Hexaëmeron, as model or

<sup>217</sup> BENTLEY, TODD, VERITY and, contemporaneously, Merritt HUGHES (*John Milton Complete Poems and Major Prose*, 1957, as in the 1935 edition) at *Par. Lost* VIII, 379, note a parallel with Gen. XVIII, 30. But the range is extended considerably by Robert H. WEST (*Milton and the Angels*, Atlanta, 1955, pp. 74, 163-164 ; « The Substance of Milton's Angels, » *South Atlantic M.L.A. Studies in Milton*, Gainesville, 1953) and James SIMS (*The Bible in Milton's Epics*, 1962, pp. 202-210, 279). To my mind, the *mise en scene* of one-third (Books V-VIII) of Milton's epic substantially depends upon Genesis XVIII.

prefiguration of the Six, Seven, and Eight historical and chronological Ages of the World. Bede regarded the Six Ages as typological, but seldom allegorical in either the restricted and technical Cassianic sense or in the general sense of the word. History is literal, and the historical can be figured through history; but it is no less literal, factual, or carnal for being a figure: *Per historiam namque historia figuratur, cum factura primorum sex sive septem dierum totidem saeculi huius comparatur aetatibus* <sup>218</sup>.

Augustine's number symbolism revealed a creative Multiplicity in Unity, equally literal (historical) and spiritual (allegorical). Trinity required of all creatures, inorganic, organic, and intelligential, a beginning, middle, and end. The very universe is a creature, with a body (history) and a soul (nous). Christian historians therefore assumed all temporalities to be linear, with movement from beginning through middle to end. On that historical line rested topics. Hence Christian historiography was basically chronological, and the chronicle was an essential form. The most popular topics of Western writers were Genesis, Advent, and Second Advent including Last Judgment.

Specific treatment of a created universe lasting Six Days comes not later than the *Epistle of Barnabas*, which unites hexaëmeron, chiliasm, and eschatology in a single short passage:

Notice, children, what is the meaning of « He made an end in six days. » He means this: that the Lord will make an end of everything in six thousand years. And He Himself is my witness when He says, « Lo, the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years » (Ps. lxxxix, 4; II Pet. iii, 8). So then, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything will be completed <sup>219</sup>.

Evidently the topics of Six Ages had been long developing before those words were written <sup>220</sup>.

<sup>218</sup> BEDE, *ST* II, 12 (P.L. XC, 185B); cf. *In Esdram*, Praef. (P.L. XCI, 808C). On the relation of the topic of Six Ages to Number Symbolism see, for example, GROSSMANN, *op. cit.* (*supra* p. 166) p. 32-33.

<sup>219</sup> Trans. Kirsopp LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers* (Loeb) I, pp. 395-397.

<sup>220</sup> *De aetatibus mundi et hominis liber* of FULGENTIUS the Mytho-

Bede followed in the path of Augustine, the Visigothic Fathers, and Gregory the Great. Their doctrine caught up the early chiliastic lore and developed it into a millenarianism which has continued sporadically to erupt in preaching. Since Genesis determined the line of history, Bede's commentary upon Genesis is substantially based on the Six Ages. The Fathers (and Scholastics as well) exercised every form of ingenuity to establish convincing relationships among those Ages.

Bede could draw upon the words of virtually every Latin Father represented in his library for elements to be molded into his own rich conception. Here is a representative but incomplete listing :

LACTANTIUS *Institutiones* VII, 14-15, 22-23, 25.

AMBROSIUS *In Lucam* V, VI, 49.

HIERONYMUS *In Michaeam* I, 4 (P.L. XXV, 1186); *Epistola* CXL, 8 (P.L. XXII, 1172).

AUGUSTINUS *Ep.* CXC VII - CXCIX (P.L. XXXIII, 899 - 925; CSEL LVII, II, pp. 231-292); *DCD* XI, 30; xv, 19; xviii, 52-53; xx, 7, 12-13; xxi, 19-23; xxii, 30, 5; *En. in Ps.* VI (P.L. XXXVI, 90; CSEL XXXVIII, p. 27); xxxvi, 1 (p. 336); LXXXIX, 5 (P.L. XXXVII, 1143); *Serm.* CCLIX, 1-2 (P.L. XXXVIII, 1196 f.); CCLXV, 1-4 (1219-1221); *DQ* LXXXIII, 60 (P.L. XL, 48); *DGCM* I, xxiii-xxv (P.L. XXXIV, 190 ff.); *DGAL* IV, 7 (P.L. XXXIV, 304).

CASSIODORUS *Expositio in Psalmum* VI (P.L. LXX, 59); IX, 40 (91-92), referring to Hilarius, *In prologo Psalmodum*; Hieronymus, *In Ecclesiastes* XI; Ambrosius *In Lucam* I, IX.

GREGORIUS *In Septem Psalmos Poenitentes*, Ps. I (P.L. LXXIX, 549-558); *Hom. in Evang.* I, XIX, 1 (P.L. LXXVI, 1154); *Hom. in Ezech.* II, IV, 2 (P.L. LXXVI, 973); VIII, 2 (1029); *Moralia* XXV, XLII, 16 (P.L. LXXVI, 758-760).

grapher (*Clavis* No. 852) seems to catch up pagan classical echoes of a similar theme; for the rabbinical doctrines see, e.g., T. Francis GLEASON, *The Second Advent*, London, 1945.

ISIDORUS *Quaestiones Veteris Testamenti*, In Gen. II (P.L. LXXXIII, 213 f.); *Etymologiae* V, LVIII, 5.

In Visigothic Spain and elsewhere the phrase Six Ages evoked antisemitic feelings: the Jews had been blind to the Messiah because they would not recognize the Advent which marked the opening of the Sixth Age. Julian, bishop of Toledo, composed *De comprobatione Sextae Aetatis* against the Jews. All of its Third Book forms a prologue to Bede's expositions, though it has not been demonstrated that Bede read it. According to Julian, Spanish Jews were using the formula of Six Ages (five to the Incarnation) together with Psalm LXXXIX, 4 (hence II Pet. III, 8) to argue that since the Fifth Age had not yet fulfilled its allotted years, the Messiah could not yet have come. Cassiodorus had already shown that the doctrine was rife in his time: « Verum istum diem a conditione mundi alii dicunt post annorum sex millia esse venturum ». Julian wrote his work to deny that the Vulgate or any other chronology except the Seventy Weeks of Daniel could provide any kind of sound chronological basis for belief. He regarded as the strongest of his many arguments that *if* Christ's Advent had been prophesied for A.M. 5000, then, during Herod's search for the Infant, the Jews would have told him not to worry — that He was not due for another thousand years or so (e.g. *De comprobatione* II, 3).

A line of reasoning similar to that of the Spanish Jews lay behind the charge of heresy or heterodoxy leveled against Bede. In *De temporibus* Bede, basing his reckoning upon Jerome's text of Scriptures rather than upon Jerome's rendering of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, had calculated the Advent at A.M. 3952 (*Huius anno XLII Dominus nascitur, completis ab Adam annis mmmdeccclii*)<sup>221</sup> as opposed to the Eusebian 5199. The literary form of *DT*, in which a practical chronicle and a theoretical treatise on computation of time were united under one cover<sup>222</sup>, had been confirmed during a long tradition

<sup>221</sup> How engrained the notion was in Carolingian days is indicated in Vatican MS *Urb. Lat.* 290, fo. 43<sup>r</sup>: « Saeculum quid est? Nomen compositum, hoc est ab illo vocabulo quid est *sex* et alio vocabulo qui est *cultus*, unde saeculum dicitur a *seno cultu* quia per sex aetates mundi vita humana colitur. »

<sup>222</sup> As in *P.L.* XC, 277-297.

in Christian schools ; it had evolved from the work of Julius Africanus and Hippolytus of Rome who had tried to flesh out eschatological notions of Six Ages with prooftexts from biblical history <sup>223</sup>. The Eusebian chronicle itself belonged to this tradition. Because Bede's revision of the Eusebian chronological span was unkindly received, he found himself involved in discussion of it all his life <sup>224</sup>. Followers of Bede's bishop, if not bishop Wilfrid himself, charged Bede with false doctrine. He indignantly refuted the charge, detail by detail, in his Letter to Plegwin (A.D. 708) <sup>225</sup>. In 725 he rewrote *DT*, expanding it tenfold without altering its basic structure : after 130 pages of textbook theory of Time, he composed a 70-page chronicle of men's actions from the beginning to the end of Time, which consisted of Six Ages of this world, typified by God's Six Days of Creation, a Seventh Age of corporeal rest as on God's Sabbath, and an Eighth Age of Eternal Peace in the Heavenly Home, as in the Resurrection on the Eighth Day, « a doctrine which became such a favourite with him that he introduced it into almost all his works » <sup>226</sup>.

Another aspect of the topic Six Ages which occupied Bede's regular attention had been developed by Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Gregory from millenarian notions : the interpretation of Psalm vi. In *Enarratio in Psalmum* vi <sup>227</sup>, Augustine treated its rubric, *In Finem in Carminibus Pro*

<sup>223</sup> See LECLERCQ in *DACL* VI<sup>2</sup>, 2455 ; Adolf BAUER, « Die Chronik des Hippolytus, » *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva, 1905), pp. 1-9 ; *Cambridge Medieval History* I, pp. 582-583 ; LEVINSON in *Bede*, p. 115.

<sup>224</sup> It would be easy to conclude from this incident that in Bede's day there existed an active and polemical colony of Jews in Britain, as in Spain ; but other conclusions are possible. I shall discuss this topic elsewhere.

<sup>225</sup> See *Beda's opera de temporibus*, pp. 132-135 ; LAISTNER, *Exp.*, p. xvi.

<sup>226</sup> PLUMMER I, p. xli, who (n. 6) lists 27 references to Bede's treatment of the topics — a very incomplete list. Bede had not yet evolved his doctrine of Ages Seven and Eight when he composed *DT* (*vide P.L.* XC, 290D), despite the patristic statements about the topic *Pro octava*. The appearance and nonappearance of this topic may furnish a clue to the chronology of Bede's writings.

<sup>227</sup> CC XXXVIII, p. 27.

*Octava Psalmus David.* « Octava », he wrote, seems obscure, as the other phrases do not. Some commentators see in it a reference to Judgment Day, that is, to the time of Our Lord's Advent, when He will come to judge the living and the dead. His Advent is predicted to take place seven thousand years from Adam by count, as if seven days had passed and then the eighth day would come. From this point Augustine discussed the Six Ages, the Thousand Years, and Christ's words <sup>228</sup> that the hour and day no man knows <sup>229</sup>.

Cassiodorus<sup>230</sup> followed and cited Augustine, as well as Hilary, Jerome, and Ambrose : « Some think », he wrote in commenting upon the phrase *Pro Octava*, « that after seven thousand years, that is, after the « Week » of this temporality has passed, eternal light can be stipulated for the Eighth Day, just as the Resurrection of Our Lord is known to have also taken place on that day ». In conformity with the orthodox position, Cassiodorus stated that the day cannot be known. On the basis of this doctrine, Gregory the Great prescribed the liturgical usage of the *Eighth* Psalm <sup>231</sup> : « The Eighth Psalm should be sung to the Lord in consideration of the Resurrection to come. The total period of the present life evolves through seven days, and therefore the Eternal Day, which is to come after the whole cycle of these days has been completed, is called the Eighth. And because this [Sixth] Psalm is sung in consideration of the Last Judgment, it is correctly rubricated *Pro Octava*. Or, because it follows on the end of the carnal and spiritual generation, it is therefore called the « Octave of Resurrection » ... Or, according to some, it is called « Octava » because the Last Judgment follows upon this Age of the living and the Seventh Age of the righteous sleepers ».

Bede continued this tradition of tying the rubric of Psalm vi with the concept of Six Ages, not only in commenting on

<sup>228</sup> Cf. *In Ps.* XXXVI, i, 1 (*CC XXXVIII*, p. 336) ; *Serm.* cclxv, 1-4 (*P.L.* XXXVIII, 1219-1221) discusses Christ's words, as does *De div. quaest.* lxxxiii, 60 (*P.L.* XL, 48), etc.

<sup>229</sup> Matt. xxiv, 36 ; Mark xiii, 32.

<sup>230</sup> *Expositio in Ps.* vi (*P.L.* LXX, 59).

<sup>231</sup> *In Septem Ps. Poen. Exp.* i (*P.L.* LXXIX, 551).



Genesis (he is most specific in I, 995-1002), but also in *DTR*, x<sup>232</sup>. Strangely, neither Six Ages nor Psalm VI is mentioned in his tract (*Epistola in Esaiam* xxiv, 22) on the Last Judgment<sup>233</sup> or in his verses *De Dje Iudicii*<sup>234</sup>.

In *In Gen* I, 1093-1224, Bede outlines the parallels in the course of the Six Ages, just as he does in *DTR*, x, and again *LXVI*<sup>235</sup>, and elsewhere. In all the many instances Bede seldom repeats himself: the facets of his jewel-like topic are innumerable. He sees the high points of history as conforming with God's Plan, and one cannot doubt (though Bede does not directly say so) that he believes that the very details of the figure arise from the Divine Consciousness. « Sacred eloquence », he writes (III, 1611-1613) « is full of mystic figures, not only in the words and deeds, but likewise in those places and times in which it is acted out ». By *locis* he means more than *dictis*, i.e. the names of places, or *factis*, the locale of action; he means the *genius loci*. Bede, the authority on the Easter-reckoning, sees the New Fruits of Pasch recur in each Age (II, 1881-1888); and Death and Resurrection in each Age is in accord with that of the Word Himself.

Here is a brief list of the more noteworthy uses of the topic of Six Ages as they appear in the Commentary:

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| I, 976-1022   | Relation of Days and Ages                  |
| II, 505-518   | Eschatology                                |
| II, 749-810   | Computistical and chronological data       |
| II, 845-851   | Enoch and the Seventh Age                  |
| II, 1881-1888 | New Fruits and the Seventh and Eighth Ages |

<sup>232</sup> P.L. XC, 340C.

<sup>233</sup> The Last Judgment is for Bede as for most exegetes a favorite topic; I count 27 specific references to it in *In Gen* alone.

<sup>234</sup> P.L. XCIV, 633-638. LAISTNER, *Handlist*, pp. 126-127, accepts these verses as genuine. The interest of Bede's compatriots in the Six Ages has been treated by FÖRSTER, « Die Weltzeitalter bei d. Angelsachsen, » *Die neueren Sprachen* VI (1925, Beiheft Festgabe Karl Luick dargebracht), pp. 183-203.

<sup>235</sup> JONES, *Beda's opera de temporibus*, pp. 201-202, see also Index and notes; *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. Ant. XIII* (Berlin, 1898), pp. 247-248.

- II, 1949-1967    Ages begin with consecration of the *vir sanctus*
- III, 712-717    The Second Age
- III, 826-834    Relation of Generations to Ages
- IV, 396-417    Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Ages
- IV, 429-440    Eighth Day of Creation ; Resurrection ; Eighth Age
- IV, 1553-1558   Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Ages

# Fragmenta Liturgica

## IV

VON

KLAUS GAMBER

(Regensburg)

### 19. Das « Officium missae graecae » der Pfarrei U. L. Frau in Bamberg

Die sehr späte Handschrift, ein Libellus aus vier Doppelblättern, findet sich jetzt als Cod. lit. 42 in der Staatlichen Bibliothek in Bamberg. Sie war ehemals im Besitz der Pfarrei U. L. Frau in Bamberg, wo sie i. J. 1520 geschrieben worden ist. Diese Jahreszahl ist auf der letzten Seite von erster Hand angebracht worden <sup>1</sup>.

Allem Anschein nach handelt es sich um die Abschrift einer alten Vorlage. Wieweit beim Abschreiben Änderungen des Textes vorgenommen worden sind, wissen wir nicht. Der damals geschriebene Libellus wurde, wie Eintragungen auf der Innenseite des hinteren Deckblatts beweisen, mindestens bis z. J. 1631 in der genannten Pfarrei liturgisch benutzt <sup>2</sup>. Jedes Jahr nur einmal, und zwar an der « feria quarta post Letare », also am Mittwoch nach dem 4. Fastensonntag; ein Tag, der heute noch im Missale Romanum, ähnlich wie die Quatember-Mittwoche, durch zwei Lesungen vor dem Evangelium ausgezeichnet ist.

<sup>1</sup> Die Handschrift wurde erstmals herausgegeben von A. A. SCHELLENBERG, *Geschichte der Pfarre zu U. L. Frauen in Bamberg* (Bamberg 1787). Ein Exemplar dieses seltenen Druckes in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München (Signatur: Bavar. 2352 r).

<sup>2</sup> Es haben sich hier die Zelebranten der « missa graeca » in den einzelnen Jahren « verewigt »; die Namen bei Schellenberg a. a. O. 89-90.

Die Bezeichnung « *Officium missae graecae* », die der Bamberger Libellus trägt, ist irreführend. Es handelt sich nämlich nicht, wie man meinen möchte, um eine griechische Messliturgie, sondern um einen uralten Skrutinienritus, bei dem das Symbolum (Credo) in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache gesungen worden ist. Der hier sich findende Skrutinienritus dürfte nirgends so lange Zeit wie in Bamberg üblich gewesen sein.

Von unserem « *officium missae graecae* » zu unterscheiden ist die griechisch(-lateinische) Petrus-Liturgie, die eine griechische Übersetzung eines römischen lateinischen Messlibellus darstellt und den Namen des hl. Petrus oder des hl. Gregor an der Spitze trägt und die bis ins 10. Jh. in den Griechisch sprechenden Gebieten Süditaliens (und z.T. auch in Griechenland selbst) in Gebrauch war <sup>3</sup>.

Ferner ist zu unterscheiden die sog. *Missa graeca*; das sind die Ordinariusgesänge (Gloria, Credo, Sanctus und Agnus Dei), wie sie, meist mit Neumen versehen, in verschiedenen Handschriften in griechischer Übersetzung zu finden sind, so u.a. im Clm 14083 (10. Jh.), den Codices Sangallenses 381 und 382 und im ms. lat. 9449 der Bibliothèque nationale zu Paris <sup>4</sup>.

*Officium quod cantatur feria quarta post Letare in ecclesia parrochiali beate Marie virginis Babenberge vocabulo « Missa greca ».*

*Introitus.* Cum sanctificatus fuero in vobis. congregabo vos de vniuersis terris. et effundam super vos aquam mundam. et mundabimini ab omnibus inquinamentis vestris. et dabo vobis spiritum nouum. V. Benedicam dominum in omni tempore. semper laus eius in ore meo. Gloria patri.

<sup>3</sup> Herausgegeben von H. W. CODRINGTON, *The Liturgy of Saint Peter* (= Liturgiegeschichte. Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 30, Münster i. W. 1936) bes. 117-129; vgl. CLLA 2. Aufl. Nr. 606 und 607.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. auch die Messformulare bei F. J. MONE, *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem 2. bis zum 6. Jh.* (Frankfurt 1850) 139-147; P. WAGNER, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien I* (Leipzig 1911) 51 f.; L. BROU, *Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines*, in: *Sacris erudiri* 1 (1948) 165-180; F. ZAGIBA, *Die Messe in griechischer Sprache*, in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1961).

*Post tractum Domine non secundum peccata. prespiter cum ministris descendit de altari. et vadit cum ministris ad pulpetum. et legat per modum lectionum matutinalium.*

Aperturi vobis filij carissimi evangelia. id est gesta divina : prius ordine insinuare debemus. quid sit evangelium. et unde descendat : et cuius [1<sup>v</sup>] in eo verba ponantur. et quare quatuor sint qui hec gesta scripserunt : vel qui sint ipsi quatuor. qui divino spiritu annunciante a propheta signati sunt : ne forte sine hac ordinis ratione vel causa. stuporem vobis in mentibus relinquamus. Et quia ad hoc venistis. aures vobis aperiantur : ne incipiat vobis sensus vester obtundi. Euangelium dicitur bona annuntiatio : que vtique annuntiatio est iesu christi dni nostri. Descendit autem evangelium ab eo quod annuntiat : et ostendit quod is qui per prophetas suos loquebatur. venit in carne sicut scriptum est : qui loquebar ecce assum. Explicantes autem breuiter quid sit euangelium. vel qui sint hii quatuor qui scripserunt : qui per prophetam ante monstrati sunt : nunc sua queque nomina singulis assignemus indicatijs. Ait enim propheta [2<sup>r</sup>] ezechiel : et similitudo vultus eorum. ut facies hominis. et facies leonis a dextris illius : et facies vituli. et facies aquile a sinistris illius. Hos quatuor has figuras habentes : euangelistas esse non est dubium. Sed nomina eorum qui euangelia scripserunt hec sunt Matheus. Marcus. Lucas. et Johannes (= V 300-301). *Hoc lecto : dyaconus dicat alto voce. State cum silentio : audientes intente. Prespiter reuertatur ad altare. et ministri antecedunt eum. Tunc vnus dyaconus accepta benedictione. sumat librum de dextro cornu altaris. circumeundo altare. precedentibus se quatuor ministris. candelabris et thuribulo. sine officiante. quia officians numquam circuiet altare. Dyaconus legat euangelium in loco deputato Liber generationis iesu christi etc. Quo finito prespiter iterum descendit de altari. precedentibus ministris ad pulpitem. [2<sup>v</sup>] Et dyaconus dicat alta voce. Flectamus genua. Alter. Leuate. Prespiter legat sequentia per modum lectionum matutinalium.*

Filii carissimi. ne diutius teneamus vos. exponemus vobis quam rationem. et quam figuram unusquisque in se teneat : et quare matheus in se figuram hominis habeat. quia in initio suo nichil aliud agit : nisi natiuitatem saluatoris pleno ordine generationis enarrat. Sic enim incipit Liber generationis iesu

christi filii dauid. filii abraham. Videtis quia non inmerito. huic hominis assignata est persona : quando ab hominis natiuitate initium comprehendit. Nec inmerito vt diximus. huic misterio designata est mathei persona (= V 303).

*Quo finito : dyaconus dicat* State cum silentio audientes intente. *Tunc presbiter redeat ad altare. Et tunc dyaconus sumat li-[3r]brum de secundo cornu altaris. et iterum circumeundo altare cum ministris. thuribulo etc. vt supra sine officiante : et legat euangelium secundum Marcum.* Initium euangelii iesu christi filii dei. sicut scriptum est in ysaia etc. *Quo lecto prespiter iterum vadit de altari. precedentibus se ministris thuribulo etc. ut supra per chorum ad pulpitem. Dyaconus dicat.* Flectamus genua. *Alter. Leuate. Deinde prespiter legat.*

Marcus euangelista leonis gerens figuram. a solitudine incipit dicens : vox clamantis in deserto, parate viam domini : siue quia regnat inuictus. huius leonis multipharia inuenimus exempla : vt non vacet illud dictum. Iuda filius meus catulus leonis. de germine michi ascendisti : recubans dormiuit vt leo. et sicut catulus leonis : quis excitabit eum ? (= V 305).

*Quo lecto : dyaconus dicat.* State cum silentio : audientes intente. [3v] *Tunc redeat prespiter ad altare : et dyaconus sumat librum de tercio cornu altaris. et iterum circumeundo altare cum ministris ad locum deputatum et legat euangelium secundum Lucam.* Fuit in diebus herodis regis sacerdos etc. *Quo lecto prespiter redeat ad pulpitem per chorum. ordine quo supra : Diaconus dicat.* Flectamus genua. *Alter. Leuate. Deinde sacerdos legat. more quo supra.*

Lucas euangelista vituli spe spetiem gestat : ad cuius instar saluator noster est ymmolatus. Hic enim christi euangelium locuturus. sic cepit de zacharia et elizabeth : de quibus iohannes baptista in summa natus est senectute. Et ideo lucas vitulo comparatur : quia duo cornua duo testamenta. et quatuor pedum vngule. quatuor euangelia : quasi tenera firmitate nascentia. in se plenissime contineant (= V 307)

*Hoc lecto dya- [4r] conus dicat.* State cum silentio : audientes intente. *Tunc prespiter redeat ad altare. et dyaconus sumat librum de quarto cornu altaris. vt supra signatum est. et legat euangelium secundum iohannem.* In principio erat uerbum etc.

*Quo lecto prespiter cum ministrantibus iterum descendit de altari per chorum ad pulpitem. Diaconus dicat. Flectamus genua. Alter. Leuate. Deinde prespiter legat modo et forma quo supra.*

Iohannes euangelista habet \*similitudinem aquile : eo quod nimis alta pecierit. Ait enim. In principio erat verbum. Et uerbum erat apud deum. Et deus erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud deum. Et dauid dicit de persona christi. Renouabitur ut aquile iuuentus tua : id est dni nri iesu christi. qui resurgens a mortuis. ascendit ad celos. Unde iam vobis conceptis. pregloriatur ecclesia. omnes festiuitates veterum. ad noua tendere [4v] christiane legis exordia : vt adueniente die uenerabilis pasche. lauacro baptismatis renascentes : sicut omnes sancti mereamini fidele munus infancie. a christo dno nro percipere. Qui cum patre et spu scto uiuit et regnat deus : per omnia secula seculorum (= V 309). *Chorus respondeat. Amen. Statim prespiter subiungit.*

Dilectissimi nobis. accepturi sacramenta baptismatis. et in nouam creaturam scti spus procreandi. fidem qua credentes iustificandi estis concipite toto corde : et animis uestris uera conuersatione mutatis. ad deum qui mentium uestrarum illuminator est accedite : suscipientes euangelici symboli sacramentum. a dno inspiratum. ab apostolis institutum : cuius pauca quidem uerba sunt : sed magna misteria. Sanctus etenim spiritus qui magistris ecclesie ista dictauit. tali eloquio [5r] talique breuitate. salutiferam condidit fidem : vt quod credendum est vobis. semperque profitendum. nec intelligentiam possit latere : nec memoriam fatigare. Intentis itaque animis symbolum discite. et quod vobis sicut accepimus tradimus : non alicui materie que corrumpi potest. sed paginis cordis uestri asscribite. Confessio itaque fidei quam suscepistis. hoc inchoatur exordio (= V 310).

*Hac prefatione expleta. prespiter cum ministris ascendit ad altare : et canitur symbolus graecus per iuuenes. et alter symbolus. Quibus expletis prespiter descendit de altari per chorum ad pulpitem. et legat infra scripta ad modum lectionum matutinalium.*

Hec summa dilectissimi nobis fidei nostre est. Hec uerba sunt symboli. non sapientie humane sermone facta : sed vere diuinitatis ratione disposita. quibus [5v] comprehendendis

atque seruandis. nemo non ydoneus : nemo non aptus. Hic dei patris et filij. vna equalitas pronuntiatur atque potestas. Hic unigenitus dei de maria virgine. et spiritu sancto secundum carnem natus ostenditur : hic eiusdem crucifixio et sepultura. ac die tertia resurrectio predicatur. Hic ascensio illius super celos. et consessio eius in dextera paterne maiestatis agnoscitur : venturusque ad iudicandos viuos et mortuos declaratur. Hic spiritus sanctus, in eadam qua pater et filius deitate. indiscretus accipitur. Hic postremo ecclesie vocatio. peccatorum remissio : et carnis resurrectio perdocetur. Que brevissima plenitudo. ita debet cordibus vestris inherere : vt omni tempore presidio huius confessionis vtamini. Inuicta enim est talium armorum potestas : et contra omnes vobis insidias diaboli. tanquam bonis christi militibus profutura. Diabolus qui hominem temptare non desistit. munitos vos hoc symbolo semper inueniat : vt deuicto aduersario cui nunc renunciastis. gratiam dni incorruptam et immaculatam vsque in finem. ipso quem confitemini protegente seruetis : vt in quo peccatorum remissionem accipitis. in eo gloriam resurrectionis habeatis. Ergo dilectissimi prefatum symbolum fidei catholice in presenti cognouistis : nunc euntes edocemini nullo mutato sermone. Potens est enim dei misericordia. quo et vos ad baptismi fidem currentes perducatur : et nos qui vobis misteria tradimus. vna vobiscum ad regna celestia faciat peruenire. Per eum qui venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem (= V 315-318).

*His expletis diaconus dicit.* State cum silentio : audientes intente. *Deinde presbiter legat sequentia. ut iam supra.* [6v]

Dominus et saluator noster iesus christus. inter cetera sacra precepta. discipulis suis petentibus quemadmodum orare deberent : non solum formam orationis concessit : verum etiam qua mente et puritate precarentur ostendit : vt in presenti sacra lectio demonstrabit. Tu autem cum orabis intra in cubiculum : et clauso ostio ora patrem tuum. Cubiculum quod nominat. non occultam domum ostendit : sed cordis nostri secretum. id est ut a mala cogitatione pectus nostrum mystica fidei clauis claudamus : ac labijs clausis incorrupta mente deo loquamur. Deus enim noster fidei non vocis auditor est. Ergo vnde sermo est. id est sapientia christus dominus noster : hanc orationem nos docuit. vt ita oremus. Pater noster qui es



in celis. Hec libertatis vox est. et plena fiducia. Ergo nobis his moribus [7<sup>r</sup>] est viuendum : vt et filij dei et fratres christi esse possimus. Nam patrem suum deum qua temeritate presumit dicere : qui ab eius voluntate degenerat? Vnde vos dilectissimi dignos exhibete adoptione diuina : quoniam scriptum est. Quotquot autem crediderunt in eum : dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri. Sanctificetur nomen tuum. non quod dominus nostris sanctificetur orationibus qui semper sanctus est. sed petimus vt nomen eius sanctificetur in nobis : vt qui in baptismo sanctificamur. in eo quod esse cepimus perseueremus. Adueniat regnum tuum. Deus namque noster quando non regnat : maxime cuius regnum est immortale? Sed cum dicimus. adueniat regnum tuum. regnum eius petimus aduenire. a deo nobis promissum : christi sanguine et passione quesitum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra. Id est in eo fiat voluntas tua. vt quod [7<sup>v</sup>] tu vis in celo : hoc nos in terra positi irreprehensibiliter faciamus. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Hic spiritalem cibum intelligere debemus. Christus enim panis noster est : qui dixit. Ego sum panis viuus : qui de celo descendi. Quem quotidianum dicens. ita nos semper immunes precipit esse peccati : vt digni simus celestibus alimentis. Et dimitte nobis debita nra : sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Hoc pactum est. significans. non nos aliter peccatorum veniam posse promereri : nisi prius nos in nobis delinquentibus alijs veniam relaxemus. sicut in euangelio dominus noster dicit. Nisi dimiseritis peccata hominibus : nec pater vester dimittit vobis peccata vestra. Et ne nos inducas in temptationem. Id est ne nos patiaris induci ab eo. qui nos temptat prauitatis auctore : nam scri- [8<sup>r</sup>] ptura dicit. Deus enim intemptator malorum est. dyabolus vero est temptator : ad quem euincendum dominus dicit. Vigilate et orate : ne intretis in temptationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Hoc ideo ait. quia dixit apostolis : ne scitis quid vos oporteat orare. Vnde deus omnipotens ita a nobis orandus est : vt quicquid humana fragilitas cauere non preualet : hoc ille propitius nobis conferre dignetur. Per iesum christum dnm nostrum. qui viuit et regnat cum deo patre omnipotente. et spu scto per secula seculorum. Amen (= V 319-327).

*His expletis Diaconus dicit. State cum silentio : audientes intente. Sacerdos dicit.*

Audistis dilectissimi orationis dominice sancta misteria. nunc euntes ea vestris cordibus innouate : vt ad exorandam et percipiendam dei misericordiam. perfecti in christo esse possitis. Potens est dominus deus noster. vt et vos qui ad [8<sup>v</sup>] fidem curritis. ad lauacrum regenerationis perducatur : et nos qui vobis misterium fidei catholice tradimus. vna vobiscum ad celestia regna faciat peruenire. Qui viuunt et regnat cum deo patre et spiritu sancto. per omnia secula seculorum (= V 328).

*Chorus respondet. Amen. His expletis sacerdos redeat ad altare et legitur euangelium feriale. et peragitur missa ordine suo : 1520.*

Wie bereits oben kurz angedeutet, handelt es sich beim Bamberger « Officium missae graecae » um einen uralten Skrutinienritus, wie er erstmals im sog. Sacramentarium Gelasianum nach dem Codex Vaticanus (= V) bezeugt ist (ed. Mohlberg Formeln 300-328). Er erscheint wieder im Ordo Romanus XI (ed. Andrieu II, p. 427-440) <sup>5</sup>. Während jedoch in V überhaupt keine und im Ordo XI eine wenig genaue Tagesangabe (qua die voluerit in sequenti hebdomada, quod ab initio quadragesimae est quarta) zu finden ist, wird im Bamberger Libellus der Mittwoch nach dem Sonntag « Laetare » als Termin dieses Ritus genannt.

Ein weiterer wichtiger Unterschied besteht darin, dass in unserm Libellus die Beziehung zu den Taufkandidaten verloren gegangen ist. Der ursprüngliche Skrutinienritus ist hier einfach zu einer Zeremonie geworden. Doch hat diese die eigentlichen Elemente durch mehrere Jahrhunderte hindurch mit einer Zähigkeit bewahrt, die Bewunderung erregen muss. Nur die sich direkt auf die Täuflinge beziehenden Handlungen sind im Laufe der Zeit ausgefallen, so die Bezeichnung mit dem Kreuzzeichen (Ordo XI ed. Andrieu II, 427 n. 41) oder die Tatsache, dass bei der Traditio Symboli einem aus den « infantes » das Evangelienbuch aufs Haupt zu legen ist (V 311 ed. Mohlberg).

Wir wissen nicht, warum gerade in der Pfarrei U. L. Frau in Bamberg sich dieser alte Skrutinienritus so lange hat

<sup>5</sup> M. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* II (= Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, Fasc. 23, Louvain 1948).

halten können. Wir wissen noch nicht einmal mit Sicherheit, wo seine Heimat zu suchen ist. Andrieu meint: « C'est à Rome seulement qu'il a pu être composé. Il était destiné aux prêtres romains qui, dans les titres ou les basiliques, étaient chargés de baptiser les jeunes enfants » (S. 409). Andrieu war sich seiner Ansicht so sicher, dass er es für überflüssig ansah, auf diese Frage weiterhin einzugehen.

Dem ist jedoch sicher nicht so. Die Heimat unseres Skrutinienritus ist vielmehr dort zu suchen, wo das sog. Gelasianum entstanden ist, da in ihm dieser Ritus erstmals bezeugt ist. Die Heimat des Gelasianum ist aber, wie ich zeigen konnte, Ravenna<sup>6</sup>. Sein Redaktor ist Bischof Maximianus († 553). Darüber hinaus besitzen wir ein Zeugnis für den Brauch der « Expositiones evangelii » in Ravenna etwa fünfzig Jahre nach Maximianus in einem Brief des Papstes Gregor d.Gr. an dem Bischof Marinianus von Ravenna. Hier gibt der Papst seinem ehemaligen Klostergenossen, der erkrankt ist, folgende Ratschläge (Regist. epist. 11, 33):

Sed et a vigiliis quoque temperandum est et preces quas super cereum in Ravennati civitate dici solent, vel expositiones evangelii, quae circa paschalem sollemnitatem a sacerdotibus fiunt, per alium dicantur.

Sowohl bei der Osterkerzenweihe als auch bei den « Expositiones evangelii » handelt es sich um lange Zeremonien, weshalb der erkrankte Marinianus einen anderen Priester damit beauftragen soll. Gregor spricht in seinem Brief ausdrücklich von einem ravennatischen Brauch. Hinsichtlich der « benedictio cerei » wissen wir durch den Ordo Romanus XXVII (ed. Andrieu III, 359 n. 51-52), dass in Rom eine solche unbekannt war. Es heisst hier:

Sabbato sancto veniunt omnes in ecclesia et tunc illuminantur duo cerei, tenentibus duobus notariis, unus in dextro cornu altaris et alter in sinistro. Et ascendit lector in ambone ...

Im sog. Gelasianum finden wir dagegen eigene « preces super cereum » zu Beginn der Lesungen (ed. Mohlberg 425-430).

<sup>6</sup> *Das Missale des Bischof Maximian von Ravenna*, in *Ephem. lit.* 80 (1966) 205-210.

Wenn demnach die « *expositiones evangelii* » zur Zeit des Papstes Gregor einen ravnatischen Brauch dargestellt haben, so wird damit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in der späteren Zeit die « *quattuor evangelia* » auch in Rom während der Fastenzeit vorgetragen und erklärt worden sind. Dies lässt wenigstens eine Rubrik in den späteren Handschriften des *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* vermuten, wo es heisst : « *Oratio super infantes in Quadragesima ad quattuor euangelia* » (ed. Lietzmann n. 82 p. 50).

Weiterhin ist auffällig, dass weder im Text des Gelasianum noch in den Rubriken des Ordo XI irgend ein Hinweis zu finden ist, der auf Rom als Entstehungsort dieser Skrutinien hinweist. A. Stenzel hat diese Schwierigkeit mehr geahnt, als dass er sie ausgesprochen hat <sup>7</sup>. Im Gegenteil weisen gerade die bei den einzelnen Skrutinien im Ordo XI genannten Perikopen auf eine sicher nicht-römische, allem Anschein nach gallikanische Ordnung hin. Diese Frage verdient jedoch eine eigene Untersuchung, die hier nicht durchgeführt werden soll. Es möge hier der Hinweis auf die Perikope Matth 11, 25-30 genügen, die typisch ist gerade für oberitalienische Handschriften <sup>8</sup>.

Darauf ist jedoch hier noch kurz einzugehen, wie es kommt, dass der ravnatische Skrutinienritus schliesslich auch in Bamberg heimisch geworden ist. Dies hängt mit der weiten Verbreitung des Gelasianum bzw. der Gelasiana mixta (*Jungelasiana*) zusammen, wie sie nördlich der Alpen vom 8. Jh. an erfolgt ist <sup>9</sup>. In diesen Sakramentaren finden sich fast regelmässig die einzelnen Skrutinien in der Gestalt des Ordo XI und zwar teils zwischen den Fastenmessen teils am Schluss der jeweiligen Handschrift <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> A. STENZEL, *Die Taufe. Eine genetische Erklärung der Tauf-liturgie* (= Forschungen zur Geschichte der Theologie und des innerkirchlichen Lebens, Heft VII/VIII, Innsbruck 1958) 201 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. K. GAMBER, *Teile eines ambrosianischen Messbuches im Palimpsest von Monza aus dem 8. Jh.*, in : *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 3-15, bes. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Beachtenswert ist, dass sich dieser Messbuchttypus in Bayern teilweise bis ins 11. Jh. behaupten konnte, wie ein Fragment aus dieser Zeit beweist ; vgl. K. GAMBER, in : *Sacris erudiri* 11 (1960) 220-224.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. CLLA Nr. 851 und 866 bzw. 855 und 860.

20. Ein Totenmessen-Libellus  
aus Valcostariana bei Norcia (10. Jh.)

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Dass man für die Totenmessen ein eigenes kleines Messbuch benützt, ist nicht erst einige hundert Jahre alt. Ein solches Buch lässt sich vielmehr bereits im 10. Jh. nachweisen. Es ist aus vielen anderen Exemplaren dieser Art eines uns erhalten geblieben und befindet sich jetzt als Teil der Handschrift C 10 (fol. 135 ff) in Rom, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana. Das Büchlein dürfte Ende des 10. Jh. geschrieben sein. Es ist nicht mehr ganz vollständig auf uns gekommen. Es fehlt das erste Blatt mit dem kunstvoll ausgestatteten V+ D Sigel. Auf eine solche Illumination zu Beginn der Handschrift weist die erhaltene *Te igitur*-Initiale sowie die kunstvolle Ausstattung des Paternoster-Textes hin. Hier findet sich eine fast die ganze Seite einnehmende P-Initiale und am Schluss (nach dem *Libera*) ein Bild des hl. Johannes d.T. mit dem Lamm Gottes in der Hand.

Vere dignum et iustum est aequum [fol. 135<sup>r</sup>] et salutare nos tibi semper ... supplici confessione dicentes.

Sanctus sanctus sanctus ... Benedictus qui uenit in nomine dni. Hosanna in excelsis.

Te igitur [fol. 135<sup>v</sup>] clementissime pater ... una cum famulo tuo papa nro ill. et antistite nro ill. epo et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicę et apostolicę fidei cultoribus.

Memento dne famulorum ... pro quibus tibi offerimus et (?) qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis ... [fol. 136<sup>r</sup>] ... auxilio. per xpm dnm nrm.

Hanc igitur oblationem seruitutis nrę ... grege numerari. per xpm dnm nrm.

Quam oblationem ... dni di nri ihu xpi. Qui pridie ... [fol. 136<sup>v</sup>] ... deditque discipulis ... Simili modo posteaquam ... dedit discipulis suis ... memoriam facietis.

Vnde et memores sumus dne nos tui serui. Sed et plebs tua sca xpi filii tui dni di nri ... [fol. 137<sup>r</sup>] ... repleamur. per eundem xpm dnm nrm.

Memento etiam dne ... Ipsis et omnibus ... deprecamur. per xpm dnm nrm. [fol. 137<sup>v</sup>].

Nobis quoque peccatoribus ... Petro Felicitate Agathe(!)<sup>1</sup> Perpetua Lucia Agne Cecilia Anastasia. Et cum omnibus ... omnis honor et gloria. Per omnia secula seculorum. R. Amen. Oremus. Pręceptis salutaribus ... [fol. 138<sup>r</sup>] Pater nr. qui es ... temptationem. R. Sed libera nos a malo.

Libera nos qs dne ab omnibus malis ... intercedente pro nobis beata et gloriosa semper uirgine ... Petro et Paulo atque Andrea et omnibus scis ... securi. Per dnm nrm [fol. 138<sup>v</sup>] ihm ... seculorum. R. Amen.

Pax dni sit semper uobiscum. Agnus di qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis. III.

#### MISSA IN DIE DEPOSITIONIS DEFUNCTI

Ds cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere. te suppliciter deprecamur pro anima famuli tui il. quam hodie de hoc seculo migrare iussisti. ut non tradas eam in manus inimici ne obliuiscaris in finem. sed iubeas eam a scis angelis suscipi et ad patriam paradysi perducı. ut dum in te sperauit et credidit. non pęnas inferni sustineat. sed ad gaudia sempiterna possideat. per (= MR)

SECRETA. Propitiare dne qs animę famuli tui il. pro qua tibi hostiam placationis immolamus. maiestatem tuam suppliciter deprecantes. ut per hęc pie placationis officia. peruenire mereatur ad requiem sempiternam. per (= MR)

AD COMPL. Presta qs dne ds nr. ut anima famuli tui il. quę hodie de hoc seculo migra- [fol. 139<sup>r</sup>] uit. his sacrificiis purificatam et a peccatis expeditam. ab angelis lucis susceptam in preparata habitacula deduci facias beatorum. ut indulgentiam partem et uitam capiat sempiternam. per (cf. MR)

#### MISSA PLURIMORUM DEFUNCTORUM

Inclina dne aurem tuam ad preces nras. pro quibus misericordiam tuam suppliciter deprecamur. ut animam (as) famuli (orum) tui (orum). quam (as) de hoc migrare iussisti. in pacis

<sup>1</sup> Diese Umstellung der Namen ist höchst beachtenswert und lässt mit dem übrigen Varianten eine sehr frühe Redaktion unseres Totenmessen-Libellus vermuten. Zum mindesten war die Canon-Vorlage altertümlich. Hinsichtlich der Reihenfolge der Namen vgl. A. MANSER, *Le témoignage d'Aldhelm de Sherborne sur une particularité du canon grégorien de la messe romaine*, in : *Rev. bénéd.* 28 (1911) 90-95.

ac lucis regione constituas. et scorum tuorum iubeas esse consortem (es). per (= H 225, 1)

#### ALIA ORATIO

Omps sempiternae ds cui numquam sine spe misericordiae supplicatur. propitiare animabus famulorum tuorum. ut qui de hac uita in tui nominis confessione decesserunt. scorum tuorum numero facias aggregari. per (= Je 105)

#### PRO CONGREGATIONE ORATIO

Ds uenire largitor et humane salutis amator. qs clementiam tuam ut nrę congregationis fratres (atque sorores). qui ex hoc seculo transierunt. beata maria semper uirgine intercedente. cum omnibus scis ad perpetuę beatitudinis consortium peruenire concedas. per (= Je 108)

#### PRO III. VII. XXX

Adesto (qs) dne pro anima famuli tui ill. cuius depositionis suę diem tertium. aut septimum. aut trigesimum officium commemorationis inpendimus <sup>2</sup>. ut si qua ei secularis macula in-[fol. 139v] hesit. aut uitium mundiale infecit. dono tuę pietatis indulgeas et extergas. per (= V 1690)

#### ALIA

Qs dne. ut famulo tuo ill. cui septimum obitus sui diem commemoramus. scorum atque electorum tuorum largire consortium. et rorem misericordie tuę perhennę infunde. per (= V 1691)

#### ALIA

Presta qs dne ut anima famuli tui il. his purgata sacrificiis. indulgentiam pariter et requiem capiat sempiternam. per (= M 1063)

#### ALIA

Ds cui soli competit medicinam prestare post mortem. tribue qs ut anima famuli tui terrenis exuta contagiis. in tuę redemptionis sorte numeretur. per (= V 1667)

#### PRO DEFUNCTA FEMINA

Qs dne pro tua pietate miserere anima(e) famule tuę il. et a contagiis mortalitatis exutam in eterne saluationis partem restitue. per (= Je 117)

#### IN CIMITERIO

Ds cuius miseratione anime fidelium (in pace) requiescunt.

<sup>2</sup> Den verdorbenen Text versuchte ein Korrektor zu verbessern (die tertio ...).

famulorum famularumque tuarum il. et il. et omnibus in xpo quiescentibus. da propitius ueniam peccatorum. ut a cunctis reatibus absoluti sipe fine letentur. per (= Je 111)

#### IN ANNIUERSARIO

Ds indulgentiarum dne da famulo tuo cuius anniuersarium (depositionis) dne commemoramus. refrigerii sedem. quietis bea-[fol. 140r]titudinem. [et ut ei] luminis claritatem [largiaris oramus]. per (= Je 102)

#### PRO SACERDOTE ORATIO

Ds qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes famulum tuum sacerdotale fecisti dignitate uigere (uehere). presta (qs) ut eorum quoque perpetuo aggregetur consortio. per (= V 1628)

#### GENERALIS ORATIO

Propitiare qs dne animabus famulorum famularumque misericordiam sempiternam. ut mortis uinculis expeditas. lux (eis) eterna possidea[n]t. per (= V 1666)

#### PLURIMORUM ORATIO

Fidelium ds omnium conditor et redemptor. animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum remissionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum. ut indulgentiam quam semper optauerunt. piis supplicationibus consequantur. per (= Je 123)

#### GENERALIS

Scorum tuorum intercessionibus qs dne et nos protege. (et) famulis ac famulabus tuis quorum commemorationem agimus. et quorum elemosinas recepimus. seu etiam his qui nobis familiaritate et consanguinitate uincti sunt misericordiam tuam ubique pretende. Vt ab omni inpugnatione defensi tua opitulatione saluentur. et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum. omnium uidelicet catholicorum orthodoxorum. quorum commemo-[fol. 140v]rationem agimus. et quorum corpora in circuitu istius scē ecclesie ac in cunctis cimiteriis fidelium requiescunt. et quorum nomina ante scm altare tuum scripta adesse uidentur. electorum tuorum iungere consortium(o). per<sup>3</sup>

#### SECRETA

Annuē nobis dne ut animabus famulorum tuorum hec prosit oblatio. quam immolando totius mundi tribuisti relaxari delicta. per (= Je 115)

<sup>3</sup> Diese Formel ist der « Missa pro salute uiuorum » entnommen ; vgl. *Sacris erudiri* 17 (1966) 247.



## SECRETA

Propitiare dne qs animabus famulorum tuorum pro quibus tibi hostias placationis offerimus, et quia in hac luce in fide manserunt catholica. in futura, uita eis retributio condonetur. per (= Je 103)

## PRO FRATRIBUS SECRETA

Ds cuius misericordię non est numerus. suscipe propitius (preces) humilitatis nrę [hostias]. et animabus quibus tui nominis dedisti confessionem. per hęc sacramenta salutis nrę. cunctorum remissionem tribue peccatorum. per (= Je 109)

## SECRETA III. VII. XXX

Adesto dne supplicationibus nris. et hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus ob diem depositionis tertium aut septimum aut trigesimum pro anima famuli tui il. placatus ac benignus adsume. per (= V 1693)

## SECRETA

Annue nobis dne ut anima(e) famuli tui il. hęc prosit oblatio quam ... (= Je 115?)

Damit endet defekt unser Libellus. Wahrscheinlich fehlt jedoch nur mehr ein einziges Blatt, das die restlichen Secreta-Formeln und solche « Ad complendum » enthielt. Demnach hätte das Messbuch aus einer einzigen Lage mit 4 Doppelblättern bestanden, von denen jetzt das äusserste Doppelblatt fehlt. Wahrscheinlich war dieses als Deckblatt beschädigt und abgerieben, weshalb es der Buchbinder, der den Cod. C10 aus verschiedenen liturgischen Büchern zusammengesetzt hat <sup>4</sup>, nicht aufnahm.

Unser Libellus stammt aus der Abtei S. Eutizio in Valcostariana bei Norcia (Umbrien) und ist allem Anschein nach auch dort entstanden. Wie alt die Vorlage war, wissen wir nicht. Doch lassen einige altertümliche Varianten im Canon, auf die oben bereits kurz aufmerksam gemacht worden ist, eine relativ frühe Zeit (7. Jh. ?) vermuten.

<sup>4</sup> Eine Beschreibung der Handschrift bei EBNER, *Iter Italicum* 201.

## 21. Eine teilweise erhaltene Kapitelübersicht eines Gregorianum mixtum

Bereits in Sakramentartypen S. 147 Anm. 4 und dann in CLLA Nr. 905 wurde auf ein Sakramentarfragment aufmerksam gemacht, das lediglich aus dem 1. Teil der Kapitelübersicht besteht. Die hier angeführten » capitula » passen jedoch zu keinem der bis jetzt bekannten Sakramentartypen, wenn auch die Ähnlichkeit mit dem Hadrianum (= H) am herorstechendsten ist.

Das Doppelblatt findet sich in der Sammelhandschrift 1397 (III) der Stiftsbibliothek in St. Gallen und wurde noch im 9. Jh. geschrieben. Es trägt folgende Übersicht :

### INCIPIUNT CAPITULA SEQUENTIS LIBRI

I. Ad ordinandum epm	= H	2
II. Ad ordinandum presbiterum	= H	3
III. Ad ordinandum diaconum	= H	4
IIII. In uigilia natalis dni	= H	5
V. Ad missa <sup>1</sup> in nocte	= H	6
VI. Ad missa mane prima	= H	7
VII. Ad missa in die	= H	8
VIII. Alie orationes de natale dni	= H	9
VIIII. Natale sci stephani	= H	10
X. Natale sci iohannis euangelistae	= H	11
XI. Natale innocentum	= H	12
XII. Natale sci siluestri	= H	13
XIII. Missa in octabas dni	= H	14
XIIII. Dominica I post natale dni	(= H	15)
XV. Alia dominica post natale dni	(= H	16)
XVI. In uigilia epiphanie	= H	-
XVII. Missa in die epiphaniae	= H	17
XVIII. Dominica prima post epiphaniae	= H	-
XVIIII. Natale sci felicis	= H	19
XX. Natale sci marcelli pape	= H	20

<sup>1</sup> Abgekürzt : mis ; so auch Nr. VI und VII ; vgl. S. 218, Note 2.

XXI. Natale sce prisce martyris	= H	21
XXII. Natale sci fabiani martyris	= H	22
XXIII. Natale sci sebastiani martyris	= H	23
XXIII. Natale sce agnetis uirginis	= H	24
XXV. Natale sci uincenti martyris	= H	25
XXVI. Natale sce agnetis secundum	= H	26
XXVII. Purificatio sce mariae	= H	27
XXVIII. Natale sce agathe uirginis	= H	28
XXVIII. Natale sci ualentini martyris	= H	29
XXX. Natale sci gregorii pape	= H	30
XXXI. Adnuntiatio sce mariae	= H	31
XXXII. Oratio in septuagesima	= H	32
XXXIII. Oratio in sexagesima	= H	33
XXXIII. Oratio in quinquagesima	= H	34
XXXV. Feria IIII caput ieiunii	= H	35
XXXVI. Feria V in quinquagesima	= H	36
XXXVII. Feria VI in quinquagesima	= H	37
XXXVIII. Oratio in dominica in quadra- gesima	= H	38
XXXVIII. Feria II eiusdem ebdomadae	= H	39
XL. Feria III eiusdem ebdomadae	= H	40
XLI. Feria IIII eiusdem ebdomadae	= H	41
XLII. Feria V eiusdem ebdomadae	= H	42
XLIII. Feria VI eiusdem ebdomadae	= H	43
XLIII. Sabbato in xij lectiones eius- dem ebdom.	= H	44
XLV. Dominica II in quadragesima	= H	45
XLVI. Feria II eiusdem septimane(1)	= H	46
XLVII. Feria III eiusdem septimane	= H	47
XLVIII. Feria IIII eiusdem septimane	= H	48
XLVIII. Feria V eiusdem septimane	= H	49
L. Feria VI eiusdem septimane	= H	50
LI. Sabbato eiusdem septimane	= H	51
LII. Dominica III in quadragesima	= H	52
LIII. Feria II eiusdem ebdomade	= H	53
LIII. Feria III eiusdem ebdomade	= H	54
LV. Feria IIII eiusdem ebdomade	= H	55
LVI. Feria V eiusdem ebdomade	= H	56
LVII. Feria VI eiusdem ebdomade	= H	57
LVIII. Sabbato eiusdem ebdomade	= H	58

LVIII. Dominica IIII in quadragesima	= H	59
LX. Feria II eadem(!) ebdomada	= H	60
LXI. Feria III eadem ebdomada	= H	61
LXII. Feria IIII eadem ebdomada	= H	62
LXIII. Feria V eadem ebdomada	= H	63
LXIII. Feria VI eadem ebdomada	= H	64
LXV. Sabbato eadem ebdomada	= H	65
LXVI. Dominica V in quadragesima	= H	66
LXVII. Feria II eidem(!) ebdom.	= H	67
LXVIII. Feria III eidem ebdom.	= H	68
LXVIII. Feria IIII eidem ebdom.	= H	69
LXX. Feria V eidem ebdom.	= H	70
LXXI. Feria VI eidem ebdom.	= H	71
LXXII. Sabbato eidem ebdom.	= H	72
LXXIII. Dominica in palmam(!)	= H	73
LXXIII. Feria II post palmas	= H	74
LXXV. Feria III post palmas	= H	75
LXXVI. Feria IIII post palmas	= H	76
LXXVII. Feria V in cena dni	= H	77
LXXVIII. Feria VI que uocatur parasceue	= H	79
LXXVIII. Benedictio salis in sabbato sco	= H	80
LXXX. Oratio ad caticuminum facien- dum	= H	81
LXXXI. Oratio super infantes in xl ad iiii euangelia	H	82
LXXXII. Oratio in sabbato pasche ad reddentes	H	83
LXXXIII. Orationes in sabbato sco per singulas lec.	= H	84
LXXXIII. Benedictio fontis	= H	85
LXXXV. Ad liniendum cum chrisma	= H	85,11
LXXXVI. Oratio ad infantes consignandos	= H	86
LXXXVII. Sabbato sco ad missam sero	= H	87
LXXXVIII. Dominica scm pasche	= H	88
LXXXVIII. Feria II post dom.pasche	= H	89
XC. Feria III post dom.pasche	= H	90
XCI. Feria IIII post dom.pasche	= H	91
XCII. Feria V post dom.pasche	= H	92
XCIII. Feria VI post dom.pasche	= H	93
XCIII. Sabbato post dom.pasche	= H	94

XCV.	Dominica post albas	= H 95
XCVI.	Alie orationes paschales	= H 96
XCVII.	Ad complendum diebus festis	= H 97
XCVIII.	Natale scorum tiburtii et ualeriani	= H 98
XCVIII.	Orationes in letania maiore	= H 100
C.	Natale sci uitalis	= H 101
CI.	Natale apostolorum philippi et iacobi	= H 102
CII.	Natale scorum alexandri euentii et theodoli	= H 103
CIII.	Natale sci iohannis ante portam latinam	= H 104
CIIII.	Natale sci gordiani martyris	= H 105
CV.	Natale sci panchratii martyris	= H 106
CVI.	Dedicatio ecclesie sce marie ad martyres	= H 107
CVII.	In uigilia ascensionis	= H -
CVIII.	Oratio in ascensa dni	= H 108
CVIIII.	Dominica post ascensa dni	= H -
CX.	Natale sci urbani pape	= H 109
CXI.	Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato sco pentecosten	= H 110
CXII.	Oratio ad missam in sabbato pentecosten	= H 111
CXIII.	Dominica pentecosten	= H 112
CXIIII.	Feria II post dom.pent.	= H 113
CXV.	Feria III post dom.pent.	= H 114
CXVI.	Feria IIII post dom.pent.	= H 115
CXVII.	Feria VI post dom.pent.	= H 116
CXVIII.	Sabbato in XII lectiones	= H 117
CXVIIII.	Dominica octabarum pentecosten	= (H 118)
CXX.	Natale sci nicomedis	= H 119
CXXI.	Natale scorum marcellini et petri	= H 120
CXXII.	Natale scorum marci et marceliani	= H 121
CXXIII.	Natale scorum geruasi et protasi	= H 122
CXXIIII.	Vigilia sci iohannis baptiste	= H 123

CXXV. In natale sci iohannis bapt. in i missa	= H 124
CXXVI. Item ad missa <sup>2</sup>	= H 125
CXXVII. Natale scorum iohannis et pauli	= H 126
CXXVIII. Natale sci leonis pape	= H 127
CXXVIII. Oratio in uigilia sci petri	= H 128
CXXX. Oratio in uigilia in nocte	= H 128,5
CXXXI. Natale sci petri	= H 129
CXXXII. Natale sci pauli	= H 130
CXXXIII. Dominica post natale aposto- lorum	H
CXXXIII. Natale scorum processi et mar- tiniani	= H 131
CXXXV. Octabas apostolorum	= H 132
CXXXVI. Natale scorum VII fratrum	= H 133
CXXXVII. Natale scorum felicit simplicii faustini et beatrix	= H 134
CXXXVIII. Natale scorum abdo et sennes	= H 135
CXXXVIII. Kal.aug. oratio ad uincula	= H 136
CXL. Natale sci stephani pape	= H 137
CXLI. Natale sci xyxti pape	= H 138
CXLII. Natale scorum felicissimi et agapiti	H = 139
CXLIII. Natale sci cyriaci martyris	= H 140
CXLIII. Vigilia sci laurenti	= H 141
CXLV. Oratio sci laurenti martyris in i missa	= H 142
CXLVI. Item ad missa	= H 143
CXLVII. Natale sci tiburtii martyris	= H 144
CXLVIII. Natale sci yppoliti martyris	= H 145
CXLVIII. Natale sci eusebii sacerdotis	= H 146
CXLX. In uigilia adsumptionis sce marie	= H 147

Damit endet fragmentarisch die Kapitelübersicht. Obwohl die Formulare fast genau der Ordnung des Hadrianum folgen

<sup>2</sup> Ausgeschrieben, nicht « missam »; vgl. « ad missa publica » in: der neapolitanischen Evangelienliste (*Sacris erudiri* 13, 1962, p. 338 n. 64).

und nur wenige zusätzliche Formulare zu finden sind, so kann doch nicht übersehen werden, dass der Wortlaut der einzelnen Überschriften nicht dem im Hadrianum entspricht. Dies lässt vermuten, dass es sich bei der ehemaligen Handschrift nicht um ein Hadrianum gehandelt hat, sondern um ein Sacramentarium mixtum<sup>3</sup>. Leider ist eine Vollhandschrift, die genau unserer Kapitelübersicht entspricht, bis jetzt noch nicht gefunden worden.

## 22. Ein bayerisches Kollektar-Fragment aus dem 12.Jh.

Wenig erforscht sind immer noch die Kollektare<sup>1</sup>. Es ist deshalb auch schwer das folgende Kollektar-Fragment seinem Typus nach einzuordnen. Es befindet sich im Clm 29164/2a, 29 (aus : Inc. 8838) der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München. Die ehemalige Handschrift wurde im 11. Jh. geschrieben. Die beiden Blätter sind zweispaltig angelegt und mit je 30 Zeilen beschrieben. Es finden sich darauf folgende Orationen :

<SCI YPPOLITI. Da nobis omps ds ut beati yppoliti martyris tui ueneranda sollem-> [1<sup>r</sup>] nitas. et deuotionem nobis augeat et salutem. per (= H 145,1)

SCI EUSEBII. Ds qui nos beati eusebii confessoris tui annua sollempnitate laetificas. concede propitius. ut cuius natalicia colimus. per eius ad te exempla gradiamur. per (= H 146,1)  
ASSUMPTIO SCE MARIAE. AD VIGILIAM. Concede qs omps ds. ad beatę mariae semper uirginis gaudia aeterna pertinere. de cuius nos ueneranda assumptione tribuis. annua sollempnitate gaudere. per (= S 1092)

ALIA. Concede misericors ds fragilitate nrę praesidium. ut qui scę di genitricis requiem cęlebramus. intercessionis eius

<sup>3</sup> Die einzelnen Zeugen der Sacramentaria Gregoriana mixta sind in CLLA Nr. 901 ff. aufgeführt.

<sup>1</sup> Eine erste diesbezügliche Arbeit von P. M. Gy, *Collectaires, Rituel, Processional*, in : *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 44 (1960) 441 ff. ; neuerdings (ausser CLLA Nr. 1501 ff.) P. SALMON, *L'office divin au Moyen Age* (= Lex Orandi 43, Paris 1967) bes. 46 Anm. 3.

auxilio a nris iniquitatibus resurgamus. per (= H 147,3)  
AD MATUTINUM. Famulorum tuorum dne delictis ignosce.  
et qui placere de actibus nris non ualemus. genetricis filii tui  
dni nri intercessio saluemur. per (= H 149,1)

ALIA. Veneranda nobis dne huius diei festiuitas. opem con-  
ferat sempiternam. in qua sca di genitrix mortem subiit tempo-  
ralem nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit. quae filium  
tuum dnm nrm de se genuit incarnatum. qui tecum. (= H  
148,1) ALIE ORATIONES. Qs omps ds ut pleps tua toto tibi  
corde seruiens. interueniente beata semper uirgine maria et  
beneficia tua iugiter mereatur et pacem. per (cf. S 1528)

ALIA. Beatę et gloriose semperque uirginis di genetricis  
mariae nos dne qs merita prosequantur. et tuam nobis indul-  
gentiam semper implorent. per

ALIA. Porrige nobis dexteram tuam. et per intercessionem  
beatę et gloriose semperque uirginis di genetricis marię auxi-  
lium nobis superne uirtutis impende. per (cf. H 204,32)

ALIA. Subueniat dne plebi tuę di genetricis oratio. quam etsi  
pro condicione carnis migrasse cognoscimus. in caelesti gloria  
apud te pro nobis orare senciamus. per (= H 149,1)

OCTAUA SCI LAURENTII. Beati laurentii nos faciat dne  
passio ueneranda laetantes. et ut eam sufficienter recolamus  
efficiat prompctiores. per (= S 1098)

ALIA. Iterata festiuitate beati laurentii dne natalicia uenera-  
mur. quę in celesti beatitudine fulgentia nouimus sempiterna.  
per (= S 1099)

SCI AGAPITI. Laetetur ecclesia tua ds beati agapiti martyris  
tui confisa suffragiis. atque eius precibus gloriosis et deuota  
permaneant. et secunda consistat. per (= H 150,1)

SCORUM TIMOTHEI ET SIMPHORIANI. Auxilium tuum  
nobis qs dne placatus impende et intercedentibus scis martyri-  
bus [1v] tuis tymotheo et simphoriano dexteram super nos tuę  
propiciationis extende. per (= H 151,1)

ALIA. Beatorum martyrum tuorum timothei et simphoriani  
dne nos tuere praesidiis et quorum festiuitatem annua deuo-  
tione recolimus. eorum intercessionibus ab omnibus aduersi-  
tatibus eruamur. per

SCI BARTHOLOMEI. Beati bartholomei apostoli nos dne qs  
interuentio gloriosa commendet. ut quod de nris actibus non  
meremur. eius precibus consequamur. per



ALIA. Omps sempt ds qui huius diei uenerandam scamque læticiam beati apostoli tui bartholomei festiuitate tribuisti. da ꝥcclesię tuę qs et amare quod credidit et prædicare quod docuit. per (= S 1119)

SCI RUFII. Adesto dne supplicationibus nris et beati rufi intercessionibus confidentes. nec minis aduersantium nec ullo conturbemur incursu. per (= S 1124)

SCORUM HERMETIS ET AUG. Ds qui beatum hermen. martyrem tuum uirtute constantia(!) in passione roborasti ex eius nobis imitatione tribue pro amore tuo prospera mundi despiciere. et nulla eius aduersa formidare. per (= H 152,1)

SCI AUGUSTINI. Adesto dne supplicationibus nris omps ds. et quibus fiduciam sperande pietatis indulges. intercedente beato augustino confessore tuo atque pontifice consuetę misericordiae benignus effectum. per (= S 1330)

SCI IOHANNIS BAPTISTAE. Sumat ecclesia tua ds. ex beati iohannis baptistę passione læticiam. per quem suę regenerationis cognouit auctorem. per dnm. (= S 932)

ALIA. Sci iohannis baptistę et martyris tui dne qs ueneranda festiuitas. salutaris auxilii nobis præstet effectum. per (= S 1140)

ALIA. Plebem tuam dne beatus baptista iohannes interuentor attollat. et quam de suo fecit martyrio sepius gratulantem dignam semper imploret tuæ pietatis existere sacramentis. per (= F 1270)

ALIA. Perpetuis nos dne sci iohannis baptistę tuere praesidiis. et quanto fragiliores sumus. tanto magis necessariis attolle suffragiis. per (= S 1141)

SCE SABINAE. Ds qui inter cetera potentie tuę miracula etiam in sexu fragili uictoriam martyrii contulisti. concede propicius. ut cuius natalicia colimus. per eius ad te exempla gradiamur. per (= H 153,1)

SCORUM FELICIS ET AUDACTI. Maiestatem tuam dne supplices deprecamur. ut sicut nos iugiter scorum tuorum commemoratione lætificas. ita semper supplicatione defendas. per (= H 154,1)

*grosse Lücke!*

[2r] <Gratias tibi agimus> ... tribuisti. et te supplices deprecamur. ut ad te eleuatio manuum nrarum. sit in conspectu tuo acceptabile sacrificium uespertinum. per (= G 238\*)

### INCIPIUNT ORATIONES DE SCA CRUCE

Qs dne ds nr. ut per uexillum scę crucis filii tui ad conterendas aduersariorum nrorum insidias. nos in tue protectionis securitate constituas. per (= F 1301)

ALIA. Supplices clementiam tuam qs omps ds. ut ab hoste maligno defendas. quos per lignum scę crucis filii tui arma iustitiae pro salute mundi triumphare iussisti. per eundem (= F 1302)

ALIA. Ds qui pro nobis filium tuum crucis patibulum subire uoluisti. ut inimici nobis expelleres potestatem. concede nobis famulis tuis ut antiqui hostis insidias. tanti uirtute mysterii superantes sincerissima tibi perpetuo mente famulemur. per (= F 1303)

ALIA. Ds cuius filius per tropheum crucis mundum redimere dignatus est. concede propicius. ut qui redemptione laetamur. aeternis gaudiis perfrui(!). per (= F 1304)

ALIA. Ds qui per sanguinem et crucem dni nri ihu xpi filii tui dedisti pacem hominibus et caelestium collegium angelorum. da nobis et de tuę pacis ubertate repleri. et de angelicae societatis unitate laetari. per (= F 1305)

ALIA. Gregem tuum dne ihu pastor bone placatus intende. et oues quas precioso sanguine tuo redemisti. diabolica non sinas incursione lacerari. per (= S 1570)

ALIA. Perpetua qs dne pace custodi. quos per lignum scę crucis redimere dignatus es. qui tecum (cf. S 1518)

ALIA. Parce dne parce populo tuo. et nullis iam patiaris aduersitatibus fatigari. quos precioso filii tui sanguine redemisti. qui tecum (= H 100,3)

ALIA. Adesto familię tuę qs clemens et misericors ds. ut in aduersis et prosperis eius preces exaudis. et nefas aduersariorum per auxilium scę crucis digneris conterere. ut portum salutis tuę ualeant apprehendere. per

ALIA. Ds unicum filium tuum pro omnibus nobis in mortem crucis sponte dedisti. concede omnibus nobis in te credentibus. per eandem mortem a morte perpetua liberemur. per

ALIA. Adesto nobis dne ds nr. et quos scę crucis laetari fecisti honore. eius quoque perpetuis defende subsidiis. per (cf. H 66,3)

ALIA. Ds qui unigeniti filii tui dni nri ihu xpi precioso sanguine uiuifice crucis uexillum sc̃ificare [2<sup>v</sup>] uoluisti. eis gaudent honore. tua quoque ubique protectione gaudere. per

ALIA. Ds qui crucem ascendisti et mundi tenebras illuminasti. tu corda nra illuminare dignare. qui cum

### INCIPIUNT ORATIONES MATUTINALES

Matutina dne supplicum uota propicius intuere. et occulta cordis nri remedio tuę clarifica pietatis. ut desideria tenebrosa non teneant quos lux gratię caelestis repauit(!). per (= V 1578)

ALIA. Om̃ps sempiternę ds apud quem nihil tenebrosum nihilque obscurum est. emitte lucem tuam in cordibus nris. ut mandatorum tuorum lege percepta. in uia tua ambulantes nihil paciamur erroris. per

ALIA. Ds qui uigilantes in laudibus tuis caelesti mercede remuneras. tenebras de cordibus nris auferre digneris. ut in splendore luminis tui semper gaudeamus. per

ALIA. Gratias agimus tibi dne scę pater om̃ps aeternę ds. qui nos de transacto noctis spacio ad matutinas horas perducere dignatus es. et qs. ut dones nobis hunc diem sine peccato transire. quatinus ad uesperum et semper tibi do gratias referamus. per (= V 1576)

ALIA. Exsurgentes de cubilibus nris auxilium gratię tuę matutinis dne precibus imploramus. ut discussis tenebris uiciorum ambulare mereamur in luce uirtutum. per (= V 1577)

ALIA. Te lucem ueram. et lucis auctorem dne deprecamur. ut digneris a nobis tenebras depellere uitiorum. et clarificare nos luce uirtutum. per (= V 1579)

ALIA. Auge in nobis dne qs fidem tuam. et sps sci lucem in nobis semper accende. per (= V 1580)

ALIA. Ds qui tenebras ignorantię uerbi tui luce depellis. auge in cordibus nris uirtutem fidei. quam dedisti. ut ignis quem gratia tua fecit accendi. nullis temptationibus possit extinguī. per (= V 1586)

ALIA. Auribus percipe qs dne uerba oris nri clamoremque matutinum pius scrutator intellege. ut orandi ad te nobis sit

fida deuotio. tuaque dignetur nobis diluculo contemplacio. et peccatorem omnium exoptata remissio. per

ALIA. Veritas tua qs dne luceat in cordibus nris. et omnis falsitas destruat<sup>ur</sup> inimici. per (= V 1583)

ALIA. Sensibus nris qs dne lumen semper tuum benignus infunde. ut tibi semper ... (= V 1586)

Beachtenswert sind in unserm Fragment in erster Linie die « Orationes de sca cruce », die in dieser Reichhaltigkeit selten sind und auf eine besondere Verehrung des hl. Kreuzes in der betreffenden Kirche hinweisen könnten (Abtei Scheyern ?). Einige dieser Gebete scheinen Neuschöpfungen zu sein.

### 23. Ein fränkisches Kollektar-Fragment aus dem 9./10. Jh.

Wesentlich älter als das eben mitgeteilte bayerische Fragment sind die folgenden drei Blätter eines Kollektars. Sie gehören noch dem 9./10. Jh. an und sind in Frankreich geschrieben ; wahrscheinlich in Sens, wie die Ähnlichkeit der Schrift sowohl der ersten wie der zweiten Hand mit den beiden Händen im Sakramentarfragment von Sens (vgl. CLLA Nr. 866) nahelegt.

Die Fragmentblätter befinden sich jetzt in Rom, Cod. Vat. Palat. lat. 243 als fol. 49-51. Auch hier kommen zu Beginn zahlreiche « Orationes de sca cruce » vor, es sind aber durchweg andere Formeln als im bayerischen Fragment. Sie lauten :

#### ORATIONES DE SCA CRUCE

Adesto familię tuę clemens et misericors ds. ut in aduersis et prosperis preces exaudias. per auxilium sce crucis portum salutis tuę ualeant adprehendere. per (= F 1300)

ALIA. Ds cui cunctae obediunt creature et omnia uerbi tui fecisti sapientia. supplices qs ineffabilem clementiam tuam.

<sup>1</sup> Auf die Blätter hat zum erstenmal E. BOURQUE, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains* II, 2 (Roma 1958) 346 aufmerksam gemacht ; vgl. auch CLLA Nr. 1508.

ut quos per lignum sce crucis filii tui pio cruore dignatus es redimere. tu qui es lignum uite paradisque reparator. omnibus in te credentibus dira serpentis uenena extingue. et per gratiam sci sps poculum salutis semper infunde. per (= F 892)

.ITEM ORATIONES AD CRUCEM DICENDAE

Cunctis nos qs dne reatibus et periculis clementer absolue. quos per lignum sce crucis redimere dignatus es. qui uiuis (cf. F 537)

ALIA. Tua nos misericordia ds. per uirtutem sce crucis ab omnibus tueatur aduersis. et remediis sempiternis instauret. per dnm (cf. F 636)

ALIA. Tueatur qs dne dextera tua populum supplicantem. et gloriosa filii tui passione. ab omnibus peccatis absoluat. qui tecum uiuit (cf. F 542)

ALIA. Adesto supplicationibus nris omips ds. et quos [49v] triumpho crucis redemisti. ab omnibus aduersitatibus et peccatis ubique defende. qui uiuis.

ALIA. Praesta qs omps et miseriocrs ds. ut uirtute sce crucis. ab omni aduersitate mentis et corporis liberemur. per dnm

ALIA. Qs omps ds. ut ab omni tribulatione liberemur. quos filii tui passione redemisti. qui

ALIA. Absolue qs dne nrorum uincula peccatorum. et uirtute sce crucis nos ubique custodi. per (cf. F 408)

ALIA. Tua nos qs dne protectione custodi. et uiuifice crucis uexillo ab omnibus peccatis absolue. per

ALIA. Peccata nra dne quibus inpugnamur uirtute sce crucis expelle. et tua miseratione nos ab omni aduersitate defende. per

ALIA. Dne ihu xpe qui per tropheum sce crucis mundum redimere dignatus es. concede propitius. ut qui de redemptione laetamur eternis gaudiis te donante perfrui mereamur. qui uiuis et regnas <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Von 2. Hand findet sich auf dem Rest der Seite sowie auf der nächsten folgendes Messformular :

DE SCA TRINITATE MISSA. Omps sempiternae ds trina maiestas et una deitas. qui in trinitate manes et in unitate semper consistis. praesta qs. ut qui peccatorum nrorum pondere grauamur. celerem indulgentiam consequi mereamur. qui uiuis et regnas cum deo patre in unitate

## ORATIONES DE SCA MARIA

Concede nos famulos tuos qs dne ds perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere. et gloriosa beatae marie semper uirginis intercessione a præsenti liberari tristitia. et futura perfrui laetitia. per dnm. (= F 1842)

ALIA. Omps ds famulos tuos dextera potentiae tuae a cunctis protege periculis. et beata maria semper [50<sup>v</sup>] uirgine intercedente. fac eos presenti gaudere. prosperitate et futura. per (= F 1846)

ALIA. Porridge nobis ds dexteram tuam. et per intercessionem beatae et gloriose semperque uirginis dei genitricis mariae. auxilium nobis superne uirtutis impende. per (= F 276)

ALIA. Protege dne famulos tuos subsidiis pacis. et beate marie patrociniis confidentes a cunctis ostibus redde securos. per dnm (= F 271)

## IN NATALE UNIUS APOSTOLI

Adiuuet ecclesiam tuam tibi dne supplicando beatus ill. apostolus et pius interuentor efficiatur. qui tui nominis extitit predicator. per (cf. F 1469)

ALIA. Exaudi dne populum tuum cum sci apostoli tui ill. patrocinio supplicantem. ut tuo semper auxilio. secura tibi possit deuocione seruire. per (cf. F 1471)

## IN NATALE PLURIMORUM APOSTOLORUM

Ds qui nos annua apostolorum tuorum illorum solempnitate letificas. presta qs ut quorum gaudemus meritis. instruamur exemplis. per (cf. H 102,1)

SUPER OBLATA. [50<sup>r</sup>] Oblationes nras qs dne propitiatus intende. quas in honore scę trinitatis nomini tuo consecrandas deferimus. ut maculas peccatorum nrorum quę neglegentia gessimus. te propitiante ueniam consequamur.

AD COMPL. Perceptis dne sacramentis tua nos non deserat pietas. qui in confessione scę trinitatis nos credimus esse saluandos.

ALIA. Fac dne ds omps. ut in tota mundi latitudine scę trinitatis gloria agnoscatur in personis. et summe maiestatis potentia adoretur in unitate. qui uiuis et regnas

ORATIO DE SCA MARIA. Beate marie semper uirginis adsit nobis ubique oratio. et quam deuoto plebs tua ueneratur obsequio. suffragari sibi pio iugiter experiatur auxilio. per

ALIA. Protege dne populum tuum. et apostolorum patrocínio confidentem perpetua defensione conserua. per <sup>3</sup> (= F 1112)

#### IN UIGILIA UNIUS CONFESSORIS [51r]

Da qs omps ds ut beati ill. confessoris tui atque pontificis ueneranda solempnitas. et deuotionem nobis augeat et salutem. per (cf. F 102)

ALIA. Ds qui nos beati ill. confessoris tui annua solempnitate letificas. concede propitius ut cuius natalicia colimus per eius ad te exempla gradiamur. per (cf. F 1205)

#### IN NATALE PLURIMORUM CONFESSORUM

Ds qui nos scorum tuorum illorum confessionibus gloriosis circundas et protegis. da nobis et eorum imitatione proficere et intercessione gaudere. per (cf. F 1122)

ALIA. Beatorum illorum nos dne foueat pretiosa confessio et pia iugiter intercessio tueatur. per

#### IN NATALE UNIUS MARTYRIS

Presta qs omps ds ut qui beati ill martyrís tui natalicia colimus intercessione eius in tui nominis amore roboremur. per (cf. F 1419)

ALIA. Da nobis omps ds ut beati ill martyrís tui ueneranda solempnitas. et deuotionem nobis augeat et salutem. per (cf. F 1201)

#### PLURIMORUM MARTYRUM

Ds qui nos annua beatorum illorum martyrum tuorum solempnitate letificas. presta qs ut quorum gaudemus [51v] meritis. prouocemur exemplis. per (cf. F 1021)

<sup>3</sup> Auf dem Rest dieser und der folgenden Seite finden sich diese Orationen :

Propitiare qs dne nobis famulis tuis per huius sci N. qui in presenti requiescir ecclesia merita gloriosa. ut eius pia intercessione ab omnibus protegatur aduersis. per

ALIA. Auxilium nobis dne qs placatus impende. et intercedentibus scis tuis quorum in hac presenti ecclesia pretiosa patrocínia ueneramur. fac nos ab omni aduersitate liberari. et in ęterna lętitia gaudere cum illis. per

ALIA. Da qs omps ds ut qui beatorum martyrum illorum solempnia colimus. eorum apud te intercessionibus adiuuemur. per (cf. F 905)

#### IN VIGILIA VIRGINUM

Ds qui inter caetera potentie tue miracula etiam in sexu fragili uictoriam martyrii contulisti concede propicius. ut cuius natalitia colimus. per eius exempla ad te gradiamur. per (cf. F 203)

ALIA. Da qs omps ds ut qui beate ill. martyris tue solempnia colimus. eius apud te patrocinia sentiamus. per (cf. F 46)

ALIA. Da qs omps ds ut qui beatae ill. martyris tue natalicia colimus. et annua solempnitate letemur et tantae fidei proficiamus exemplo. per <sup>4</sup> (cf. F 149)

Da eine liturgiegeschichtliche Würdigung der hier vorhandenen Formeln nur in einem grösseren Zusammenhang, nämlich durch Vergleich mit anderen Kollektaren möglich ist, muss hier darauf verzichtet werden, da bis jetzt noch nicht genügend Editionen dieser Gruppe von Liturgiebüchern vorhanden ist. Besonders hinzuweisen ist auf die von zweiter Hand nachgetragenen Messformulare (in den Fussnoten), die möglicherweise z.T. eigene Schöpfungen darstellen.

#### 24. Fragment eines Antiphonale-Sakramentars in Bologna

In Nr. 4 unserer « Fragmenta liturgica » wurde schon einmal ein Bruchstück eines Antiphonale-Sakramentars aus dem

<sup>4</sup> Auf dem Rest der Seite ist folgendes Formular von 2. Hand nachgetragen :

MISSA PRO AMICO IN TRIBULATIONE POSITO. Qs omps ds suppliciter deprecantes pro famulo tuo. qui suis fatigatur offensis. et merito suę iniquitatis affligitur. pietatis tuę gratiam consequi mereatur. per

SUPER OBLATA. Hostias tibi dne placationis offerimus pro famulo tuo N. ut eum a delictis omnibus miseratus absolvas. et a cunctis afflictionibus quas patitur liberare digneris. per

AD COMPL. Exaudi nos ds salutaris nr. suppliciter deprecantes pro famulo tuo N. intercedente beato martire tuo ill. eum ab iracundie tuę terroribus liberare digneris. et misericordie tuę fac largitate securum. per



10. Jh. vorgestellt<sup>1</sup>. Im folgenden bringen wir ein um einige Jahrzehnte jüngerer Fragment des gleichen Messbuchtypus, das sich jetzt in der Universitätsbibliothek in Bologna im Sammel-Codex 2217 als fol. 169-170 findet.

Da es nur wenige Bruchstücke von frühen Antiphonale-Sakramentaren gibt (vgl. CLLA Nr. 1387 ff.), dürfte es berechtigt sein, das kleine Fragment, ein Doppelblatt, hier zu bringen. Die einzelnen Seiten sind mit 32 Zeilen zweiseitig beschrieben. Die Gesangstexte sind, wie üblich, in kleinerer Schrift gehalten. Für eine Neumierung ist gelegentlich Raum vorgesehen. Eine solche ist jedoch nirgends ausgeführt worden. Der ehemalige Codex dürfte in der Nähe von Bologna entstanden sein. Auf die räumliche Nähe zu Mailand weist das Fest des hl. Dionysius von Mailand am 25. Mai.

<VIII KAL IUN. NAT SCI URBANI PAPAE>

[.....] [169r]

Com. Fidelis seruus et prudens

AD COM. Refecti participatione muneris sacri qs dne ds nr. ut cuius exsequimur cultum. sentiamus effectum. per (= H 109,3)

EODEM DIE. NAT SCI DIONISII EPI

Ds qui nos sci dionisii confessione gloriosa circumdas et protegis. da nobis ex eius imitatione. pro amore et oratione fulciri. per (= AmB 928 ed. Paredi)

ALIA. Sci dionisii dne confessio recensita. conferat nobis pia deuotionis augmentum. quia in nomine tuo perseuerans. meruit honorari. per (= AmB 929)

SEC. Hostias dne pro commemoratione beati sacerdotis et confessoris tui dionisii offerimus. quem a tui corporis unitate nulla temptatio separauit. per (= AmB 930)

AD COM. Qs dne ds nr. ut interueniente sco sacerdote et confessore tuo dionisio sacrosca misteria quae sumpsimus. actu subsequamur et mente. per (= AmB 932)

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *Sacris erudiri* 16 (1965) 443-452.

## DOMINICA POST ASCENSA DNI

Exaudi domine uocem meam qua clamaui ad te alleluia tibi dixi cor meum quæsiui uultum tuum domine requiram ne auertas faciem tuam a me alleluia alleluia. Ps. Dominus illuminatio mea.

Ompts sempiternę ds. fac nos tibi semper et deuotam gerere uoluntatem. et maiestati tue sincero corde seruire. per (= S 781)

ALLELUIA. Ascendit ds.

ALLELUIA. Paraclitus sps sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo ille uos docebit omnem ueritatem.

OF. Ascendit ds.

SEC. Sacrificia nos dne immaculata scificent. et mentibus nris supernae gratiae dent uigorem. per (= S 783)

Co. Pater cum essem cum eis ego seruabam eos quos dedisti michi alleluia nunc autem ad te uenio non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo ut serues eos a malo alleluia alleluia.

AD COM. Repleti dne muneribus sacris. da qs. ut in gratiarum semper actione maneamus. per (= S 785)

## .KL IUN. NAT SCI NICOMEDIS

Ds qui nos beati nicomedis [169<sup>v</sup>] martyris tui meritis et intercessionem laetificas. concede propitius ut qui eius beneficia poscimus. dona tuae gratiae consequamur. per (= H 119,1)

SEC. Munera dne oblata scifica. et intercedente beato nicomede martyre tuo nos per haec a peccatorum nrorum maculis emunda. per (= H 119,2)

AD COM. Supplices te rogamus ompts ds. ut quos tuis reficis sacramentis. intercedente beato nicomede martire tuo. tibi etiam placitis moribus dignanter tribuas deseruire. per (= H 119, 3)

## III NON IUN. NAT SCORUM MARCELLINI ET PETRI

Clamauerunt iusti. Ps. Benedicam dnm.

Ds qui nos annua beatorum marcellini et petri martirum tuorum sollempnitate laetificas. praesta qs. ut quorum gaudemus meritis. prouocemur exemplis. per (= H 120,1)

GR. Iustorum animae. V. Visi sunt oculis

ALLELUIA. Sci tui dne. V. Laetamini in domino.

SEC. Hostia haec qs dne quam in scorum tuorum nataliciis recensentes offerimus. et uincula nrae prauitatis absoluat. et tuae nobis misericordiae dona conciliet. per (= H 120,2)

Co. Iustorum animae.

AD COM. Sacro munere saciati supplices te dne deprecamur. ut quod debite seruitutis celebramus officia. saluationis tuae sentiamus augmentum. per (= H 120,3)

### V ID IUN. NAT SCORUM PRIMI ET FELICIANI

Fac nos dne qs scorum martirum tuorum primi et feliciani semper festa sectari. quorum suffragiis protectionis tuae dona sentiamus. per (= S 864)

SEC. Fiat tibi dne qs hostia sacrandae placabilis. preciosi celebritate martyrii. quae et peccata nra purificet. et tuorum tibi uota conciliet famulorum. per (= S 865)

AD COM. Qs omps ds. ut scorum martyrum tuorum celestibus misteriis celebrata sollemmitas. indulgentiam nobis tuae propitiationis adquirat. per (= S 866)

*Lücke von einem oder mehreren Doppelblättern!*

[170r]

### IN DIE AD MISSA

De uentre matris meae uocauit me dominus nomine meo. et posuit os meum ut gladium acutum sub tegumento manus suae protexit me quasi sagittam electam. Ps. Bonum est confiteri.

Ds qui praesentem diem honorabilem nobis in beati iohannis natiuitate fecisti. da populis tuis spiritalium gratiam gaudiorum. et omnium fidelium mentes dirige in uiam salutis aeternae. per (= S 928)

GR. Priusquam te formarem ex utero noui te et antequam exires de uentre sanctificaui te. V. Misit dominus manum suam et tetigit os meum et dixit michi.

ALLELUIA. Inter natos mulierum non surrexit maior iohanne baptista

ALLELUIA. Iustus ut palma florebit et sicut cedrus multiplicabitur.

V(?) Iustus ut palma florebit.

SEC. Tua dne muneribus altaria cumulamus. illius natiuitatem honore debito celebrantes. qui saluatorum mundi et cecinit

adfuturum. et adesse monstrauit. dnm nrm ihm (= S 930)  
 PREFATIO <sup>2</sup>. V + D ęternae ds. et in die festiuitatis hodie-  
 nae qua beatus iohannes exortus est. tuam magnificentiam  
 conlaudare. Qui ęt genetricis sterilitatem conceptus abstulit.  
 et patris linguam nātus absoluit. et redemptorem mundi quem  
 praenunciauerat ostendit. Et ideo (cf. S 931)

Co. Tu puer propheta altissimi uocaberis preibis enim ante faciem  
 domini parare uias eius.

AD COM. Sumat aecclesia tua ds beati iohannis baptistę  
 generatione laeticiam. per quem suae regenerationis cognouit  
 auctorem. dnm nrm ihm. (= S 932)

AD UESP. Ds qui nos beati iohannis baptistae concedis  
 natalicio perfrui. eius nos tribue meritis adiuuari. per (= S  
 934)

AD FONTES. Ompts sempiterne ds. da cordibus nris illam  
 nrarum rectitudinem semitarum. quam beati iohannis baptistę.  
 in deserto uox clamantis edocuit. per (= S 935) [170<sup>v</sup>]

AD TERCIAM. Ds qui conspicias quia nos undique mala nra  
 contristant. per praecursorem gaudii corda nra laetifica. per  
 (= S 936)

AD SESTAM(!). Da qs ompts ds. intra scae aecclesiae uterum  
 constitutos. eo nos spu ab iniquitate nra iustificari. quod  
 beatum iohannem intra uiscera materna docuisti. per in unitate  
 eiusdem. (= S 937)

AD NONAM. Ds qui nos annua beati iohannis baptistae  
 sollempnitate frequentare concedis. praesta qs. ut et deuotis  
 eadem mentibus celebremus. et eius patrocinio promerente.  
 plenum capiamus securitatis augmentum. per (= S 938)

ALIA. Ompts et misericors ds. qui beatum iohannem baptis-  
 tam. tua prouidentia destinasti. ut perfectam plebem xpo  
 dno praepararet. da qs. ut familia tua huius intercessione  
 preęconis. et a peccatis omnibus exuatur. et ad eum quem  
 prophetauit peruenire mereatur. ihm xpm filium tuum (= S  
 939)

<sup>2</sup> Nur noch in schwachen Umrissen zu lesen. Vielleicht auch « Pre-  
 facio ». Das Präfationszeichen selbst besteht aus einem grossen V,  
 dessen linker Ast durchstrichen ist.

## VII KAL IUL. UIG SCORUM IOHANNIS ET PAULI

Beatorum martyrum tuorum iohannis et pauli natalicia ueneranda. qs dne aecclesia tua deuota suscipiat. et fiat magna glorificationis amore deuotior. per (= S 940)

SEC. Sint tibi dne qs nri muneris grata ieiunia. quia tunc in eadem scorum tuorum iohannis et pauli digna commemoratione deferimus. et si actus illorum pariter subsequamur. per (= S 941)

AD COM. Protege dne plebem tuam. et quam martirum tuorum iohannis et pauli assidua tribuis festiuitate deuotam. tibi semper placitam fieri precibus concede iustorum. per (= S 942)

## VI KAL IUL. NAT SCORUM IOHANNIS ET PAULI

Multę tribulationes iustorum et de his omnibus liberauit eos dominus dominus custodit omnia ossa eorum unum ex his non conteretur. Ps. Benedicam dominum in omni.

Qs ompts ds. ut nos geminata laetitia hodiernae festiuitatis ... (= S 943)

Es ist ein glücklicher Zufall, dass in unserm Fragment fast die gleiche Zeit des Kirchenjahres vorhanden ist als im Fragment Nr. 4. Ein Vergleich der beiden Bruchstücke macht jedoch deutlich, dass die ehemaligen Handschriften nicht übereingestimmt haben können. Vor allem sind Unterschiede in den Chorgesängen und im Aufbau der Messbücher zu erkennen. Doch haben diese auch vieles gemeinsam, so vor allem die Abhängigkeit von den Junggelasiana. Diese tritt in unserm Fall besonders im Formular von Johannes d.T. und im darauffolgenden Formular in Erscheinung. Es ist daher nicht ausgeschlossen, dass beide Handschriften letztenendes doch auf ein gemeinsames Urexemplar zurückgehen. Dieses ist jedoch nicht erhalten.

## 25. Eine ältere Schwester-Handschrift des Sakramentars von Padua

Zu den in der Münchener Staatsbibliothek neu gefundenen Fragmenten gehört ein Blatt eines Sakramentars, das an der

Wende vom 8. zum 9. Jh. geschrieben worden war. Es befand sich ehemals im Clm 17164, einer Handschrift aus dem Kloster Schäftlarn, und trägt jetzt die Signatur Clm 29163e. Prof. B. Bischoff, dem ich für die Überlassung der Edition zu danken habe, bezeichnet die Schrift als « südostdeutsch ».

Aus der gleichen ehemaligen Handschrift ist noch ein weiteres stark beschnittenes Blatt erhalten geblieben, Clm 29164/I Bl. 16, das schon vor Jahren A. Dold eingehend untersucht hat<sup>1</sup>, dessen Text hier jedoch nochmals wiedergegeben wird. Obwohl ganz geringe Unterschiede in der Stärke der Schrift zu erkennen sind — vermutlich durch den Wechsel der Schreibfeder bedingt —, kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass es sich um Blätter aus der gleichen Handschrift handelt.

Beide Fragmente zeigen die gleiche Zeilenzahl (22 Zeilen) und die gleiche charakteristische Schreibweise mit mehreren Ligaturen (re, ri, ro, et, st, nt, letztere innerhalb des Wortes und an dessen Ende verschieden) und Abkürzungen (per, pro, um, us etc.). Bemerkenswert ist das unten offene « g » und ein gelegentlich vorkommendes cc- « a ». Auch die nach oben gebogenen Abkürzungsstriche sind in beiden Blättern gleich. Wir bringen nun zuerst den Text :

#### <XLI. DIE DOMINICO VACAT

Ds qui conspiciis omni nos uirtute destitui. interius exteriusque custodi. ut ab omnibus aduersitatibus muniamur in corpore.>  
et a prauis cogitationibus mundemur in mente. per (= P 174)  
SUPER OBL. Sacrificiis praesentibus dne qs intende placatus.  
ut deuotioni nrę proficiant et saluti. per (= P 175)  
POST COM. Refecti dne pane caelesti. ad uitam qs nutriamur aeternam. per (= P 176)

<sup>1</sup> A. DOLD, *Ein seltsamer Textzeuge für die Prophetien des Karsamstag und ihrer Gebete*, in: *Ephem. lit.* 48 (1934) 310-309; vgl. auch A. DOLD - K. GAMBER, *Das Sakramentar von Salzburg* (= Texte und Arbeiten Beiheft 4, Beuron 1960) 6-7; L. EIZENHÖFER, in: *Archiv f. Liturgiew.* VI, 2 (1960) 361 Anm. 13; K. GAMBER, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores* (= *Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia* 1, 2. Aufl. Freiburg/Schweiz 1968) Nr. 838 S. 385.

## XLII. FERIA II AD SCM CLEMENTEM

Presta qs omps ds. ut familia tua quae se adfligendo carne ab alimentis abstinere. sectando iustitiam a culpa ieiunet. per (= P 177)

SUPER OBL. Haec hostia dne placationis et laudis. tua nos propitiatione dignos efficiat. per (= P 178)

POST COM. Haec nos communio dne purget a crimine. et caelestibus remediis faciat esse consortes. per (= P 179)

SUPER POPL. Adesto supplicationibus nris omps ds. et quibus fiduciam sperandę pietatis indulgis. consuęte misericordię tribue benignus effectum. per (= P 180)

## XLIII. FERIA III AD SCAM BALBINAM

Perfice qs dne benignus in nobis obseruantiae scę subsidium. et quę te auctore facienda cognouimus. et operante impleamur. per (= P 181)

SUPER OBL. Scificationem tuam nobis dne his mysteriis placatus operare. quę nos [*verso*] et a terrenis purget uitii et ad caelestia dona perducatur. per dnm (= P 182)

POST COM. Vt sacris dne reddamur digne muneribus. fac nos tuis qs obediendi mandatis. per (= P 183)

SUPER POPL. Propitiare dne supplicationibus nris. et animarum nrarum medere languoribus. ut remissione percepta in tua semper benedictione laetemur. per (= P 184)

## XLIII. FERIA IV AD SCAM CECILIAM

Populum tuum dne propitius respice. et quos ab escis carnalibus praecipis abstinere. a noxiis quoque uitii cessare concede. per (= P 185)

SUPER OBL. Hostias dne quas tibi offerimus propitius respice. et per haec sca commercia uincula peccatorum nrorum absolue (= P 186)

POST COM. Sumptis dne sacramentis ad redemptionis aeternae qs proficiamus augmentum. per dnm (= P 187)

SUPER POPL. Ds innocentiae restitutor et amator. dirige ad te tuorum corda seruorum. ut sps tui feruore concepto et in fide inueniantur stabiles. et in opere efficaces. per (= P 188)

(Grosse Lücke!)

<ORATIONES QUAE DICUNTUR AD LECTIONES  
IN ECLESIA>

[.....]

<DE ABRAHAM III.> <sup>†</sup>Ds fidelium pater summe. qui in toto orbe terrarum promissionis tuae filios diffusa adoptione multiplicas. et per paschale sacramentum abraham puerum tuum uniuersarum sicut iurasti gentium efficis patrem. Da populis tuis digne ad gratiam tuae uocationis introire. per (= S 543) DE EXODO IIII. Ds cuius antiqua miracula in praesenti quoque saeculo coruscare sentimus. praesta qs ut sicut priorem populum ab aegyptiis liberasti. hoc ad salutem gentium per aquam baptismatis opereris(!). per (= P 323)

DE ESAIA V. Omnipotens semper deus. multiplica in honore nominis tui. quod patrum fidei spondidisti. et promissionis filios sacra adoptione dilata. ut quod priores sancti non dubitauerunt futurum. ecclesia tua magna iam ex parte cognoscat impletum. per (= S 545)

IN HIEREMIA VI. Ds qui nos ad caelebrandum paschale sacramentum utriusque testamenti. paginis imbuisti. da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam. <ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. per (= P 324) [verso]

IN HIEZECHIEL VII. Ds qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium uocatio> ne multiplicas. concede propitius ut quos aqua baptismatis abluis. continua protectione tuearis. per dominum nostrum (= P 325)

IN ESAIA VIII. Concede quod omnipotens deus. ut qui festa paschalia peragimus. caelestibus desideriis accensi. fontem uitae sitiamus. per (= P 326)

IN EXODO VIII. Omnipotens semper deus. respice propitius ad deuotionem populi renascentis. qui sicut ceruus aquarum tuarum desiderat fontem. et concede propitius ut fide ipsius sitis baptismatis mysterio animam corpusque scificet. per (= H 84,6)

IN IONA X. Ds qui nobis per prophetarum ora praecepisti temporalia relinquere. atque ad aeterna festinare. Da famulis tuis ut quae a te iussa cognouimus implere. caelesti inspiratione ualeamus. per (= H 110,2)



IN DEUTERONOMIUM XI. Ds qui tribus pueris mitigasti  
flammas ignium. concede propitius ut nos famulos tuos non  
exurat flamma uitiorum. per (= H 44,8)

HANC DICIT QUANDO IN ECLE<SIA ...>

(Schluss der beiden Einzelblätter!)

Für den Sakramentarforscher von besonderem Interesse sind die Formular-Zahlen, von denen auf dem 1. Blatt noch drei zu erkennen sind, während auf dem 2. Blatt wegen des defekten Beginns des (einzigen) Formulars keine vorhanden sein können. Diese Zahlen stimmen genau mit denjenigen überein, die das bekannte Sakramentar von Padua (Cod. D 47 der dortigen Kapitelsbibliothek) aufweist, das fast 50 Jahre jünger ist <sup>2</sup>.

Auch in den Orationen besteht Übereinstimmung, wenigstens was das 1. Blatt betrifft. Typisch für den durch den Cod D 47 vertretenen Typus ist die Formel P 176 zu Beginn unseres Fragments. Sie findet sich nicht im Gregorianum und stammt aus den Junggelasiana (S. 323) <sup>3</sup>. Alle übrigen Orationen des 1. Blattes stimmen mit den entsprechenden in den Hadriana-Handschriften überein.

Das 2. Blatt enthält die Karsamstags-Orationen. Hier weicht unser Fragment vom Codex von Padua ab. Während nämlich dieser nur für 4 Lesungen Gebete vorsieht, finden wir bei uns solche für 11 Lesungen. Hinsichtlich der Zahl der Karsamstags-Lektionen weichen bekanntlich die einzelnen Kirchen im Mittelalter voneinander ab <sup>4</sup>. Dasselbe gilt für die Pfingst-Vigil. In diesem Fall stimmt eine weitere Schwester-Handschrift ebenfalls nicht mit dem Codex von Padua überein <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Herausgegeben von K. MOHLBERG, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche* (= Liturgiegeschichtl. Quellen und Forschungen Heft 11-12, Münster i. W. 1927); weitere Literatur bei GAMBER, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores* Nr. 880 S. 398.

<sup>3</sup> Über das Verhältnis des Sakramentars von Padua zu den Junggelasiana wird in DOLD-GAMBER, *Das Sakramentar von Salzburg* 17 ff. behandelt.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. K. GAMBER, *Die Lesungen und Cantica an der Ostervigil im Comites Parisinus*, in: *Rev. bénéd.* 71 (1961) 125-134.

<sup>5</sup> Es handelt sich um die Handschrift in Vercelli, Biblioteca Capito-

Wahrscheinlich haben im ursprünglichen Typus entsprechende Orationen überhaupt gefehlt. Dies müssen wir deshalb annehmen, weil, im Gegensatz zu allen übrigen Formularen, der Codex D 47 hier keine Ordnungszahl aufweist <sup>6</sup>.

Für den Sakramentarforscher ist weiterhin die Heimat der ehemaligen Handschrift von Bedeutung, nämlich Bayern. Die andere oben kurz erwähnte Schwester-Handschrift stammt aus Oberitalien (Gegend von Trient?). In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um das ehemalige Gebiet des Patriarchats Aquileja und dieses ist, wie in einer eigenen Studie dargelegt worden ist <sup>7</sup>, auch die Heimat des durch den Codex D 47 von Padua vertretenen Typus, von dem bisher nur die genannten drei Zeugen bekannt geworden sind.

Das kleine Fragment erlaubt aber noch weitere für die Sakramentargeschichte bedeutungsvolle Schlüsse. Es zeigt das Vorhandensein des, wie wir ihn zu nennen pflegen, P-Typus in Bayern bereits um das Jahr 800. Da Bayern gegenüber dem Zentrum Aquileja als « Provinz » gelten darf, muss die Redaktion des P-Typus schon einige Zeit vorher, also mindestens um 750, vielleicht sogar noch früher, angesetzt werden, da zur damaligen Zeit sich bestimmte Messbuch-Typen nicht rasch verbreitet haben.

Älter als der P-Typus ist der durch das Sakramentar von Salzburg vertretene Sal-Typus, wie in der Ausgabe dieses Sakramentars (vgl. oben Fussnote 3) eingehend dargelegt worden ist. Letzterer Typus muss deshalb nach den Gesetzen der Entwicklung der Messbücher bereits etwa um das Jahr 700 fertig vorgelegen haben, also zur Zeit des Unionskonzils von Aquileja.

Wie ebenfalls in der Ausgabe des Sakramentars von Salzburg gezeigt worden ist, stellt die im Sal-Typus erfolgte abermalige Gregorianisierung eine Weiterführung der ursprünglichen Fassung der Junggelasiana dar, wie sie noch im späten Codex von

lare Cod. CXXVIII (Vorsatzblatt und fol. 156, letzteres noch nicht ediert); herausgegeben von DOLD - GAMBER, *Das Sakramentar von Salzburg* 72\*-77\*. Weitere Literatur bei GAMBER, *Codices* Nr. 890 S. 403.

<sup>6</sup> Dieser Grundsatz gilt auch für andere Handschriften, so für den Liber Comitatus in Leningrad; vgl. GAMBER, *Codices* Nr. 1005 S. 432-433.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. DOLD - GAMBER, *Das Sakramentar von Salzburg* 30-33.

Monza zu erkennen ist. Die Urfassung der Junggelasiana muss deshalb schon im 7. Jh. ausgebildet worden sein und nicht, wie bisher meist angenommen, erst um das Jahr 750. Zum selben Schluss führen auch die neu gefundenen Fragmente von Zara, worüber in deren Edition eingehend berichtet worden ist <sup>8</sup>.

Nachtrag: Eine nach der Drucklegung erfolgte Einsichtnahme in die Originale hat ergeben, dass es sich bei den beiden Blättern voraussichtlich doch um die Reste zweier verschiedener Handschriften handelt.

## 26. Zwei Doppelblätter eines Plenarmissale in Darmstadt

In den reichen Handschriftenbeständen der hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt findet sich auch eine Reihe kostbarer liturgischer Handschriften <sup>1</sup>. Die ältesten sind teilweise nur als Palimpsest erhalten, so die zehn Blätter eines Lektionar-Sakramentars aus dem 9./10. Jh., die sich in der Hs 749 erhalten haben. A. Dold hat darüber eingehend berichtet <sup>2</sup>.

Nur ein wenig jünger sind Fragmente, die sich in der Hs 187 befinden und die fast dem gleichen Typus angehören wie die Palimpsest-Blätter. Es handelt sich um zwei, unten und am seitlichen Rand z.T. etwas beschnittene Doppelblätter eines Plenarmissale. Während im ersten Fall die Gesangstexte am Rand nachgetragen sind, haben sie hier bereits Aufnahme in den Text gefunden, sonst dürfte kaum ein Unterschied im Typus bestehen.

Wir finden zudem die gleiche Schrift und die gleiche Anlage der Seiten in zwei Kolumnen, zu je 32-33 Zeilen, ferner das

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. K. GAMBER, *Das Fragment von Zara. Zwei Doppelblätter eines Lektionar-Sakramentars des 8. Jh.*, in: *Rev. bénéd.* 78 (1968) 127-138.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. L. EIZENHÖFER - H. KNAUS, *Die liturg. Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt* (= Die Handschriften der Hess. Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, Band 2, Wiesbaden 1968).

<sup>2</sup> A. DOLD, *Palimpsest-Studien I* (= Texte und Arbeiten 45, Beuron 1955) 77-78 und 89; vgl. GAMBER, *Codices* Nr. 1285 S. 487.

in einigen Gegenden Oberitaliens vorkommende Präfationszeichen, das aus einem grossen V mit einem darüber geschriebenen kleinen « d » besteht. Einige Handschriften mit diesem Präfationszeichen stammen aus der Gegend von Vercelli<sup>3</sup>. Ob auch unser Fragment von dort kommt, wissen wir nicht, die Anlage der Seiten in zwei Kolumnen scheint dagegen zu sprechen, da eine solche die Codices aus Vercelli nicht kennen.

Die Darmstädter Doppelblätter zeigen noch die Erstschrift, sie sind also nicht palimpsestiert. Wir finden auf ihnen folgenden Text :

### 1. <XVIII KAL FEB. NL SCI FELICIS>

AN. Os iusti meditabitur sapientiam et lingua eius loquetur iudicium  
lex di eius in corde ipsius. PL. Noli aemulari.

OR. Concede qs omps ds. ut ad meliorem uitam scorum tuorum  
exempla nos prouocent. quatinus quorum sollemnia agimus  
& iam actus imitemur. per dnm (= H 19,1 ; S 116)

AD HEBREOS. Doctrinis uariis et peregrinis. nolite obliuisci  
... talibus enim hostiis promeretur ds. (Hebr 13,9-16)

GR. Iurauit dns & et non penitebit eum tu es sacerdos [1<sup>r</sup> rechte  
Spalte] in aeternum secundum ordinem melchisedech. V. Dixit dns  
dno meo sede a dextris meis. AL. Inueni dauid.

SEC LUCAM. In illo tempore. Dixit ihc(!) discipuli suis.  
Qui uos audit me audit ... gaudete autem quod nomina uestra  
scripta sunt in celis. (Luc 10,16-20)

OF. Gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera  
manuum tuarum.

OBLATIO. Hostias tibi dne pro commemoratione sci felicis  
offerimus suppliciter deprecantes. ut sicut illi prebuisti sacrae  
fidei largitatem. sic nobis indulgentiam largiaris et pacem. per  
dnm (H - ; S 118)

PRF. VD aeternae ds. Et confessionem sci felicis memorabilem  
non tacere. qui nec hereticis prauitatis. nec saeculi blandi-  
mentis a sui status rectitudine ... [1<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte] -ia rectos  
ueritatis firmitatem tue fidei non reliquid. per xpm (= S 119)

Co. Posuisti in capite eius coronam.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. GAMBER, *Codices* S. 385-387.

POST COM. Qs dne salutaribus repleti mysteriis. ut cuius sollempnia celebramus. eius orationibus adiuuemur. per dnm (= H 19,3; S -)

## 2. XVII KAL FEB NL SCI MARCELLI PP

AN. Statuit ei dns testamentum pacis et principem fecit eum ut sit illi sacerdotii dignitas in aeternum. PL. Misericordias dni.

OR. Preces populi tui qs dne clementer exaudi. ut beati marcelli martyris tui atque pontificis meritis adiuuemur. cuius passione letamur. per dnm. (= H 20,1; S 127)

LIBRI SAPIENTIAE. Iustus cor suum tradidit ad uigilandum ... et nomen eius requiretur a generatione in generationem (Eccli 39,6-13)

GR. Inueni dauid seruum meum oleo sco meo unxi eum. V. Nichil proficiat inimicus in eo ... [1<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte]

SEC MATH. In illo tempore. Dixit ihs discipulis suis parabolam hanc. Homo quidam peregre proficiscens ... intra in gaudium. dni tui (Matth 25,14-23)

OF. Ueritas mea et misericordia mea cum ipso & in nomine.

OBLATIO. Munera qs dne dignanter ... (cf. H 20,2)

## 3. (*Lücke von einem Doppelblatt*)

[2<sup>r</sup> linke Spalte] capite eius coronam de lapide precioso. V. Desiderium animae eius tribuisti ei et uoluntatem labiorum eius non fraudasti eum.

AL. Beatus uir qui timet dnm in mandatis eius.

IOHM. In illo tempore. Dixit ihs discipulis suis. Amen amen dico uobis. nisi granum frumenti ... honorificauit eum pater meus. qui est in caelis. (Joh 12,24-26)

OF. Gloria et honore coronasti eum. et constituisti.

OBLATIO. Hodiernum dne sacrificium letantes offerimus. quo beati uincentii caelestem gloriam recensentes. & tua magnalia predicamus. et nos adquisisse gaudemus suffragia gloriosa. per dnm (H -; S -)

PRF. VD Pro cuius nomine gloriosus leuita uincentius & miles inuictus rapidi hostis insaniam interritus adiit. modestus sustinuit. securus inrisit. Sciens paratus esset(!). ut resisteret nesciens eleuatus esse quod uinceret. In utroque dni ac magi-

stri sui uestigia sequens. qui & humilitatis custodiendi. et de hostibus triumphandi suis sequenda exempla monstraui. per xpm (= F 174)

Co. Qui uult uenire post me abneg&t sem&ipsum et tollat crucem [2<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] suam et sequatur me.

POST COM. Qs omps ds. ut qui caelestia alimenta percepimus. intercedente beato uincentio martyre tuo. a cunctis nos defende periculis (cf. H 25,1)

#### 4. X KAL FEB. NL SCORUM EMERENTIANI ET MACHARII M

Maiestati tuę nos martyrum tuorum emerentiani et macharii. supplicatio beata conciliet. ut quae incessabiliter actibus nris offendimus. iustorum precibus expiemur. per dnm (= S 161)  
ALIA. Martyrum tuorum nos dne semper festa lętantes(!). et quorum celebramus meritum expiamur auxilium. per dnm (= S 162)

L. LIBRI SAPIENTIAE. Expectatio iustorum lętica. spes autem ... exaltabitur ciuitas [2<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte] et in perditione impiorum erit laudatio. Benedictione iustorum exaltabitur ciuitas. (Prov 10,28-32; 11,3.6.8-11a)

SEC. MATH. In illo tempore. Dixit ihc discipulis suis. Ecce ego mitto uos ... hic saluus erit (Matth 10, 16-22)

OBLATIO. Accepta tibi sit dne sacratae plebis oblatio. pro tuorum honore scorum. quorum meritis semper cepisse(!) in tribulatione cognoscit auxilium. per. (= S 163)

POST COM. Scorum uota lętificent. et patrocinia nobis martyrum ipse semper festiuitas exhibeant. per dnm.

#### 5. VIII KAL FEB. CONUERSIO SCI [2<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte] PAULI ET NL SCI PROIECTI

AN. Scio cui credidi et certus sum. PL. Dne probasti me.

OR. Ds qui uniuersum mundum beati pauli apli predicatione docuisti. da nobis qs ut qui eius hodie conuersionem colimus per eius exempla ad te gradiamus(!). per (= S 169)

ALIA. Martyris tui proiecti. nos qs interuentione gloriosa lętific&. ut quod nris actibus non merentur(!) eius precibus consequamur. per dnm. (= S 165)

LEC ACTUUM APOSTOLORUM. In diebus illis. Saulus adhuc spirans ... Surge ingredere ciuitatem ... (Act 9,1 ff.)

6. (*Grosse Lücke!*), [3<sup>r</sup> linke Spalte]

OBLATIO. Muneribus nris qs dne precibusque susceptis. & celestibus nos munda mysteriis. et clementer exaudi. per (= H 176,2)

AD COMPL. Da qs dne ds nr. ut sicut tuorum commemoratione temporali gratulamur officio. ita perpetuo letemur aspectu. per (= H 176,3)

7. EODEM DIE NL SCI MARTINI EPI

A. Sacerdotes. R. Ecce sacerdos. OF. Inueni dauid. Co. Dne v. talenta.

OR. Ds qui conspicias quia ex nulla nra uirtute subsistimus. concede propitius. ut intercessione beati martini confessoris tui atque pontificis. contra aduersa omnia muniamur. per (= H 177,1)

Epistolam cum euangelio. Require in nl.sci marcelli pape.

OBLATIO. Omps sempiternae ds. munera tuę maiestatis oblata. per intercessionem beati martini confessoris tui atque pontificis. ad perpetuam fac nobis proficere salutem. per dnm (H - 1)

PREFATIO. VD aeternae ds. Cuius munere beatus martinus confessor pariter et sacerdos. et honorum operum incrementis excreuit. & uariis uirtutum donis exuberauit. et miraculis choruscauit. qui quod uerbis edocuit. operum exhibitione compleuit. et documento simul exemplo [3<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] subditis. ad celestia regna peragendi ducatum praebuit. Unde tuam clementiam petimus. ut eius qui tibi placuit exemplis ad bene agendum informemur. meritis adiuuemur. intercessionibus muniamur. qualiter ad celeste regnum illo interueniente te opitulante peruenire mereamur. per xpm

POST COM. Sacramenta salutis nrae suscipientes. conce(de) qs misericors ds. ut intercessione beati martini confessoris tui atque pontificis. nos ubique adiuu&. in cuius ueneratione haec tuę obtulimus maiestati. per

ALIA. Celesti benedictione omps pater populum tuum scifica. et beati martini confessoris tui atque pontificis festiuitate

gaudentem. per intercessionem eiusdem protectoris nri fac nos in aeterna gloria cum scis gaudere. per

### 8. X KL. DEC. VIGL SCAE CECILIE

OR. Scē martyris tuę cecilię dne supplicationibus tribue nos foueri. ut cuius sollempnitatem praeuenimus obsequiis. eius intercessionibus commendemur et meritis. per dnm. (= S 1339)

OBLATIO. Muneribus nris qs dne scae martyris tuę cecilię festa [3<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte] præcedimus. ut quę conscientiae nrae praepediuntur obstaculis. illius meritis reddantur accepta. per (= S 1340)

PRF. VD aeternae ds. Te beatę ceciliae natalitia praeueniendo laudare. benedicere. et praedicare. Quam tanto munere sublimasti. ut ei conferes & uirginitatis coronam. & martyrii palmam. Sic quę uirtute fidei & decore pudicitie polluer&. ut cęlestia regna uirgo pariter & martyr intrar&. per xpm (= S 1341)

POST COM. Auxilientur nobis dne sumpta mysteria. et intercedente beata cecilia martyre tua. sempiterna protectione confirment. per (= S 1342)

### 9. IN DIE AD MISSAM

AN. Loquebar. GR. Audi filie & uide. & inclina aurem tuam quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam. V. Specie tua & pulchritudine tua intendente prospere procede et regan. OF. Offerentur. minor. COM. Confundantur superbi quia iniuste iniquitatem fecerunt in me ego autem in mandatis tuis exercebor in tuis iustificationibus ut non confundar.

OR. Ds qui nos annua beatę caeciliae martyris tuę sollempnitate letificas. da ut quam ueneramur officio. & iam pie conuersationis sequamur exemplo. per (= H 178,1)

OBLATIO. Hęc hostia dne placationis et laudis qs interueniente [3<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte] beata cecilia martyre tua. nos tua propitiatione dignos efficiat. per dnm (= H 178,2; S 1344)

PRF. VD aeternae ds. Qui infirmitatem uirtutem proficis. & humani generis inimicum. non solum per uiros. sed & iam per feminas uincis. Cuius munere beata cęcilia & uirginitatis proposito. & confessione fidei roboratur. ut nec ętatis lubrico ab intentione mittetur. nec blandimentis carnalibus. demulceatur. nec sexus fragilitate deterreatur. nec tormentorum inmanitate uincatur. sed seruando corporis ac mentis integritate cum



uirginitatis & martyrii palmam. eternam mereamur adipisci  
beatitudinem. per xpm

AD COMPLENDUM. Satiasti dne familiam tuam muneribus  
sacris. eius qs semper intercessione nos refoue. cuius sollemnia  
celebramus. per (= H 178,3)

#### 10. VIII KL. DEC. NL SCI CLEMENTIS & SCAE FELICITATIS

AN. Dicit dns sermones meos quos dedi in os tuum non deficient de  
ore tuo adest enim nomen tuum et munera tua accepta erunt super  
altare meum. PL. Misericordias. GR. Iuravit dns. OF. Veritas  
mea. CO. Beatus seruus.

(*Lücke von mehreren Doppelblättern!*) [4<sup>r</sup> linke Spalte]

#### 11. <IN DEDICATIONE>

... de celo. a do paratam. sicut sponsam paratam uiro suo ...  
Ecce noua facio omnia (Apoc 21,2-5a)

SCDM LUCAM. In illo tempore. Egressus ihs. perambulabat  
hiericho. Et ecce ... [4<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] bonorum meorum ... &  
saluum facere quod perierat. (Luc 19,1-10)

OBLATIO. Annue dne precibus nris. ut quicumque intra templi  
ambitu continemur. plena tibi atque perfecta corporis & anime  
deuotionis placeamus. ut dum haec praesentia uota reddimus.  
ad eterna premia te adiuuante uenire mereamur. per (= F 1407)

PREFATIO. aeterne ds. Pro annua dedicatione tabernaculi  
huius honorem tibi gratiasque referre. per xpm dnm nrm.  
Cuius uirtus magna. pietas copiosa. Respice dne qs de celo et  
uide et uisita domum istam. ut si quis in ... [4<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte]  
te dne locum uenire. quicumque satisfaciens confugerit. & conscio  
dolore uictus. altaria tua riuis suarum eluerit lacrimarum.  
Hic si quando populus tuus tristis mestusque conuenerit ad-  
quiesce rogari. et rogatus indulge. Et ideo (= F 1408)

POST COM. Ds qui ecclesiam tuam sponsam uocare dignatus  
es. ut quae haber& gratiam per fidei deuotionem. haber& & iam  
ex nomine pietatem. da ut omnis haec plebs nomini tuo seruiens.  
huius uocabuli consortio digna esse mereatur. et ecclesia tua  
in templo cuius dedicationis die(!) tibi collecta. te timeat. te  
diligat. te sequatur. ut dum iugiter per uestigia tua graditur.  
ad celestia promissa te ducente peruenire mereatur. per (= F  
1409)

ALIA. Ds qui de uiuis ac electis lapidibus eternum maiestati tuae ... (= F 1410) [4<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte]

12. <DE SCA TRINITATE>

... nobiscum misericordiam tuam. Co. Benedicimus dm celi et coram omnibus uiuentibus confitemur ei qui fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

ORATIO. Omnipotens sempiternus ds. qui dedisti famulis tuis in confessione uere fidei eternae trinitatis gloriam agnoscere. et in potentiam maiestatis adorare unitatem. qs ut eiusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur aduersis. saluator. (= F 1009)

EPISTOLA. Omne quod natum est ex deo. Euangelium. Cum uenerit paraclitus.

OBLATIO. Scifica dne qs per tui sci nominis inuocationem huius oblationis hostiam. et per eadem nosmetipsos tibi perface munus eternum. per (cf. F 1010)

PREFAC. require in octab. pasch.

POST COM. Proficiat nobis ad salutem corporis & anime dne ds huius sacramenti susceptio et sempiterna scae trinitatis eiusdemque indiuidue unitatis confessio. per (= F 1784)

ALIA. Dne ds pater omnipotens ... (= F 1785)

(*Schluss der Fragmente!*)

Es ist nicht leicht, den Sakramentar-Typus zu bestimmen, der die Grundlage für das ehemalige Liturgiebuch abgegeben hat, da die Formeln einmal den Gregoriana, einmal den Jungelasiana, gelegentlich auch den Gregoriana mixta entsprechen. Die in der obigen Edition nicht nachgewiesenen Präfationen sind in den zuletzt genannten zu finden. Leider gibt es noch keine kritische Edition, nach der man zitieren könnte<sup>4</sup>. Hinsichtlich der Auswahl der Formeln liegt der Fall ganz ähnlich in einem grösseren Sakramentar-Fragment, das aus Berceto (Diözese Parma) stammt und das von G. Morin bekannt gemacht worden ist<sup>5</sup>. Es stimmt auch hinsichtlich

<sup>4</sup> Sie sind in den Ausgaben der Schriften Gregors d.Gr. zu finden; auch bei MIGNE, *PL* 78, 25-582, vgl. GAMBER, *Codices* S. 408 ff.

<sup>5</sup> G. MORIN, *Débris d'ancien sacramentaire*, in: *Rev. bénéd.* 46 (1934) 381-392; vgl. GAMBER, *Codices* Nr. 849 S. 387.

der Schrift und der Anlage der Seiten (zwei Kolumnen zu je 33 Zeilen) mit den Darmstädter Blättern überein, weshalb man bei den beiden Darmstädter Fragmenten ebenfalls an die Gegend von Parma als Heimat denken möchte.

Auffällig ist die Bezeichnung « Oblatio » anstelle von « Super oblata » oder « Secreta ». Sie findet sich in keiner weiteren bekannten Handschrift. Auf den Ort der Entstehung des ehemaligen Liturgiebuchs könnte auch die Martins-Messe hinweisen, die mit ihren Eigen-Texten ein Patrozinium dieses Heiligen vermuten lässt (vgl. das « protectoris nostri » in der « Alia »).

Jedes vollständige Formular besitzt eine eigene Präfation (wie im ambrosianischen Ritus), was auf die Nähe von Mailand schliessen lässt. Auch ein Gebet « super populum » ist meist noch erhalten, es ist jedoch mit « Alia » (wie in den Gregoriana mixta) überschrieben. Eine echte « Alia » (als Gebet vor der Epistel) kommt nur im junggelasianischen Formular der Heiligen Emerentiana und Macharius vor. Die einzelnen Lesungen sind beachtenswert. Sie stimmen nicht mit den heutigen im Missale Romanum überein. Da sie auch im Comes Parisinus fehlen, der wichtigsten diesbezüglichen Handschrift aus Oberitalien (um 800) <sup>6</sup>, dürften sie eine eigene Überlieferung darstellen.

Die Gesangstexte sind wohl die bekannten aus dem römischen Antiphonale ; hinsichtlich der Verwendung bestimmter Texte an den einzelnen Tagen ist jedoch eine Eigenständigkeit zu beachten. Auffällig ist, dass die Gesangstexte im ersten Doppelblatt zwischen die Orationen zu stehen kommen, während sie im zweiten jeweils zu Beginn des Formulars und zwar als eine in sich geschlossene Einheit ihren Platz haben. Diese Tatsache kann darauf hinweisen, dass der ursprüngliche Typus, den noch die Darmstädter Palimpsest-Blätter repräsentieren, keine Gesangstexte enthalten hat. Man schrieb sie später an den Rand, während der Abschreiber sie dann in die einzelnen Formulare aufgenommen hat.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. R. AMIET, *Un « Comes » carolingien inédit de la Haute-Italie*, in : *Ephem. lit.* 73 (1959) 335-367 ; GAMBER, *Codices* Nr. 1210 S. 472.

## 27. Plenarmissale-Fragment in Bamberg

Hundert Jahre jünger — sie stammen aus dem Anfang des 11. Jh. — sind die beiden Blätter eines Plenarmissale in der Staatl. Bibliothek in Bamberg, Fragmentenmappe IX A (2)<sup>1</sup>. Sie gehören im wesentlichen zum Typus der beiden Darmstädter Fragmente. Die Seiten sind wie bei diesen in zwei Kolonnen (zu je 31 Zeilen) beschrieben. Durch Zufall ist zu Beginn die gleiche Partie erhalten (Felix, Marcellus), sodass uns eine Vergleichsmöglichkeit gegeben ist. Die Schrift der beiden Blätter (es handelt sich um ein Doppelblatt) ist z.T. stark verwischt. Diese beinhalten folgenden Text :

### 1. <SCI FELICIS>

...V. Dixit dominus domino meo sede a dextris meis. ALL. Inueni dauid.

SEQ. S. EUG. SCDM LUCAM. In illo tempore dixit ihs discipulis suis. Qui uos audit ... nomina uestra scripta sunt in celis. (Luc 10,16-20)

OF. Gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.

SEC. Hostias tibi dne beati felicis confessoris tui dicatas meritis benignus assume. & ad perpetuum nobis tribue prouenire subsidium. per (= H 19,2)

Co. Posuisti domine in capite eius coronam de lapide pretioso.

POST COM. Qs dne salutaribus repleti misteriis. ut cuius sollemnia celebramus. [1<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] eius orationibus adiuuemur. per (= H 19,3)

ALIA. Scorum precibus confidentes qs dne. ut per ea quae sumpsimus aeterna remedia capiamus. per (= S 120)

### 2. XVII KL FEBR SCI MARCELLI PP

Statuit ei dns testamentum pacis et principem fecit eum. ut sit illi sacerdotii dignitas in aeternum. P. Memento dne dauid.

<sup>1</sup> Erstmalig kurz bekannt gemacht von GAMBER, *Codices* Nr. S. 534.

OR. Preces populi tui qs dne clementer exaudi. ut beati marcelli martyris tui atque pontificis meritis adiuuemur. cuius passione letamur. per (= H 20,1)

R. Inueni dauid seruum meum oleo sco unxi eum. manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei et brachium meum adiuuabit eum. V. Nichil proficiet inimicus in eo et filius iniquitatis non nocebit ei.

ALLELUIA. V. Elegit eum dominus in sacerdotem sibi in populo suo.

OF. Veritas mea et misericordia mea cum ipso et in nomine exaltabitur cornu eius.

SEC. Suscipe qs dne munera dignanter oblata. & beati marcelli suffragantibus meritis. ad nrae salutis auxilium prouenire concede. per (= H 20,2)

Co. Domine quinque talenta tradidisti mihi ecce alia quinque superlucratus sum. euge serue bone et fidelis quia super pauca fuisti fidelis super multa te constituam intra in gaudium domini tui.

POST COM. Satiasti dne familiam tuam muneribus sacris. eius qs semper interuentione nos refove. cuius sollemnia celebramus. per (= H 20,3)

### 3. XV KL FEBR. SCE PRISCE [1<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte]

AN. Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum et non confundebar et meditabor in mandatis tuis quae dilexi nimis. P. Beati immaculati.

OR. Da qs omps ds. ut qui beatę priscę martyris tuę natalicia colimus. & annua sollemnitate letemur. & tantę fidei proficiamus exemplo. per (= H 21,1)

R. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna.

V. Audi filia et uide et inclina aurem tuam quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam. Alleluia. V. Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna.

OF. Filiae regum in honore tuo astitit regina a dextris tuis in uestitu deaurato circumdata uarietate.

SEC. Hostias dne qs quas in scorum tuorum nataliciis recentes offerimus & et uincula nrę prauitatis absoluant. & tuę nobis misericordię dona concilient. per (= H 21,2)

Co. Feci iudicium et iustitiam domine non calumnientur michi superbi. ad omnia mandata tua dirigebar omnem uiam iniquitatis odio habui.

POST COM. Qs dne salutaribus repleti misteriis. ut cuius sollemnia celebramus. eius orationibus adiuuemur. per (= H 21,3)

## 4. XIII KL FEBR. NAT MARIE &amp; MARTHE

Exaudi dne populum tuum cum scarum tuarum marię et marthę patrociniū supplicantem. ut temporalis uitę nos tribuas pace gaudere. & aeternę repperire subsidium. per (= S 135)  
 SEC. Preces dne tuorum respice oblatio- [1<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte] -nesque fidelium. ut & tibi gratę sint pro tuarum festiuitate sanctarum marię et marthę. & nobis conferant tuę propitiationis auxilium. per (= S 136)

POST COM. Scarum tuarum dne marię et marthę intercessione placatus. presta qs ut quę temporali celebramus actione. perpetua saluatione capiamus. per (= S 137)

## 5. XIII KL FEBR. SCORUM FABIANI &amp; SEBASTIANI

AN. Intret in conspectu tuo domine gemitus compeditorum redde uicinis nr̄is septuplum in sinu eorum uindica sanguinem scorum tuorum qui effusus est. P. Ds uenerunt.

OR. Infirmitatem nram respice omps ds. & quia pondus proprię actionis grauatur. beati fabiani martyris tui atque pontificis. intercessio gloriosa nos protegat. per (= H 22,1)

ALIA. Ds qui beatum sebastianum martyrem tuum uirtute constantię roborasti. ex eius nobis imitatione tribue pro amore tuo prospera mundi despicere. & nulla eius aduersa formidare. per (= H 23,1)

LEC.EPLE.B.PAU.APLIAD EBREOS. Fr̄s. Sci per fidem uicerunt regna ... (Hebr 11,33 ss.)

*(Lücke von mehreren Blättern!)*

[2<sup>r</sup> linke Spalte] ... precibus indulgentiam consequamur. per (= S 695)

## 6. ID.APR. SCE EUFEMIE

Concede qs op̄ms ds scę martyris tuę eufemię. & exultare meritis. & beneficia referre suffragiis. per (= S 696)

SEC. Muneribus dne te magnificamus oblati. quae sollemnitate scę eufemię & gaudia sempiterna concilies. & patrocina sempiterna largiaris. per (= S 698)

POST COM. Scę nos martyris eufemię precatio tibi dne grata comitetur. & tuam nobis indulgentiam poscere non desistat. per (= S 700)

## 7. XVIII.KAL.MAI. SCORUM TIBURTII & VALERIANI

AN. Sci tui dne benedicent te gloriam regni tui dicent alleluia. P.  
Exaltabo te ds rex ms. †

OR. Presta qs omps ds. ut qui scorum tuorum tiburtii & ualeriani atque maximi sollemnia colimus eorum etiam uirtutes imitemur. per (= H 98,1)

ALLELUIA. V. Sci tui dne benedicent te gloriam regni tui dicent.  
OF. Laetamini in domino & exultate.

SEC. Hostias has qs dne quas in scorum tuorum natalitiis recensentes offerimus. & uincula nrę prauitatis absoluant. & tuę nobis misericordię dona concilient. per (= H 98,2)

Co. Gaudete iusti in domino alleluia. rectos decet collaudatio alleluia.

POST COM. Sacro munere satiati supplices te dne deprecamur. ut quod debite seruitutis celebramus officio. salua- [2<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] -tionis tuę sentiamus augmentum. per (= H 98,3)

## 8. VIII.KL.MAI. SCI GEORGII MART

AN. Protexisti me ds a conuentu malignantium alleluia. a multitudine operantium iniquitatem alleluia alleluia. P. Exaudi ds orationem meam cum deprecor.

OR. Ds qui nos beati georgi martyris tui. meritis & intercessionem letificas. concede propitius. ut qui eius beneficia poscimus. dono(!) tuę gratię consequamur. per (= H 99,1)

LEC.LIB.SAP. Iustum deduxit dns per uias rectas ... & dedit illi claritatem aeternam dns ds nr. (Sap. 10,10-14)

ALLELUIA. V. Confitebuntur celi mirabilia tua [2<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte] et ueritatem tuam in ecclesia scorum. Alleluia. V. Gaudete iusti in dno rectos decet collaudatio.

SEQ.S.EUG.SCD.IOH. In ill.t. Dixit ihs discipulis suis. Ego sum uitis uera & uos palmites ... ut gaudium meum in uobis sit. & gaudium uestrum impleatur. (Joh 15,5-11)

OF. Confitebuntur celi mirabilia tua dne et ueritatem tuam in ecclesia sanctorum. alleluia alleluia.

SEC. Munera dne oblata scifica. & intercedente beato georgio martyre tuo. nos per haec a peccatorum nrorum [2<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte] maculis emunda. per (= H 99,2)

Co. (*nicht zu lesen*)

POST COM. Supplices te rogamus omps ds. ut quos tuis reficis sacramentis. intercedente beato georgio martyre tuo. tibi etiam placitis moribus dignanter tribuas deseruire. per

### 9. IIIL.KL.MAI. SCI VITALIS MART

AN. Protexisti me ds a conuentu. P. Exaudi ds.

OR. Presta qs omps ds. ut intercedente beato uitale martyre tuo. & a cunctis aduersitatibus liberemur in corpore. & a prauis cogitationibus mundemur in mente. per (= H 101,1)

EPL. Iustum deduxit dns. Alleluia. V. Confitebuntur

SEQ.S.EU.SCD.IOH. In illo t. Dixit ihs discipulis suis. Ego sum uitis uera. & pater meus agricola est ... (Joh 15,1 ss.)  
(*Schluss der Fragmente!*)

Der Vergleich zwischen dem Darmstädter und dem Bamberger Fragment zeigt deutlich, dass letzteres eine jüngere Stufe der Entwicklung darstellt. Während in den beiden gemeinsamen Formularen die Gesangs- und Lesetexte weitgehend übereinstimmen, sind im Bamberger Fragment die eigenen Präfationen verschwunden. Die Orationen sind in allen Fällen, in denen es möglich war, vollständig denen in den Gregoriana-Handschriften angepasst. Einige Lesarten sind beachtenswert. Nur in einem Fall, am Fest des hl. Felix, ist eine « Alia » erhalten, die wiederum im Darmstädter Fragment fehlt. Gemeinsam mit diesem hat das Bamberger Doppelblatt Formulare aus den Jungelasiana aufgenommen.

Anstelle der Bezeichnung « oblatio » finden wir hier die übliche Überschrift « secreta ». Zusammen mit dem Titel « post communionem » darf diese als ravenntisch gelten<sup>2</sup>. In der Umgebung Ravennas müssen wir wohl auch die Heimat des ehemaligen Liturgiebuches suchen.

Weiterhin ist zu bemerken : Da es sich um ein Doppelblatt handelt, in dem auf die Heiligen des Monats Januar in der einen Hälfte des Fragments gleich die Heiligen des April auf der anderen Hälfte folgen, könnte es sich um das Aussen-

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. K. GAMBER, *Secreta*, in : *Ephem. lit.* 83 (1969) 485-487.



blatt einer Lage gehandelt haben. Ferner folgt daraus, dass in unserm Plenarmissale Sanctorale und Temporale getrennt gewesen waren, da auf den fehlenden Zwischenblättern nur für wenige Formulare Platz vorhanden war, niemals aber für die ganze Fasten- und Osterzeit.

Dass es sich bei den meisten erhaltenen italienischen Plenarmissale-Fragmenten um keinen in jeder Hinsicht einheitlichen Messbuch-Typus mehr handelt, wenn sie auch auf einen solchen zurückgehen dürften, zeigen die folgenden Fragmente, die im Sammel-Codex 2217 der Universitätsbibliothek in Bologna aufbewahrt werden. Sie scheinen jedoch trotz ihres z.T. nur geringen Umfangs nicht ohne Bedeutung zu sein, da sie den Weg zu den jüngeren Voll-Handschriften zeigen. Diese müssen erst noch näher untersucht werden.

## 28. Zwei Plenarmissale-Fragmente in Bologna

Im Cod. 2217 der Universitätsbibliothek in Bologna sind eine Reihe interessanter Fragmente vereinigt, darunter auch einige Bruchstücke von Plenarmissalien, die alle aus der näheren oder weiteren Umgebung von Bologna stammen dürften. Von den beiden Fragmenten, die wir nun bringen werden, stammt das erste (ein Doppelblatt) aus dem 10./11. Jh., das zweite (ebenfalls ein Doppelblatt) aus dem 11./12. Beide zeigen wie die voraus behandelten Fragmente eine Anlage der Seiten in zwei Kolumnen <sup>1</sup>.

Das erste Doppelblatt (fol. 175 und 176) ist am unteren und oberen Rand etwas beschnitten. Die Blätter waren ehemals 36-zeilig beschrieben; es fehlen jetzt 5 Zeilen. Folgender Text ist erhalten:

### 1. <NL SCI LAURENTI. MISSA MANE PRIMA>

<Excita dne in ecclesia tua> spm. cui beatus laurentius leuita seruiuit. ut eodem nos replente studeamus amare quod amauit. & opere exercere quod docuit. per (= H 142,1)

<sup>1</sup> Nicht in GAMBER, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores* erwähnt.

SEC. Sacrificium tibi dne qs beati laurentii copiosa sca concili&. ut cuius honore sollempniter exhibetur. meritis efficiatur acceptum. per (= H 142,2)

AD COM. Supplices te rogamus omps ds. ut quos donis celestibus satiasti. intercedente beato laurentio martyre tuo. perpetua protectione custodi. per

## 2. ITEM AD MISSAM. EODEM DIE. NL SCI(!) VII DORMIENTES

Confessio & pulchritudo in conspectu eius. scitas & magnificentia in scificatione eius. Ps. Cantate dno canticum nouum.

Da nobis qs omps ds. uitiorum nrorum flammas extinguere. qui beato laurentio martyre tuo tribuisti. tormentorum suorum incendia superare. per (= H 143,1)

Magnificantes dne clementiam tuam supplices exoramus. ut qui scorum martyrum septem dormientium crebis festiuitatibus cupimus interesse. perpetuis mereamur gaudere consortiis. per

LEC.EP.BI.PA.APLIAD. CORIN. Frs. Qui parce seminat parce ... [1<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] ... & augebit incrementa frugum iustitiae urae. (2 Cor 9,6-10)

Gr. Probasti dne cor meum & uisitasti nocte. V. Igne me examinasti. & non est inuenta in me iniquitas. All. Beatus uir qui tim& dnm in mandatis eius cupit nimis.

SQ.SCI.EU.SCDM IOH. In illo tempore. Dixit ihs discipulis suis. Amen amen dico uobis. Nisi granum ... honorificauit eum pater meus qui est in celis. (Joh 12,24-26)

OFF. Confessio & pulchritudo in conspectu eius scitas & magnificentia in scificatione eius.

SEC. Accipe qs dne munera dignanter oblata. & beati laurentii suffragantibus meritis. ad nrę salutis auxilium prouenire concede. per (= H 143,2)

ALIA. Suscipe dne qs in commemoratione martyrum tuorum septem dormientium hostiam placationis et laudis ... (*es fehlen einige Zeilen*) [1<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte]

UD ęterne ds. In die sollempnitatis hodiernę. qua beati laurentii hostiam placitam & castam corporis glorioso certamine suscepisti. Prunis namque superposita stridebant membra uiuentia., Nec tamen erat pena patientis martyris. sed pię con-

fessionis incessus., Neque terreno liberari cruciato martyr optabat. sed coronari deprecabatur in celis. per xpm dnm nrm (= S 1067)

Co. Qui mihi ministrat. me sequatur. & ubi ego sum illic & minister ms erit.

AD COM. Sacro munere satiati. supplices te dne deprecamur. ut quod debite seruitutis celebramus officio. intercedente beato laurentio martyre tuo. saluationis tue sentiamus augmentum. per (= H 143,3)

ALIA. Adesto dne populo tuo. ut quem scorum tuorum frequentationibus tribuis interesse. protectione perpetua fac securum. per

OR. AD VESPR. Ds cuius caritatis ardore. beatus laurentius edaces incendii flammis contempto persecutore deuicit., Concede ut omnes qui martyrii eius merita ueneramur protectionis tue auxilio protegatur (= H 143,4, S 1069)

Ds mundi creator & rector. qui hunc diem in leuitate tui laurentii martyris consecrasti., Concede propitius. ut omnes qui martyrii eius merita ueneramur. intercessionibus eius ab eternis ... (= S 1065) (*es fehlen einige Zeilen*) [1<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte]

### 3. <M.AUG.D.XI.NL SCI TIBURTII>

< Iustus ut palma florebit sicut cedrus libani multiplicabitur. plantatus in domo> dni in atris domus di nri. Ps. Bonum est.

Beati tiburtii nos dne foueant continuata presidia. quia non desinis propitius intueri. quos alibus(1) auxiliis concesseris adiuuari. per (= H 144,1)

ALIA. Tribue qs dne scam martyrem tuam susannam iugiter orare pro nobis. & semper clementer audiri. per

EP. & eug. Rq. in nl. unius mar. GR. Posuisti super caput eius. V. Desiderium anime eius tribuisti ei. All. Beatus uir qui timet dnm. OFF. In uirtute tua dne letabitur iustus.

SEC. Adesto dne precibus populi tui. adesto muneribus. ut que sacris sunt oblata mysteriis. tuorum tibi placeant intercessione scorum. per (= H 144,2)

ALIA. Pro beate martyri tue susanne ueneranda passione. sacrificia tibi suppliciter immolamus. eius orationibus placitura. pro cuius meritis offeruntur. per

Co. Posuisti dne super.

AD COM. Sumpsimus dne pignus redemptionis eterne. sit nobis qs interueniente beato tiburtio martyre tuo uite presentis auxilium pariter & future. per (= H 144,3)

ALIA. Exaudi nos omps & misericors ds. & sce martyris tue susanne nos ubique tuere presidiis. per

#### 4. M.AUG.D.XII. NL SCI EUPLI. ET GRATILIANI. ET LEUCI

Omps sempiterne ds qui in scorum tuorum eupli. leuci. & gratiliani ... (*Rest weggeschnitten*!) [2<sup>r</sup> linke Spalte]

SECR. Accepta sit tibi dne sacrate plebis oblatio. pro tuorum honore scorum. pro quorum meritis & offerimus. per

AD COM. Celestibus refecti sacramentis & gaudiis. supplices te rogamus dne. ut quorum gloriamur triumphis. protegatur auxiliis. per

#### 5. MEN.AUG.DIES XIII. NL SCI YPOLITI

Iusti epulentur & exultent in conspectu di & delectentur in letitia.  
Ps. Exurgat ds et dissipentur.

Da nobis qs omps ds. ut beati ypoliti martyris tui ueneranda sollempnitas. & deuotionis nobis augeat & salutem. per (= H 145,1)

LEC.LIB.SAPIENT. Iustum deduxit dns per uiam rectam ... (*der Schluss und das Graduale weggeschnitten*) (Sap 10,10-14) [2<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte]

SQ.SCI.EU.SCDM.LUC. In illo tempore. Dixit ihs discipulis suis. Adtendite uobis(!) a fermento pharisaeorum ... & filius hominis confitebitur illum coram angelis di. (Luc 12,1-8)

OFF. Letamini in dno & exultate iusti & gloriamini.

SECR. Respice dne munera populi tui scorum festiuitate uotiu. & tue testificatio ueritatis nobis proficiant(!) ad salutem. per (= H 145,2)

Co. Dico autem uobis amicis meis ne terremini ab his qui uos persequuntur.

AD COM. Sacramentorum tuorum dne communio sumpta nos saluet & in tue ueritatis ... (= H 145,3) (*Rest weggeschnitten*) [2<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte]

6. <MEN. AUG. XIII. VIGILIA  
ADSUMPTIONIS SÇE MARIE>

< Vultum tuum deprecabuntur> V. Eructauit cor meum uerbum.  
V. Specie tua. †

Ds qui uirginalem aulam beatę marię in qua habitares eligere dignatus est., Da qs. ut sua nos defensione munitos. iucundos faciat suę interesse festiuitatis(!). per dnm nrm (= H 147,1)  
Ds qui nos beati eusebii confessoris tui annua sollempnitate letificas., Concede propitius. ut cuius natalicia colimus. per eius ad te exempla gradiamur. per (= H 146,1)

LEC.LIB.SAP. Sapientia uincit malitia., Adtingit ergo usque ad fines. usque ad finem fortiter. & disponit omnia suauiter., Hanc amaui. & exquisiui a iuuentute mea : & amator factus sum formę illius., Generositatem clarificat. contubernium di habens. sed dns omnium dilexit eam. doctrix est enim disciplinę di (Sap 7,30 ; 8,1-4a)

GR. Audi filia & uide. & inclina aurem tuam. quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam. V. Specie tua & pulcritudine tua intende.

SCDM MATHEUM. In illo temp. Exurgens maria habiit in montana cum festinatione ... [2<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte] ... & exultauit spiritus meus in do salutari meo. (Luc 1,39-47)

OFF. Filiae regum in honore tuo. astat regina a dextris tuis in uestitu deaurato. circumamicta uarietate.

SEC. Magna est dne apud clementiam tuam di genetricis oratio. quam idcirco de pręsenti seculo transtulisti. ut pro peccatis nris apud te fiducialiter intercedat. per (= H 147,2)  
ALIA. Laudis tuę dne hostias immolamus. in tuorum commemoratione scorum. quibus nos & presentis exuis(!) malis. confidimus et futuris. per (= H 146,2)

Co. Simile regnum celorum homini negotiatori querenti bona(!) margaritas. inuenta autem una pretiosa margarita. dedit omnia sua & comparauit.

AD COM. Concede nobis misericors ds fragilitatis nrę subsidium. ut qui sçę di genetricis requiem celebramus. intercessionis eius auxilio. a nris iniquitatibus resurgamus. per (= H 147,3)  
ALIA. Refecti cibo potuque cęlesti ds nr. Te supplices exoramus. ut cuius hęc commemoratione percepimus. eius muniamur & precibus. per (= H 146,3)

7. M.AUG.D.XV. ADSUMPTIO SCE MARIE.  
MISSA MANE PRIMA

Famulorum tuorum delictis ignosce. & qui placere tibi de actibus ... (= H 149,1)

(Schluss des Doppelblatts!)

Wie durch die obige Edition deutlich geworden ist, handelt es sich um ein inneres Doppelblatt einer Lage. Es beinhaltet 7 Formulare vom 10. bis zum 15. August. Diese vermitteln einen interessanten Einblick in den Aufbau der Messbücher, wie sie um das Jahr Tausend in der Gegend von Bologna üblich waren. Leider ist bis jetzt keine entsprechende Voll-Handschrift ausfindig gemacht worden. Dies ist der Grund, warum hier diese kleinen Bruchstücke so ausführlich behandelt werden. Sie stehen stellvertretend für einen Typus, der als Ganzes leider verlorengegangen ist. Es sind nur solche Exemplare erhalten geblieben, die dem späteren « Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curiae » ähnlich waren.

Unser zweites Doppelblatt, das gegenüber dem eben edierten etwas jünger ist, trägt im Sammel-Codex 2217 von Bologna die Folio-Zahlen 171 und 174. Es ist hauptsächlich wegen der « Mane prima » Messe am Johannes-Fest interessant. Der Text beginnt mitten im Evangelium der Vigilmesse:

1.

... in diebus suis. Factum est autem cum sacerdotio fungeretur zacharias ... [1<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] ... Parare dno plebem perfectam. (Luc 1,5-17)

OFF. Gloria & honore coronasti eum & constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum dne.

SEC. Munera dne oblata scifica. & intercedente beato iohanne baptista. nos per hęc a peccatorum nrorum maculis emunda. per (= H 123,2)

COM. Magna est gloria eius in salutari tuo. magnum decorem impone super eum dne.

POST COM. Beati iohannis baptiste nos dne preclara comite-tur oratio. & quem uenturum esse praedixit. poscat nobis ab eo remedium sempiternum. per (cf. H 123,3)

AD VESP. Ds qui nos annua beati iohannis baptiste sollempnia frequentare concedis. presta qs. ut deuotis eadem mentibus celebamus. ut eius patrocinio promerente. plene capiamus securitatis augmentum. per ¶ (= H 125,8)

## 2. MISSA MANE PRIMA

Iustus ut palma florebit sicut cedrus libani multiplicabitur plantatus in domo dni in atriis domus di nri. P. Bonum est confiteri. [1<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte]

OR. Concede qs omipts ds ut qui beati iohannis baptiste sollempnia colimus. eius apud te intercessionibus adiuuemur. per (= H 124,1)

L.LIB.SAPIENTIE. Qui timent dnm non erunt incredibiles uerbo illius ... usque ad inspectionem anime illius. (Eccli 2,18-21)

GR. Iustus ut palma florebit sicut cedrus libani multiplicabitur in domo dni. V. Ad annuntiandum mane misericordiam tuam & ueritatem tuam per noctem. All. V. Tu puer propheta altissimi uocaberis preibis ante dnm parare uias eius.

S.S.LUCAM. In illo temp. Respondens autem zacharias dixit ad angelum. Ego enim [1<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte] sum senex ... quia respexit auferre obprobrium meum <inter homines> (Luc 1,18-25)

(*Lücke von mehreren Blättern*!)

## 3. <IN OCTAVAS APOSTOLORUM> [2<sup>r</sup> linke Spalte]

... turbati sunt dicentes quia fantasma est ... & adorauerunt dicentes. uere filius di es. (Matth 14,22-33)

OFF. Beatus es symon petre quia caro et sanguis non reuelauerunt tibi sed pater ms qui in celis est.

SEC. Offerimus tibi dne preces & munera. que ut tuo sint digna conspectui [2<sup>r</sup> rechte Spalte] apostolorum petri & pauli precibus adiuuemur. per (= H 131,2)

Co. Dne si tu es iube me uenire ad te super aquas & extendens manum apprehendit eum & dixit ihs modice fidei quare dubitasti.

POST COM. Protege dnm populum tuum. & apostolorum tuorum petri & pauli patrocinio confidentem. perpetua defensione conserua. per (= S 984)

## 4. VI.ID.IUL.NATL SCORUM VII FRATRUM

Laudate pueri dnm laudate nomen dni qui habitare facit sterilem in domo matrem filiorum letantem. V. Sit nomen dni.

OR. Presta qs omipts ds ut qui gloriosos martyres ianuarium. sylanum. simprosianum. felicem. phyllippum. uitalem. martialem. atque beatissimam felicitatem fortes in sua confessione cognouimus. pios apud te in nra intercessione sentiamus. per (cf. S 986)

AD ROMANOS. Frs. Quis nos separabit a karitate xpi ... [2<sup>v</sup> linke Spalte] ... quę est in xpo dno nro. (Rom 8,35-39)

GR. Anima nra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo uenantium. V. Laqueus contritus est & nos liberati sumus. All. V. Laudate pueri dnm.

S.MATHM. In illo temp. Loquente ihu ad turbas. ecce mater eius ... [2<sup>v</sup> rechte Spalte] ... ipse ms frater. soror & mater est. (Matth 12,46-50)

OFF. Anima nra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo uenantium laqueus contritus est & nos liberati sumus.

SEC. Sacrificiis praesentibus dne qs intende placatus. ut intercedentibus scis tuis deuotioni nrę proficiant & saluti. per (= S 987)

Co. Quicumque fecerit uolutatem patris mei qui in celis est ipse ms frater soror & mater est.

POST COM. Qs omipts ds ut illius salutaris capiamus effectum. cuius per hęc mysteria pignus accepimus. per (= S 989)

##### 5. ID.IUL. S. QUIRICI & IULITTE

OR. Omipts sempt ds fortitudo certantium & martyrum palma. sollempnitatem hodiernę diei propitius intueri. & ęcclesiam tuam fac celebritate letari. et intercessione beati quirici martyris tui. omnium in te credentium uota proficiant. per  
(*Schluss des Doppelblatts!*)

Auffällig ist in diesem relativ späten Fragment die Postcommunio am Oktavtag von Peter und Paul (Formular 3). Anstelle der zu erwartenden Formel aus H 131,3 steht die entsprechende aus den Junggelasiana (S. 984). Dies zeigt neben dem unmittelbar folgenden Formular « VII Fratrum », dass unser ehemaliges Liturgiebuch demselben Typus wie die voraus besprochenen Fragmente angehört, in dem Formulare bzw. Formeln aus den Gregoriana mit solchen aus den Junggelasiana vermischt sind.



# **The Medieval 'Easter Vespers of the Roman Clergy**

by

S.J.P. VAN DIJK †

(London)

## **INTRODUCTION**

Although the search for data of the Old-Roman rite is only in its infancy, the geographical and chronological horizons of the problem Old-Roman - Gregorian are receding with great speed <sup>1</sup>. All this makes the field of study not just wider and more intricate, it also foments suspicion concerning the standard interpretations of the past. The long-standing directness and plainness of the records are slowly making place for more historical depth and relativity, the fortunate result of an increasing awareness of the cultural concepts underlying medieval christianity.

A renewed survey even of well-known texts has become imperative. The success of such surveys depends, for a great deal, upon new, original approach and thought. Yet they must still leave the sources to integrate themselves within their historical background. An assumed theory or hypothetical outlook may inspire a line of inquiry, but the renewed observation should still consist of noting phenomena without disturbing them. It should not provide the ultimate, modern

<sup>1</sup> VAN DIJK, «Recent developments in the study of the Old-Roman rite», in *Studia patristica. VIII. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, vol. 93, Berlin 1966, 299 ff. A new field was opened up by B. STÄBLEIN, 'Der «altromische» Choral in Oberitalien und im deutschen Süden', in *Die Musikforschung* xix, 1966, 3-9.

answer to a particular document to which, subsequently, all others are made subservient.

In the « Essays presented to Egon Wellesz »<sup>1</sup> professor J. Smits van Waesberghe contributes such a re-assessing survey of the Old-Roman evening stations during the Easter octave. He analyses their musical organisation as found in the late-11th/early-12th-century gradual of the Lateran, Rome, VL, Vat.lat.5319,<sup>2</sup> and attempts to establish their character and origin with the aid of an account by Amalar of Metz (834-8) and of some *Ordines Romani*. In doing so, he presents the entire complex of evidence as favourable to his theory that the Old-Roman style of chant was of papal origin, while the Gregorian originated in Roman monasticism. As the article opens with the name of and a quotation from Amalar and concludes with a chronological scheme in which both the Old-Roman and Gregorian styles are derived from a common, Old-Italian type of chant at c. 665, one can scarcely avoid the impression that the theory hinges upon this particular case of the Easter octave. Even the manner in which further, apparently unrelated issues are dealt with suggests that, also in the author's mind, his own as well as any other theory stands or falls with the particular passage of Amalar's *De ordine antiphonarii*.

<sup>1</sup> *Essays presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. J. Westrup, Oxford 1966, J. SMITS v. WAESBERGHE, « De glorioso Officio ... dignitate apostolica (Amalarius). Zum Aufbau der Grosz Alleluia in den päpstlichen Oster-vespern », 48-73. Cited below as « Aufbau ».

<sup>2</sup> J. SMITS v. WAESBERGHE, « Das gegenwärtige Geschichtsbild der mittelalterlichen Musik », in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XLVIII, 1964, 2, drew attention to 4 more details confirming its Lateran origin. The idea of R. J. SNOW in W. APEL, *Gregorian chant*, London [1958], 485, that the presence of the Easter vespers in this manuscript vouchsafes or confirms its Lateran origin is liturgically unacceptable. In agreement with my theory, it must antedate the arrival of the canons from S. Frediano, Lucca, and the establishment of their liturgy in the basilica. But the community appears to have encountered many difficulties in its early years. Hence the manuscript cannot be dated more accurately along these lines. See K. GAMBER, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, in *Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia* 1, 2nd ed., Fribourg (Sw) 1968, no. 1377. Quoted as CLLA.

Although this way of dealing with a subject of such vast proportions must appear like putting all one's eggs in a single basket, the following pages are not mainly concerned with the accuracy or tenability of van Waesberghe's thesis. Nor are they primarily meant to vindicate my own theory, which regards Old-Roman as the Latin chant and liturgy of the ancient and medieval church of Rome, and Gregorian as belonging to a new idea and style of papal liturgy<sup>1</sup>. My purpose is, foremost, to illustrate how the inquiry into the history of these two, for both of us,<sup>2</sup> Roman styles of chant and worship is gravely endangered by indiscriminate application of modern logic and theory to the testimony of Amalar.

Although his work remains, indeed, of the utmost importance for the study of early-medieval Roman customs, it may still not be exalted above any other. Amalar should be assessed on equal terms with his contemporaries. Unfortunately, he did not speak their common cultural language. And it is precisely for this reason that he has left us a source that requires careful handling. Amalar's role among his contemporaries lay in the field of pastoral liturgy. But he gave it a special direction, thus creating a fashion in liturgical theology that lasted for centuries. Yet, his importance for present-day historical studies does not lie here. It is found in what was, to him, only a *conditio sine qua non*, namely that he had to use and to comment upon liturgical data and documents available in his days. This necessity neither did nor does make him into a 9th-century historian. On the contrary, the information he furnishes must be carefully selected from a mass of pastoral and spiritual applications. And here the danger of modern Hineininterpretierung is not far off.

Amalar plays fast and loose with, what we would call, facts and fiction. Revealing the deeper meaning of the material, to the medieval mind, basically evil world, symbols and

<sup>1</sup> See VAN DIJK, «The urban and papal rites in seventh- and eighth-century Rome», in *Sacris Erudiri* [SE] XII, 1961, 441 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the earlier literature see «Urban and papal rites», 412 f., where C. A. MOBERG, «Gregorianische Reflexionen», in *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés* II, Barcelona 1958-61, 559-83, is not mentioned.

allegories belonged so much to contemporary life that the listener did not usually ask for nor see distinctions between historical and spiritual realities. To present-day research, however, such distinctions are fundamental. Without them every pursuit into the historicity of sources is wide open to the danger of mistaking logic for fact and symbol for history, thus being doomed to failure.

In a recent assessment P. Borella <sup>1</sup> described the mystico-allegorical method of interpretation as almost totally subjective, arbitrary and fantastic. Notwithstanding the best intentions of the authors, it is [to us] unsatisfactory because it presents itself as foreign to the [better : our] reality of texts, ceremonies and things. Elsewhere <sup>2</sup> I have drawn attention to an instance where Amalar's verbose and allegorical treatment of the documents creates confusion and tends to mislead the modern reader. This enigmatic and elusive side of Amalar is well known to Smits van Waesberghe. His skillful intervention in the heated debate on « Gregorian with castagnets » <sup>3</sup> made this more than patent. Hence one ponders : why does his present contribution to an equally fascinating but wider and more complex subject show defects similar to those which he once laid bare with such acumen ?

In these circumstances the value of Amalar's testimony for the study of the Easter evensongs and, consequently, of the Old-Roman rite and chant needs now, more than ever, further investigation.

As Amalar's interest in matters of chant was never very great, this investigation must necessarily consider liturgical issues. But these belong to one of the most striking records of musical life among the medieval Roman clergy. And the musicological facets seem to come to life only against their social and liturgical background. Hence I intend to analyse

<sup>1</sup> Review of H. HAACKE's ed. of Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de divinis Officiis*, in EL LXXXII, 1968, 45.

<sup>2</sup> « Urban and papal rites », 441 f.

<sup>3</sup> J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, « Gregoriaansch met castagnetten... De « tabulae » van Amalarius... », in *Gregoriusblad* LVI, 1931, 29-32, 47-52, 259-62 ; Idem, « Chant grégorien et castagnettes », in *Revue du chant grégorien* XXXVI, 1932, 39-48, 84-8, 111-4 ; separate ed. Grenoble 1933.

the background to Amalar's account, viz. such sources as the sacramentaries and the *Ordines Romani*, secondly, the structure, content and performance of the Latin and Greek major Alleluias, thirdly, Amalar's account itself, and fourthly, Smits van Waesberghe's reconstruction of the relevant facts. A few details which do not directly fit into this scheme are collected under the title *Stromata*.

## I THE EARLY SACRAMENTARIES

The Hadrianum is undoubtedly among the oldest sources with material relevant to the present subject. The still debated issue whether its model was compiled by Gregory the Great does not directly concern us here. But two subsidiary points should be considered before this and other sacramentaries are brought into the discussion of the Easter octave, namely 1. the character and purpose of the Hadrianum and possibly of its model ; 2. the definite date that can be assigned to the oldest known records of the Easter vespers.

Where at first the Hadrianum and the supposedly underlying Gregorianum were termed as Roman or *stadtrömisch*,<sup>1</sup> in the last decades it has become more and more accepted to speak of them as « the station sacramentary of Gregory I », or « the Roman station book » or « the papal station sacramentary »<sup>2</sup>. Much is also made of Hadrian I's assertion in a letter (784-91) to Charlemagne that its content was unadulterated, unmixed (*inmixtum*), as opposed to a mixed sacramentary, presumably used in the Roman title churches<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., K. MOHLBERG - A. BAUMSTARK, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche*, in *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen*, Heft 11/12, Münster 1927 (repr. 1967), 5\* ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., K. GAMBER, *Sakramentartypen. Versuch einer Gruppierung der Handschriften und Fragmente bis zur Jahrtausendwende*, in *Texte und Arbeiten* 1. Abteilung, Heft 49/50, Beuron 1958, 7, 61, 81 ff. ; Idem, *CLLA*, p. 325 ; G. G. WILLIS, *Further essays in early Roman liturgy*, in *Alcuin Club collections* no. 50, London 1968, 197.

<sup>3</sup> GAMBER, *op.cit.*, 7 ; Idem, « Heimat und Ausbildung der Gelasiana saec. VIII (Junggelasiana) », in *SE* xiv, 1963, 128 (with the terms :

That the Hadrianum and its model(s) were station books can now no longer be doubted. But the two adjectives « Roman » and « papal » continue to express the vague notions of bygone days when scholars were still happily ignorant of the complications that were to follow, and precise meaning did not really matter. However, since 1950 musicologists distinguish between papal and urban (or monastic) repertoires in Roman chant <sup>1</sup> from the mid-7th century. By 1958 A. Chavasse had firmly established the complex history of early-medieval Roman liturgy with its successive and contemporary nuances <sup>2</sup>. Since 1961 I myself have argued that the differences between the musical repertoires are only one aspect of a problem, extending over the whole field of Roman liturgy and involving the co-existence of two rites within the City, urban and papal, from the mid-7th to the late-13th century. Consequently, it seems to be high time that the meaning and use of the terms Roman and papal are carefully examined in connection with medieval liturgical documents.

The unique position of authority of the bishop of Rome, the historical importance of the City as a centre of culture, as well as the persistent propaganda for « the » Roman liturgy have caused much confusion. The adjective Roman has been used and too frequently misused in generic meanings which, at times, are equivalent even with western or Latin. But even in its specific, narrowly local or regional sense it has been understood in different ways : as identical with local in a general sense, including both city and papacy, as identical with papal or, lately, with urban alone as opposed to papal. Yet, the term papal too is ambiguous. It may denote things used and actions done by the pope, or rules laid down for or

*stadtrömisch, nach dem Brauch der Stadt Rom*) ; v. WAESBERGHE, « Das gegenwärtige Geschichtsbild... (1964) », in *Kirchenmusikal. Jahrbuch* XLIX, 1965, 10 ; Idem, « Aufbau », 58.

<sup>1</sup> For some more arguments against the thesis of H. HUCKE see B. STÄBLEIN, « Kann der gregorianische Choral im Frankenreich entstanden sein ? », in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* xxiv, 1967, 153-69, where also literature on the development of the studies.

<sup>2</sup> CHAVASSE, *Le sacramentaire gelasien* (Vaticanus Reginensis 316). *Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Desclée [1958] ; see CLLA, p. 299 ff.

followed by him, none of which however were typical of his personality or office. These were only accidentally or *de facto* papal. On the other hand, the term is more strictly applicable to cases in which the object was intentionally made or used, the action purposely devised in order to express the pope's exceptional office as primate of the Church, as Vicar of Christ, etc. Items in this group are intentionally or, if one prefers, by nature papal. In principle, these are not found elsewhere unless applied, adapted or adopted independently of the original intentions. Obviously, the latter are not always clear when it comes to a study of detail. Nor will it always be easy to pigeon-hole everything under the various headings just mentioned. Still, it must be borne in mind that books, ceremonies, chant, functions, prayers and services may be called papal or Roman in one sense but not always in another. Failure to reflect upon the differences will create more and more obstacles to sound communication in this field of scholarship. Roman should be used for local and regional *liturgica* and *musicalia* where the differences between the city and its bishop either did not exist or were of little consequence. Papal is to be reserved for such documents and facts which were a liturgical expression of the pope's exalted place in the western Church, roughly from the mid-7th century onwards. Urban denotes what belonged to the city as opposed to what was typically papal.

OR I is papal in the strictest sense of the word, since it is, in Byzantino-Roman terms<sup>1</sup>, a dramatic revelation of the pope's supreme office as the Vicar of Christ. The earlier and more primitive ritual in the first version of OR XV<sup>2</sup> cannot be called papal in the same sense. A station ceremonial of an outstanding cultural centre, in fact, «the» centre of the West, it is *de facto* papal but only expresses the authority of the bishop of Rome with his *familia*. His western supremacy has not yet found liturgical expression. OR XV therefore

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 339 f. In Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, 412, OR XV actually precedes OR I.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the latest study on the stationary Mass by Willis, *op.cit.*, 16, still regards OR I as the oldest document on the subject; see below, p. 327 f.

contains a Roman, episcopal station Mass which was to develop, in OR I, into a papal one. Below <sup>1</sup> other instances will be mentioned in which « Roman » or even « foreign » grew first into *de facto* and then into intentionally « papal ».

In this light a more precise term for the Hadrianum presents little difficulty. Since it was meant for the stationary liturgy of the City, it was actually a papal book. This inference is confirmed by an occasional rubric <sup>2</sup>:

In sabbato sancto ad reddentes dicit dominus papa ...

However, strictly papal items are rare: the Aachener Urexemplar has a *Benedictio episcoporum* (no. 2) and an *Oratio ad pontificem ordinandum* (no. 226). Its Mass in *natali papae* (no. 198) obviously does not belong to these two; it stamps the book, again, as *de facto* papal. But neither the one nor the other decides the nature of every detail or the overall content of the book. This, in fact, remains pontifical in the same way as Chavasse called the Old-Gelasianum presbyterial, i.e. urban. More important still, the Hadrianum is not even factually papal or intentionally pontifical in an exclusive sense. C. Coebergh <sup>3</sup> has collected many of its numerous elements for presbyterial and episcopal functions. OR II was, in fact, drawn up especially for occasions when bishops or priests celebrated solemnly in the absence of the pope <sup>4</sup>. This provision is also understood in the first rubric of the Hadrianum:

Qualiter missa Romana celebratur hoc est inprimis introitus...  
dicitur *Gloria in excelsis deo*, si episcopus fuerit... a presbitero  
autem minime dicitur nisi solo in pascha...

<sup>1</sup> Pages 340 f., 347 f., 351 f.

<sup>2</sup> Paduanum (no. 74); Aachener Urexemplar, ed. M. LIETZMANN, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar*, in *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen* III, Münster 1921 (repr. 1958), no. 83.

<sup>3</sup> « Notes sur le sacramentaire d'Hadrien (H) », in *Studia patristica* V, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur*, vol. 80, Berlin 1962, 17-24.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines Romani* II, 115 f.



Thus the notion that it was a papal station book and exclusively so <sup>1</sup> should be rejected on more than one ground, at least if one wishes to give the term papal a different meaning from Roman. Furthermore, the Ordines for the Easter vespers show that these vespers were still another clerical element in the station sacramentary. On the other hand, to maintain that it was an urban book has no historical grounds whatsoever<sup>2</sup>. The Hadrianum should be called a Roman station book, used predominantly by the bishop of Rome, though also by other dignitaries taking his place. It is a pontifical rather than a papal book, but even as such not exclusively. Finally, whether it goes back to Gregory I or not, it represents a period for which the distinction between papal and pontifical, from a liturgical aspect, is an anachronism.

A model of the Hadrianum can, with great probability, be traced back to Honorius I (625-38), its latest additions dating from Gregory II (715-31), probable editor of a new sacramentary, and perhaps from Gregory III (731-41) at the latest. The whole series of collects for the Easter vespers is to be found not only in the Hadrianum and its later derivations <sup>3</sup> but also in the still much debated Paduanum, which

<sup>1</sup> K. GAMBER, *Sacramentarium Gregorianum. Das Stationsmessbuch des Papstes Gregor. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion nach hauptsächlich bayerischen Handschriften*, in *Textus patristici et liturgici ... fasc. 4, 6*, Regensburg [1966-7]. GAMBER's thesis that it was a station book of Gregory I made him eliminate everything he believes to be non-papal from the Hadrianum.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. SMITS v. WAESBERGHE, « Das gegenwärtige Geschichtsbild der mittelalterlichen Musik III (1964) », in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XLIX, 1965, 10 ; Idem, « Aufbau », 58, note 2. Starting from suggestions by GAMBER, the term *sacramentarium inmixtum gregorianum* [sic] is in both studies subjected to a play with such expressions as « of the city of Rome » and « of the papal court » in order to arrive at the idea that the Hadrianum was « nach dem Brauch der Stadt Rom (deshalb nicht des päpstlichen Hofes) ». The inference that, therefore, its collects for the Easter vespers cannot be for papal vespers either is, of course, absent. — As for the conversations between Charlemagne and Alcuin, « Aufbau », *loc.cit.*, see J. DESHUSSES, « Le « Supplement » au sacramentaire grégorien : Alcuin ou Saint Benoît d'Aniane ? », in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* IX, 1965, 58 : « On se tromperait lourdement... »

<sup>3</sup> E.g. festive sacramentary of Nonantola ; CLLA, no. 770.

may be based upon an early « Gregorian » model of the (late-) 7th century <sup>1</sup>, and in a contemporary palimpsest fragment of a(nother) pre-Hadrianum of « Gregorian » origin, Montecassino, 271 <sup>2</sup>. Even K. Gamber's attempt <sup>3</sup> at a reconstruction of the original Gregorianum contains all the material under discussion. Below <sup>4</sup> it will be shown that this can, indeed, be linked with the name of Honorius I. Even so, there is still no shadow of positive proof allowing us to go beyond the reign of this pontiff <sup>5</sup>. When therefore I refer to the common, early-7th-century source as the Gregorianum, this is merely for the sake of convenience.

This Gregorianum seems to present a single evening station, entitled *ad vesperum* or *ad vespas*, for the feasts of St Peter (29 June) and of St Andrew (30 Nov.), similar stations with a procession to the (Lateran) baptistry (*ad fontes*) for that of St John Baptist (24 June) and for the first Sunday in Lent, and stations with two processions, one to the baptistry and then to the adjacent chapel of St Andrew (*ad S. Andream*) <sup>6</sup>, on the feast of St John Evangelist (27 Dec.) and throughout the Easter octave. The latter therefore is the most striking example of a custom connected with five of the principal feasts of the City and its liturgical year <sup>7</sup>. The inclusion of an evening station on the feast of John Evangelist confirms the special veneration for this saint, who had a chapel near the Lateran baptistry, built by Hilary (461-8), and two Masses in the Gregorian gradual <sup>8</sup>. The inclusion of the feast of St

<sup>1</sup> For the discussion of its content see CLLA, no. 880.

<sup>2</sup> CLLA, no. 701. Ed. of A. DOLD, *Vom Sakramentar. Comes und Capitulare zum Missale*, 5\* ff.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 269, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Page 275.

<sup>5</sup> CLLA, p. 325, 329, is far less sceptical or rather much too confident.

<sup>6</sup> Also called *ad crucem* since Hilary (461-8) deposited there a relic of the cross; M. ARMELLINI, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX... a cura di C. Cecchelli*, Rome 1942, 138 f.

<sup>7</sup> The 3 collects for vespers in the Old-Gelasianum for the Annunciation and St Lawrence (II, 14, 43) might belong to a similar custom. Both clearly point to Rome.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. R.-J. HESBERT, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Brussels 1935, 18 f. Custom also known to AMALAR, *Liber officialis*, lib. III, cap. 38; ed. J. M. HANSSENS, *Amalarii episcopi opera omnia* II, in

Andrew may well be linked with the veneration Gregory I had for this apostle.

The evening stations during the Easter octave are arranged as follows ; whenever a collect occurs in the Old-Gelasianum a cross reference is added ; the others are proper to the Gregorian tradition ; — M = Montecassino, 271 ; P = Paduanum :

Dominica sancta...

ad s. Iohannem (*om.* M P)

ad vesperum<sup>1</sup> *Concede q o ds ut ... innovatione*

ad fontes *Praesta q o ds ut ... ereptionis* (*om.* M)<sup>2</sup>

ad s. Andream *Praesta q o ds ut qui gratiam*

Feria II ... (*sequentia huius diei om.* M)

ad vesperum, ut supra (*om.* P) *Concede q o ds ut qui pec.*

ad fontes *Concede q o ds ut festa*

ad s. Andream *Deus qui populum tuum*

Feria III ...

ad vesperum *Concede q o ds ut qui paschalia*

ad fontes *Praesta q o ds ut per haec*

ad s. Andream *Deus qui conspicis familiam*

*Studi e testi*, vol. 139, Rome 1950, 375, and continued in the Lateran missal, Rome, Archivio di Stato, arch. del Ssmo Salvatore 997, fol. 29<sup>r</sup> ff. The Gelasianum (I, 7), the Gregorianum and the gospel list II have one Mass ; so has the late-medieval papal sacramentary. When gradual and sacramentary were joined to form the missal of Honorius III, the 2 Masses became part of the court and Regula missals. Haymo of Faversham dropped the first Mass again ; VAN DIJK, «The authentic missal of the papal chapel», in *Scriptorium* XIV, 1960, 303 ; Idem *Sources of the modern Roman liturgy* II, 213. Both Masses are in the Old-Roman tradition of Vat.lat. 5319 ; Florence, bibl. Riccardiana, 299 ; etc.

<sup>1</sup> LIETZMANN, *ed.cit.*, prefers everywhere *vesperos*, but *vesperum* and *vesperas* also occur in the MSS. I take *vesperum* in accordance with M and P, the latter reading *vesperos* only here. — In addition to ed. of Hadriana MSS, I also checked the 9th-cent. copy, London, BM, Add. 16605, fol. 53<sup>v</sup> ff. ; CLLA, no. 734, which at some early stage belonged to Stavelot (like Add. 16606 ; CLLA, no. 1408). Here *vesperos* only on Easter ; *ut supra* on Monday, no station church on Friday ; *Ad fontes* on Low Saturday *del.*

<sup>2</sup> Likely an homoioteleuton ; also e.g. on Monday in the papal sacramentary, Madrid, bibl. nac., 730, where the 1st collect is omitted.

## Feria IIII ...

ad vesperum *Praesta q o ds ut huius paschalis*ad fontes *Deus qui nos per paschalia*ad s. Andream *Trihuc q o ds ut illuc* (Gel. I, 56, 64)

## Feria V ...

ad vesperum *Ds qui nobis ad celebrandum*ad fontes *Da q o ds ecclesia tua*ad s. Andream *Multiplica q dne fidem* (Gel. I, 56)

## Feria VI ...

ad vesperum

in (ad) Hierusalem (om. M) *Ds per quem* (Gel. I, 56)ad fontes *Adesto q dne familiae tuae* (Gel. I, 56)

## Sabbato ...

ad vesperum

in (ad) s. Maria(m) (om. M P) *Ds totius conditor*ad fontes *Ds qui multiplicas ecclesiam* (Gel. I, 50)Die dom.post albas ... (*cetera desunt in M*)

ad vesperum

ad ss. Cosmam & Dámianum (om. P) *Largire q dne fidelibus*<sup>1</sup>alia oratio *Deus qui nos exultantibus* (Gel. I, 52; II, 16)

The first five days have each three stations. Only the Hadrianum places those on Easter Sunday explicitly at the Lateran<sup>2</sup>. But from the common titles *ad fontes* and *ad s. Andream* one must infer that on all these days the ceremonies began at the same basilica. The omission of the Sunday station in M and P may well indicate that the early-7th-century model did not have it. But the absence was only a formal one, since the morning Mass was also at the Lateran; the one title may have been intended for both morning and evening stations. On Friday and Saturday the first station is at St Cross' (Jerusalem) and at St Mary Major's, each followed by a procession to and a single station at their baptistry. Again, the agreement between M and P in omitting the station church on Saturday, and moreover the omission in M on Friday may point to their absence in the model. On Low

<sup>1</sup> Hadrianum also among the *Orationes cotidianae*.

<sup>2</sup> There are obvious exceptions, e.g. sacram. of St-Eloy, Corbie, 2nd half 9th cent.; PL 78, 92 ff.; CLLA, no. 901. — Willis' list of stations, *op.cit.*, 21 ff. ignores the evening stations.

Sunday, missing from the fragment M, the octave concludes with stations in the basilica of Sts Cosmas & Damian. The mention of the church in the Hadrianum, again, seems to be new.

The same series persists in the various types of New-Gelasiana <sup>1</sup>, most of which are in origin older <sup>2</sup> than the Hadrianum. But they contain two remarkably consistent differences. Eight of the New-Gelasian manuscripts listed by Puniet <sup>3</sup>, i.e. all those with Easter vespers, add a new collect (*Deus qui nos fecisti*) to the three of the Gregorian tradition for Easter Sunday. Even the most important representative of what Gamber terms the « Gregoriana mixta authentica », the sacramentary of St-Eloy, Corbie <sup>4</sup>, has four collects, although the added one differs (*Deus qui paschale nobis remedium*). Whether this is another established tradition has to be investigated. Secondly, on Low Sunday they have only the second of the two Gregorian collects <sup>5</sup>, the one also found in the Old-Gelasianum, be it elsewhere. The tradition of the titles and station churches in these books is, to the best of my knowledge, still a mystery.

The presence of Low Sunday as the conclusion of this « evening » octave is important. Originally Low Saturday was the octave of baptism on Holy Saturday, the eighth day when the neophytes deposited their white garments. The title of the sacramentaries: *Die dominico post albas* is a relic of this earlier custom. It is more clearly preserved in Ordines for the Office: OR XII <sup>6</sup>, OR XXIV appendix <sup>7</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> P. DE PUNIET, *Le sacramentaire de Gellone*, in *Bibliotheca Ephemerides liturgicae* IV, Rome [1938 ?], 72\*-76\* (offprint from EL XLVIII, 1934-LII, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> CLLA, p. 368 ff., nos. 801 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op.cit.*, 72\*. In the main they belong to Gamber's types M and S; CLLA, nos. 801 ff.

<sup>4</sup> CLLA, no. 901; PL 78, 93.

<sup>5</sup> In DE PUNIET, 76\*, are some unfortunate misplacements and a misnumbering. Gelonensis has for vespers the 2 collects in Greg (5<sup>1</sup>, should be numbered 6, and 7); the other New-Gelasiana listed have one (7).

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 327 f.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. ANDRIEU III, 298.

OR XXVIII <sup>1</sup>, OR XXX<sup>A</sup> <sup>2</sup> and OR XXXI <sup>3</sup>, the latter being moreover entitled: *Ordo a sabbato sancto usque ad octavas pasche*, i.e. Low Saturday. Another, centuries-old relic of this ancient octave day is the distribution of the wax *Agnus dei*, first attested in OR XXVI <sup>4</sup> and maintained on Low Saturday throughout the 12th and 13th centuries <sup>5</sup>. Even the choice of the station church for vespers, the venerable *basilica liberiana*, centre of the Roman community, was appropriate and significant <sup>6</sup>.

The octave day of Easter Sunday itself (Gel.: *Octabas paschae. die dominico*) was added very early in the 7th century; it is first attested during the reign of Honorius I (625-38) <sup>7</sup>. When therefore the above organisation of evening stations was fixed, Low Sunday as the octave of Easter was only a recent innovation. Its additional character is visible not only in the older title with *post albas* but also in the ab-

<sup>1</sup> *Ed. cit.*, 410 f., nos. 88 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. cit.*, 458, nos. 22 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ed. cit.*, 508 f., nos. 125 f.

<sup>4</sup> See «Urban and papal rites», 460 f. — Because of the expression *octava paschae* in OR XXVI, Andrieu III, 327, no. 8, the rubric borrowed in the Romano-German pontifical is erroneously transferred to Low Sunday (*dominica post albas*); ed. C. VOGEL - R. ELZE, *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle. Le texte. II.* in *Studi e testi*, vol. 227, Rome 1963, 119, no. 418; ANDRIEU, OR L, *ed. cit.*, v, 313, no. 3. This term octave for Low Saturday indicates that OR XXVI must be older than Andrieu suggested (3rd quarter 8th cent.). By that date the octave of Easter was Low Sunday.

<sup>5</sup> *Ordo Lateran.*, ed. FISCHER, 91, no. 188; *Liber politicus*, no. 53; PL 78, 1047; FABRE-DUCHESNE I, 152; *Liber censuum*, no 62, PL 78, 1091; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 307; ordinal Innocent III, forthcoming ed. VAN DIJK, in *Spicilegium Friburgense*, 298; etc.

<sup>6</sup> See OR XII, Andrieu II, 460, no. 4; OR XV, ANDRIEU III, 122, no. 133, to which see «Urban and papal rites», 454. — Attention may here be drawn to the *Tropho in nocte ad sanctam Mariam* A solis ortu cardine ..., and abecedarian trope of 23 strophes for Christmas, definitely Roman and dating, at least, from the 10th century; ed. G. G. MEERSEMAN, *Der hymnos Akathistos im Abendland* I, in *Spicilegium Friburgense* II, Fribourg 1958, 168 ff., no. 24.

<sup>7</sup> A. CHAVASSE, «Les plus anciens types du lectionnaire et de l'antiphonaire romains de la messe», in *Revue bénédictine* LXII, 1952, 32; Idem, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 238 ff.

sence of a station basilica for the morning Eucharist. A homily of Gregory I, the oldest epistle comes (600-25) and a few later sources <sup>1</sup> give it at St John of the Lateran, a location which never became traditional; long before 1100 it had become St Pancras' near the Lateran, whose monastery was restored by Honorius I <sup>2</sup>. Thus the silence of the Gregorianum and Hadrianum on the morning station contrasts strikingly with the consistent explicitness of the latter on the station church for vespers; Sts Cosmas & Damian's, built by Felix IV (526-30) over a spring (baptism ?), was even more centrally situated than St Mary Major's, viz. on the *Via sacra* near the Forum.

The impression thus given that the series of evening stations in the Gregorianum was inserted en bloc, finds some confirmation in the actual content of the collects. Without going into intricacies, one observes at once how the theme of *resurrectio a morte animae* in the three collects of Easterday changes only slightly to *liberatio a malis* or *servitute* in the first and third collects of Monday, continuing in the *liberiores animi* in the first ones on Thursday and on Friday: *Christo renatis tribuatur...libertas*. The theme of *festa paschalia (vivendo) tenere* in the baptistry collect on Monday runs through the corresponding ones on Tuesday and Wednesday and as *vivere in sanctificatione* also in the first collect of Tuesday. Two other facts are noteworthy. The last collect on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, all three from the Old-Gelasianum, have no clearly defined Easter motif <sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, straight-forward references to baptism are restricted to the latter part of the octave, namely to the baptistry collect on Thursday and to the basilica collects on Friday and Saturday.

How exactly the Gregorianum combined vespers with the subsequent stationary prayer services cannot be gauged from

<sup>1</sup> WILLIS, *op.cit.*, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Florence, bibl. Riccardiana, 299 (c. 1050-75); MABILLON's OR XVI, PL 78, 1370; WILLIS, *op.cit.*, 29; gradual Vat.lat. 5319, fol. 96v; the Lateran missal, Rome, Archivio di Stato, arch. del Ssmo Salvatore 997, fol. 199r; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Nor, for that matter, has the 1st collect on Low Sunday.

the sacramentary. One thing seems certain ; the above arrangement as a whole can scarcely go beyond the first years of the 7th century. On the other hand, witness M and P, it was firmly established long before the end of the century.

## II THE ORDINES ROMANI

In his account of the Easter vespers Amalar refers three times to a source which he presents as a well-known *Ordo Romanus* <sup>1</sup>. Yet, among the Ordines published on the subject only a single manuscript (below, under 2 : W) conforms fully to what Amalar relates as facts. What is more, the Ordines for evening stations throughout the octave outline an historical development which, if I am not mistaken, has not been fully appreciated by those who discussed them earlier. The following survey of the documents follows what I believe to be their chronological order.

1. Andrieu's OR XXX<sup>B</sup> for the last three days of Holy Week is followed by an Ordo for the evening service of Easter Sunday <sup>2</sup>. It is called *vespera*, begins *hora nona* <sup>3</sup> and consists, just as in the Gregorianum, of three stations : in the Lateran basilica, the baptistry and St Andrew's. They incorporate five Alleluia antiphons to the five psalms proper to Sunday vespers : three in the basilica and one at each of the subsequent stations. The first station, moreover, has two major Alleluias, one after the second, the other after the third psalm. Each of the following stations also has its own major Alleluia after the psalm. All stations conclude with an antiphon to

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 318 f., nos. 1, 5, 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> M. ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* III, 475-7, nos. 71-82.

<sup>3</sup> See the Ordo (= OR LI) ed. A. CHAVASSE, « A Rome le jeudi-saint au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après un vieil Ordo », in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 1, 1965, 21 ff. : *Vesperam dicebant monaci hora nona in sancto Petro ...* More precise dating by A. MUNDÓ, « Adnotationes in antiquissimum Ordinem Romanum Feriae V in Coena Domini noviter editum », in *Liturgica* 2. *Scripta et documenta* x, Montserrat 1958, 181-216. — The 12th-cent. *Liber politicus* still has *dicta nona* ; PL 78, 1045, no. 49 ; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 153. The *Ordo lateranensis*, ed. FISCHER, 88, no. 181 : *statim post prandium*, which is practically the same.



the Magnificat and a collect. Without mentioning procession antiphons and other minor details, the structure is as follows :

1 basilica

1 ant. *Alla ps. 109 Dicit dominus*

2 ant. *Alla ps. 110 Confitebor*

1 *Alleluia Dominus regnavit*

3 ant. *Alla ps. 111 Beatus vir*

2 *Alleluia Pascha nostrum*

1 ad Magnificat ant. *Scio quod*

1 oratio

2 baptistry

4 ant. *Alla ps. 112 Laudate pueri*

3 *Alleluia Ὁ κέριος*

2 ad Magnificat ant. *Venite et videte*

2 oratio

3 St Andrew's

5 ant. *Alla ps. 113 In exitu*

4 *Alleluia Venite exultemus*

3 ad Magnificat ant. *Cito euntes*

3 oratio

This overall structure was the reason why in the 12th century one spoke of *tria vespera*, three vespers<sup>1</sup>. After a threefold drink, priests and acolytes returned to their respective title churches for vespers. Without a single reference to the pope, to his household, to major court officials or to the people, the Ordo ends with a reminder that the given sequence was maintained throughout the octave :

Haec ratio per totam ebdomadam servabitur usque in dominica albas.

The inclusion of Low Sunday, in agreement with the sacramentaries, would mean that this Ordo cannot have existed before the early-7th century. However, in this context this final rubric is incorrect on two accounts. First, the basilica station on Easterday has two major Alleluias ; but on the following days it has in fact only one, witness the other Ordi-

<sup>1</sup> *PL* 78, 1045, n° 49 ; *FABRE-DUCHESNE*, 154 ; *PL* 78, 1079, no. 35 ; *FABRE-DUCHESNE*, 298.

nes and the chant books. If, moreover, one places the evidence about the Old-Roman Mass Alleluias of the first three days in the octave alongside the tradition of Alleluias for the Easter vespers :

Easter octave Masses		Easter Sunday vespers	
Die sancto		in basilica	
eve :	OR XVII <sup>1</sup> : <i>Dns regnavit</i>	ps. 92,1	<i>Dns regnavit</i>
morning <sup>2</sup> :	<i>Pascha nostrum</i>		<i>Pascha nostrum</i>
feria 2 :	'Ο κύριος	ps. 92,1	ad fontes : 'Ο κύριος
feria 3 :	<i>Venite exultemus</i> <sup>3</sup>	ps. 94,1	ad s. Andr. : <i>Venite exultemus</i>

it is rather obvious that the *Pascha nostrum* at vespers was an afterthought, a first development based upon borrowing from the new Mass repertoire of Easter morning, added to the originally single Mass of the vigil<sup>4</sup>. In other words, the first half of the rubric makes sense only, when it was written before the *Pascha nostrum* was introduced.

Secondly, the suspicion that this OR does not present the earliest stage is strengthened by the last phrase of the rubric (*usque in dominica albas*) which flatly contradicts the title of the document :

Ordo qualiter in ebdomada pasche usque in sabbato de albas vespera caelebrabitur.

This brings us back to the early period when the octave ended on Low Saturday, to the days before the pontificate of Honorius I, practically to that of Gregory the Great. OR XXX<sup>B</sup> then was projected for the real octave of baptism, the Eucharist beginning with the Mass of the vigil but vespers with the afternoon of Easter Sunday. Was *dominica albas*

<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU II, 191, no. 110 ; No Easter morning Mass ; Gregorian and later Old-Roman repertoires have *Alla. Confitemini dno qm bonus*. In a note Andrieu qualifies this and other details as non-Roman. But the coincidence is too striking, even though the *Dns regnavit* is not mentioned in OR XV and XVI, the sources of OR XVII.

<sup>2</sup> See HUGLO, «Le chant», 110.

<sup>3</sup> For the remainder of the octave, HUGLO, *loc.cit.* ; ps. 137 ; feria 4 (Mass) = feria 3 (vespers) ; ps. 124 : feria 5 (Mass) = feria 6 (vespers) ; ps. 94 : octava (Mass) = octava (vespers).

<sup>4</sup> On that occasion the Gregorian repertoire transferred the *Dns regnavit* to Monday. Influence upon Old-Roman rite in HUGLO, *loc.cit.*(N).

originally *sabbato de albas*, as in the title, or was in the original *sabbato de albas* the word *sabbato* deleted and the preposition *de* changed into or read as *dominica*? The reading *dominica in albis*, found in the later Ordines, is from a liturgical point of view incorrect. Or is this reading too the result of a superficial alteration of *sabbato* into *dominica (in albis)*?

The Ordo is preserved in a single, late-8th-century manuscript, Paris, BN, lat. 974. Andrieu<sup>1</sup> presents it as copied from OR XXVII, as edited by him. The Frankish compiler would have forced himself to give his work a Roman appearance. Neither idea is likely. Contrary to the later Ordines, OR XXX<sup>B</sup> was originally meant for the baptismal octave of Holy Saturday; it still has three instead of four stations on Easterday; it also lacks the short rubric which was to change the performance of the Latin major Alleluias<sup>2</sup>; and, although the final rubric (*Haec ratio*) contains a later development, it makes sense in an Ordo for Easter Sunday alone, but is somehow superfluous in those for the whole octave. In the elaboration of this rubric into a complete Ordo, the text of the model was simply retained. Had the Ordines for the octave, such as OR XXVII, been older than that for Easter Sunday, there would have been no need for such a remark; nor would a new title have restricted the octave to Low Saturday again. Finally, the Easter portion of OR XXX<sup>B</sup>, as well as the next Ordo (W and C), contain nothing contrary to a Roman origin; on the contrary. OR XXVII, however, is a crude adaptation, contradicting several details known to belong to the Roman tradition.

Hence I consider this portion of OR XXX<sup>B</sup> as the most ancient of all Ordines on the subject. Its model probably had no second major Alleluia for the station at the basilica; it certainly includes some correction in its final rubric. While Andrieu's dating may hold for the manuscript and the first portion of the Ordo, the second part must be dated separately. This is not related to what precedes in the manuscript; its model must be very ancient indeed. It is the only Ordo in full agreement with the Gregorianum, while its title reveals

<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU III, 462; see also the notes to the ed. itself.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 301 ff.

an even older period. The reason why Andrieu appended it to an Ordo for the last three days of Holy Week is that he found it thus in the manuscript. OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> however is a document in its own right, must have circulated as a separate *libellus* and should have had its own numbering in a critical edition.

The absence of any reference to the people in this and the subsequent Ordines, and the restricted space in the baptistry and St Andrew's raises the question whether, at the time of OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>, these stations were conceived as public services or rather as liturgical highlights in the life of the assisting clergy. No doubt, the visits to baptistry and St Andrew's as well as the content of major Alleluias<sup>1</sup> and collects indicate that, at least originally, one of the main reasons was to commemorate baptism. Yet, at this stage, the newly baptised played no part in the ceremonies, nor are they ever mentioned.

Moreover, it is well known that in Rome the idea of clerical vespers was borrowed from the monastic life, where they were a counterpart of lauds. None of the earlier documents<sup>2</sup>, whether monastic or secular, presents vespers as involving the faithful of the City. OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> does not do so either. Nor for that matter does its penultimate injunction<sup>3</sup>

Postquam biberint omnes, presbiteri et acoliti per singulos titulos redeunt ad faciendas vespertas...

imply that these vespers were attended by the faithful. In the light of the origins of this Office it may well be that, notwithstanding attendance at the solemn stations, the clerics were still, after the fashion of the monks, bound to sing the « simple » vespers « at home ». The basic question, therefore, whether we are allowed to extend the obviously public character of the eucharistic morning stations to the prayer services in the evening seems to require a negative answer.

2. The second source is extant in two manuscripts : one is found in the second portion of the so-called antiphonal of

<sup>1</sup> Below, p. 297 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For OR XII see below, p. 327 f.

<sup>3</sup> ANDRIEU III, 477, no. 82.

Compiègne, Paris, BN, lat. 17436 (C), the other in Wolfenbüttel, 4175 (W). The former was not collated by Andrieu <sup>1</sup>, possibly because it is no longer a continuous Ordo but cut up into sections, each inserted into the corresponding texts of the Office. It is available in the *Patrologia Latina* <sup>2</sup>, but the recent edition by Hesbert <sup>3</sup> completes and corrects a few phrases left out or wrongly decyphered by the Maurini. The latter, a real ordinal, is collated by Andrieu for the last portion of his OR XXVII <sup>4</sup>; it differs however considerably. C and W cover the whole Easter octave <sup>5</sup>. They are derived from different models, but the common source of these was, again, a separate *libellus*. The title of C is rather non-committal; that of W reminds one of the restricted content of OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> <sup>6</sup>.

C: Incipit ordo ad vespervas.

W: Qualiter vespera die sanctum paschae dicenda sint.

The opening rubrics of Easter Sunday differ slightly from those in OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> and should be regarded as a minor revision <sup>7</sup>. The service, beginning *temporius* rather than *hora nona*, consists of four instead of the three stations in OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> and the Gregorianum. The day ends with the three-

<sup>1</sup> *Op.cit.*, 342, note 2, remarks that the Ordo in C is more « altered » than those collated for his OR XXVII. Altered is the wrong word; different would have been correct. But Andrieu failed to see its agreement with W, which he collated. R.-J. HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonarium Officii. Vol. I Manuscripti «cursus Romanus»*, in *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior. Fontes VII*, Rome 1965, p. xviii, note 6, also expresses his regrets.

<sup>2</sup> PL 78, 770-5.

<sup>3</sup> HESBERT, *Corpus* I, 180-200.

<sup>4</sup> ANDRIEU III, 362-72.

<sup>5</sup> M. HUGLO, « Le chant 'vieux-romain'... », in SE VI, 1954, 118, no. 2, states that C only gives Easterday (like OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>); which is less correct. Nor is C an adaptation of an Old-Roman ordinal, nor OR XXVII the purest form of the ordinal; *loc.cit.*, 126. The observation however, *loc.cit.*, 116, note 1, that C (like W) is a separate ordinal, unlike some of the MSS of OR XXVII, is important. — My former assertion that C depends on OR XXVII is also mistaken; « Urban and papal rites », 449.

<sup>6</sup> Title in W: ANDRIEU III, 362, no. 67, var. 1; see also above, p. 276 f.

<sup>7</sup> Below, p. 311.

fold refreshment, the note that vespers are afterwards said in the title churches and the rubric explaining that the same order applies to the whole octave. All these details are also found in OR XXX<sup>Ba</sup>. During the octave there are other differences from the Gregorianum. As on Easter Sunday, the Friday has one station more, three instead of two. On the other hand, Thursday has no stations at all but vespers in the tituli. The two stations on Low Sunday conclude with a rubric containing, for the first and last time, a vague but undeniable reference to the pope <sup>1</sup>:

Post haec bibunt et una cum primo scolae pergunt canentes ad lateranum antiphonam ante pontificem.

The stations on Easterday are in the basilica (3 psalms), the baptistry (1 ps.), St John's *ad vestem* <sup>2</sup> (1 ps.) and St Andrew's (same ps.). The third one must have been added after the pontificate of Honorius I <sup>3</sup>. The chants for this interpolation are borrowed from elsewhere. The Alleluia *Venite exultemus* <sup>4</sup>, the last of the five psalms, ps. 113 *In exitu*, and the antiphon to the Magnificat, *Cito euntes*, were brought forward from the subsequent station at St Andrew's (see OR XXX<sup>Ba</sup>). Here all these items were simply repeated; only C introduces ps. 114 *Dilexi*. The procession chant *Lapidem quem* is borrowed from the Monday. Even the extension of the final rubric *Deinde oratio (oret C) with semper absque*

<sup>1</sup> PL 78, 775, text corrupt; HESBERT, *Corpus* 1, 200; ANDRIEU III, 372, var. 39. — I ignore minor variants; *canentes* after *pergunt* is common to both MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Identity of this oratory uncertain. Probably it was within the complex of buildings around the baptistry; possibly St John evangelist's or St John baptist's, both built by Hilary. MABILLON, PL 78, 771, note a; 966, note g, identifies the two: *ad fontes seu ad vestem*. So does ARMELLINI, *op.cit.*, 136. This is scarcely correct, since the stations differ. ANDRIEU's alternative suggestion, III, 364 f., note 76, connecting it with the basilica, does not seem tenable. The procession would not have left the basilica for the baptistry to return to the basilica (*ad vestem*) and from there again to St Andrew's, adjacent to the baptistry. *Ad vestem* may point to the oratory where the newly-baptised had received their white robes on H. Saturday.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 304.

(*sine C*) *Kyrieleyson*, reveals the additional character of the station. There is no justification for this phrase anywhere in the Ordo <sup>1</sup>, although it presupposes the general rule that the Roman hours concluded with this invocation <sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile, the antiquity of this new station is reflected in its, be it anonymous, existence in the additional collect(s) in the New-Gelasiana and (?) authentic mixed Gregoriana <sup>3</sup>.

The stations on Friday are in the basilica of St Cross, *ad crucem in cubicellum* (*cancellum C*) *Rigodem* <sup>4</sup> and at the baptistry. The second is, again, an obviously later insertion, inspired by the precious relic of the cross. The place is far from certain, and the accusative *Rigodem* offers little help. In 1492 a relic of the cross was rediscovered in a niche (*cubicellum* ?) above the triumphal arch of the basilica <sup>5</sup>. Was the station held before that arch? The addition would normally have required another major Alleluia. However, instead of bringing forward the Alleluia (*Qui confidunt* <sup>6</sup>) of the next station, as was done on the previous Sunday, the cantor chose the responsory-gradual from the Mass (*Haec dies*).

Those who introduced these new stations left the existing repertoire untouched. They neither produced anything new nor borrowed from outside the octave. Already in those early days the feeling and inspiration for original Old-Roman compositions had given way to veneration for what was codified.

<sup>1</sup> *PL* 78, 771 ; ANDRIEU III, 365, no. 75.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. OR XVI, ANDRIEU III, 149, no. 16 ; OR XVII, ANDRIEU 186, no. 81 ; appendix to OR XXIV ; OR XXIII, no. 1 ; OR XXVIII, no. 10 ; OR XXX<sup>A</sup>, no. 3 ; OR XXX<sup>B</sup>, no. 4 ; ANDRIEU, 298, 269, 304, 455, 467.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 273. The 4th collect, in agreement with the Ordo, seems to contradict the Ravenna origin and dating (595-606), which GAMBER assigns to type M ; CLLA, p. 370. It is scarcely feasible to suppose that two traditions of Easter vespers, one with 3, the other with 4 stations, spread simultaneously from Rome and Ravenna.

<sup>4</sup> In *PL* 78, 774, phrase undecyphered ; HESBERT, 194 ; ANDRIEU, 370, no. 90.

<sup>5</sup> See R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae* I, Rome 1937, 169.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 297.

The absence of stations on Thursday is clearly stated <sup>1</sup>:

Feria V. Per titulos vero psalmos cum [ant.] *Alleluia* dicunt et responsorium graduale *Haec dies...* In evangelio ant. *Tulerunt dominum meum...*ant. *Ascendo...*ant. *Venit Maria...*

These three antiphons to the Magnificat correspond to the three collects in the Gregorianum: *ad vesperum*, *ad fontes*, *ad S. Andream*. But these locations made little sense in title churches; nor, for that matter, do three Magnificat-antiphons in « vespers » with only three psalms <sup>2</sup>. That antiphons and collects were used at these churches seems obvious from the later chant books; both Vat.lat. 5319 and London, BM, Add. 29988, give either text and melody or an occasional cue of these antiphons, each followed by the respective collect of the Gregorianum.

None of this solves the anomalies connected with this Thursday. Various suggestions, of course, are possible, but some basic information is lacking. And only this could give them some sort of probability.

The overall identity between W and C, placing them in a group apart, is undeniable. C dates from c. 860-80 when it was presented to Compiègne. W is older, from the beginning of the century, and in several respects better than C. Collating it for OR XXVII, Andrieu qualified the many variants with the text printed as « bévues », unfortunate and ill-judged « retouches de forme » or careless changes due to the compiler-scribe, a monk of Wittemberg <sup>3</sup>. This evaluation is quite unjustified for more than one reason. W should have been taken — with C — as the basic text of a separate Ordo. The agreement between the manuscripts, indeed, allows for slight

<sup>1</sup> In C, PL 78, 773; HESBERT, 192; *circulum* instead of *titulos*; om. *vero*; for W see ANDRIEU, 370, lines 3 ff., appended to Wednesday, and no. 88, var. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 327 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op.cit.* III, 338. In contradiction with the sources is: « il a introduit une anticipation d'un jour, à partir du jeudi... la série des vêpres qui devait s'arrêter au samedi ». The rubric *Haec ratio*, common to all relevant Ordines states *usque in dominicam in albis*. Moreover there is AMALAR's testimony, below, p. 320. See also HUGLO, « Le chant », 116, note 1.



differences. In addition to those already mentioned are in C occasional alternatives for the antiphons to the Magnificat, not found elsewhere, and the omission of the numbering of the psalms. On the other hand, W has indications of the station churches on Friday, Low Saturday and Sunday, inserted with the aid of a copy of the Hadrianum<sup>1</sup>. It also has some minor variants which set it apart from C and the text Andrieu accepted for his OR XXVII. None of these minutiae however detract from the fact that the Ordo in these two manuscripts is the one used by Amalar.

The final rubric of Low Sunday with its reference to the pope (*Post haec bibunt*)<sup>2</sup> makes investigation into the character of this Ordo unavoidable. Before discussing the connection which Amalar forged — and forced — between the *Apostolicus* and these Easter stations<sup>3</sup>, their content and purpose should first be established from the document itself. Amalar has, so far, succeeded in dispelling all doubt among modern scholars: they have trusted him implicitly and presented these vespers as typically papal<sup>4</sup>. The rubrics however sketch a different picture.

Those present were: the archdeacon of the City, suburban bishops, the deacons, priests and acolytes of the title churches

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 272, ANDRIEU III, 370 ff., no. 89, var. 1; no. 92, var. 1; no. 94, var. 39; *op.cit.*, 279, 338.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 318 ff., 322 f.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. DUCHESNE's note 32 to his ed. of the *Liber pontificalis* I, 430, about Zacharias, cited also in «Aufbau», 60, note 2; HUGLO, «Le chant», 116: «Cet Ordo [XXVII] décrit les cérémonies et énumère les chants des Vêpres célébrées par le Pape au Latran durant l'Octave»; ANDRIEU III, 342: «Les vêpres dont on nous donne la composition sont celles que le pape... célébrait au Latran»; *op.cit.*, 462 f.: «Parmi les ecclésiastiques qui assistent le pontife...»; CHAVASSE, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 322: «Les triples vêpres... nous placent devant l'un des rites les plus caractéristiques de la liturgie papale»; M. RIGHETTI, *Storia liturgica* IV, 2nd ed. Milan 1959, 130 f.: «si dava convegno al Laterano per partecipare insieme col Papa e tutta la sua Corte ai Vestri solenni...» The description given here disagrees with the sources discussed; «Aufbau», 49, 54. — I myself have given way under this pressure; «Urban and papal rites», 448, 3rd line from bottom, read «urban» instead of «papal»; see also below, p. 338 f.

and a schola, of which the *primus*, *secundus*, subdeacon (*quartus* ?), the male and boys choirs are mentioned explicitly. The ranks of subdeacons, *regionarii* and *sequentes*, are not there. Their absence is the more noteworthy in this context, as Boniface V (619-25) had given them, instead of acolytes and deacons, the task of conferring baptism at the Lateran on Holy Saturday<sup>1</sup>. Since they are consistently omitted from this octave, one wonders whether the rubric concerned goes back to ancient regulations, which were never properly brought up to date.

The person who presides, viz. celebrates, is the archdeacon, himself not a court dignitary but, as OR I calls him<sup>2</sup>, the pope's vicar in church affairs of the Roman clergy. His pastoral duties for the City are liturgically expressed during the stational Eucharist when, after the pontiff's communion, he announced the date and place of the next station<sup>3</sup>. As celebrant of the Easter vespers, he gave the prior of the schola a sign to begin the first antiphon with its psalm; afterwards he did the same to other members of the schola whom he wished to intone the subsequent antiphons and psalms. He was saluted, again, by the prior of the schola, whom he then gave permission to intone the Alleluia *cum melodiis*, sung after the verses of the major Alleluias<sup>4</sup>. He himself intoned the first antiphon to the Magnificat. The collects were said by a priest<sup>5</sup>. These are all ceremonial details which OR I explicitly assigns to the pope when celebrating. Finally, not the papal majordomo but his notary invited the church dignitaries to a refreshment after the last station.

This notary of the palace majordomo is not an entirely obscure figure. After the *Agnus dei* at the stational Mass two lists of guests were drawn up: one of those to be invited to dine with the pope, the other of those dining with his majordomo. Invitations to the first group were distributed by the

<sup>1</sup> *Liber pont.*, ed. DUCHESNE I, 321; ANDRIEU III, 548. Even in OR XXVIII, *op.cit.*, 406, no. 73, the subdeacons are omitted.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. OR I, ed. ANDRIEU II, 68, nos. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> OR XV, ANDRIEU III, 107, no. 56; OR I, ANDRIEU II, 102, nos. 107 f.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 301, 303, 309.

<sup>5</sup> M. RIGHETTI, *Storia liturgica* II, 2nd ed., Milan [1955], 219: « con una colletta finale il Papa chiudeva la funzione »; also *op.cit.*, 131.

papal nomenclator ; the second group received them from the majordomo's notary <sup>1</sup>. The latter issued similar invitations after the last station (at St Andrew's), the reason probably being that the refreshment was provided from the court treasury. But since the majordomo delegated his notary, the refreshment was not taken in the presence of the pope ; nor were the invitations extended on his behalf. And where did the guests assemble for their drink ? All Ordines agree <sup>2</sup> :

Descendunt primates ecclesiae ad accubita.

This is vague but sufficient circumstantial evidence for concluding that these « primates of the Church » were not received at the palace but in a place where couches or seats had been prepared. The *Liber politicus* <sup>3</sup> speaks of « the pope returning to a prepared porch » which the Ordo to the *Liber censuum* <sup>4</sup> specifies as the portico before San Venanzo, the church adjacent to the Lateran baptistry. All late-medieval Ordines and pontificals with Holy Saturday mention both the church and the portico in connection with court ceremonial before the pontiff enters into the baptistry for the administration of baptism. Indeed, in those mid-12th century days the rinfresco was enjoyed by the pope, some of his court and dignitaries of the City. While the pope was seated upon a throne, the lower clergy and laymen sat on carpets spread out on the ground <sup>5</sup>. In accordance with correct court procedure, the chief steward and some youths prepared the pope's drink in his presence. Even this tradition of taking refreshments in the portico near the baptistry shows how originally it had nothing to do with either the court or the palace.

<sup>1</sup> OR I, ANDRIEU II, 99, no. 98 ; OR IV, *op.cit.*, 167, no. 81 (papal invitation only). — The office of majordomo is the oldest of the 4 principal ones. While three appear in the late-7th or early-8th cent., that of majordomo goes back to before GREGORY I ; *op.cit.*, 42-5.

<sup>2</sup> ANDRIEU III, 477, no. 81 ; 366, no. 78 ; PL 78, 771 ; HESBERT, 184.

<sup>3</sup> No. 49 ; PL 78, 1045 ; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 154.

<sup>4</sup> No. 35 ; PL 78, 1079 ; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 298 — DUCANGE, *Glossarium*, s.v. *accubitus* (5) quotes the rubric and identifies the *accubita* with the triclinium of Leo III (c.800) which had 11 apses with tables and *accubita*. RIGHETTI, *op.cit.*, 219, follows him : « l'alto clero invitato nel triclinio papale a gustare tre diversi specie di vini ».

<sup>5</sup> *Loc.cit.*

For all this, the term *schola* in this *Ordo* cannot be taken as referring to the specifically papal institution founded by Vitalian (657-72). It must indicate the *schola* created by Gregory I, which, after the formation of the papal body, was slowly reduced to an urban branch, continuing the ancient Old-Roman tradition<sup>1</sup>. In point of fact, the rubric for Low Sunday weakens any idea one might have about a relationship of THIS *schola* with the pope. After the refreshment, according to Low Sunday protocol<sup>2</sup>, only the invited primates of the Church and the precentor of the *schola* accompanied the pope from Sts Cosmas & Damian's to the Lateran. Invitation to the *rinfresco* implied that the guests of the *majordomo* took the honorary role of papal *familia* or commensal chaplains. The prior of the urban *schola*, a dignitary among the city clergy and, thus, one of the guests, performed the same duty. He was always invited since, as a choir leader, he could direct the singing of the antiphon. But there is no mention of papal chanters, although their house, the former hospital of St Stephen, was near the Lateran. The presence of a precentor, the silence about his colleagues and the impromptu arrangements for a papal cortège mean that neither the court nor its *schola* were there. Otherwise they could

<sup>1</sup> See VAN DIJK, « Gregory the Great founder of the urban *schola cantorum* », in EL LXXVII, 1963, 335-51. — « Aufbau », 55 f., note 4, argues against my thesis that c. 600 such an institution was not needed for the public Masses founded by Gregory I. The chanters would only have sung the solo-chants; other variable parts were performed by *clerici circumstantes*. One asks oneself where then these soloists, these *clerici* and their teachers got their training? Besides, to the best of my knowledge, the term *clerici circumstantes* does not occur in the documents. In OR XV *clerus*, *clerici* and *cantores* are equivalents; even the 3rd person plural suffices at times; « Gregory the Great », 348. None of this justifies the notion that all « assisting clerics » were capable of singing what had to be sung, syllabic and neumatic melodies, without training. The vagueness of OR XV points to a disregard, probably also lack, of institutional organisation, another point in favour of the antiquity of this *Ordo*. The idea, moreover, that a *schola* was needed some 50 years later, after the « reformation of chant » in basilica monasteries, is equally tendentious. Knowledge of chant is usually better in monastic communities than among secular clergy. So, why should the former need a *schola* and the latter not?

<sup>2</sup> Rubric, above, p. 282.

easily and without any inconvenience have accompanied the pope to his palace. The pope then came to Sts Cosmas & Damian's, so to speak, incognito, as the bishop of his clergy. Those who sang vespers were members of the urban branch, whose house was in the opposite direction, at St Peter's<sup>1</sup>. But their precentor went first, with the improvised procession, to the palace, whence he had to make his own way back to the Vatican.

This arrangement for Low Sunday was discontinued when its vespers became stations with court assistance. The pope and all palace ranks, including of course his schola, stayed for a light, could supper at the basilica: bread, wine, milk products (cream cheese, stracchino?) and lettuce<sup>2</sup>. By the end of the 12th century this too had come to an end.

In short, those taking part in the Easter vespers were directly concerned with the pastoral care and worship of the Roman community; and the dignitaries of the Church were distinct from the *ordines curiales* or *palatini* as they were known later on. The ceremonial does not just omit the pope, it leaves no room for either him or his court officials. The pope went to the evening station on Low Sunday, accompanied of course by his chamberlain, as a fitting conclusion to the octave, particularly as that Sunday had for a long time no (fixed) station<sup>3</sup>. Yet he did neither celebrate nor preside. The ceremonies were not centred around him but directed by his vicar, the archdeacon.

Finally, this papal rubric for Low Sunday seems to throw a glimmer of light upon the chronology of the Ordo in which it is found. OR XXVII was in circulation by the mid-8th century, i.e. during the reign of Zacharias (741-52). Its model, the Ordo with the rubric in question, was therefore compiled long before Zacharias' reign. And the unknown model of this model, without the stations at St John *ad vestem* (Easter) and at the cross in Jerusalem (Friday), must be older still.

<sup>1</sup> « Gregory the Great », 349 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber politicus*, no. 54; PL 78, 1047; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 155.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 274 f.

Now both the *c.* forty years before Zacharias and his pontificate itself are important here.

The Lateran episcopium was sacked and partly destroyed by Mauricius and Isacio in 640. Still, the *Liber pontificalis* continues to mention it as the papal residence of Theodore (642-9), Martin I (649-53), John V (685-6), Conon (686-7) and Sergius I (678-701). But the buildings must have been in a bad state of repair. Martin I wrote to St Amand (649) that the library was an empty shell: *codices exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca*<sup>1</sup>. John VII (705-7) decided finally to live at S. Maria Antiqua, within the precincts of the ancient imperial palace<sup>2</sup>, where he built a new episcopium over the church<sup>3</sup>. From then onwards, until Zacharias began rebuilding the Lateran palace, the popes seem to have resided on and off at St Mary's.

The fact that OR XXVII omits the papal cortège may be due to one of two factors. First, the rubric, the last sentence of the Ordo, may easily have been deleted from a copy in Rome, when the Lateran palace stood empty and delapidated, while the distance from Sts Cosmas & Damian's to the temporary episcopium measured less than 200 metres; in short, when a cortège was meaningless. Directly or indirectly this copy found its way to the North, where it underwent some un-Roman reshuffling to be mentioned below. The other possibility is that the rubric was not cancelled in Rome but somewhere in the North by the same scribe or liturgist whose re-arrangements show, up to the present, his unfamiliarity with Roman customs.

Whatever the case may be, the model of this OR XXVII, the one with the rubric, cannot have been compiled when there was no Lateran palace, from 705/7 to 741/52. In all

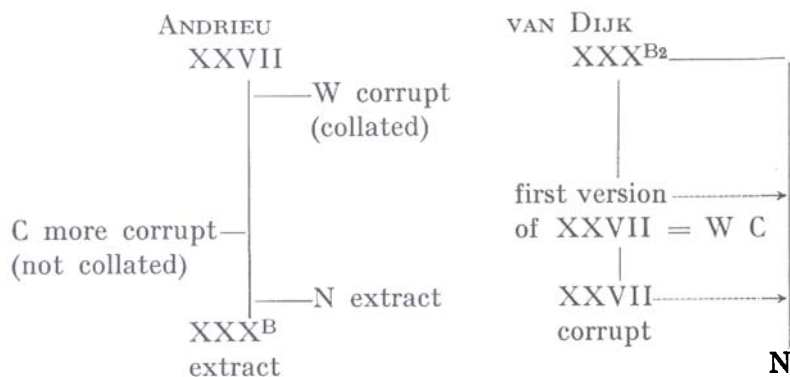
<sup>1</sup> PL 87, 138°. — The fact that Benedict Biscop (d.689/90) brought so many books from Rome to England does not contradict this. He acquired them from monastic and basilica libraries.

<sup>2</sup> See P. VERZONE, « La demolizione dei palazzi imperiali di Roma e di Ravenna nel quadro delle nuove forze politiche del sec. VIII », in *Festschrift Friedrich Gerke. Kunsthistorische Studien*, Baden-Baden 1962, 77 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber pont.*, I, 385. See P. J. NORDHAGEN, *The frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome*, Rome 1968.

probability it dates back to before the reign of John VII, who left the Lateran for S. Maria Antiqua.

3. The third source is the second part of Andrieu's OR XXVII<sup>1</sup>, which has no relationship with the preceding portion for Maundy Thursday to Holy Saturday. Basically the text is identical with that in W and C. Yet, apart from a few but far-reaching changes, both the eight manuscripts collated by Andrieu and his edition raise problems. The manuscript we both indicate with the symbol W has already been discussed as representing an earlier document. Another, Paris, BN, lat. 14088 (N)<sup>2</sup>, like W a document on its own, is, just as OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>, restricted to Easter Sunday alone. Its overall reading agrees with that of the other manuscripts — except of course W. Some variants however still preserve connection with OR XXX<sup>B2</sup><sup>3</sup>. One is tempted to see N not just as an exponent of OR XXVII, as a case in which Easter Sunday was retained and the rest of the Ordo dropped, but rather as pertaining to the tradition of OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> in which the text was corrected and extended (4 stations) with the aid of a copy belonging to the tradition of either W C or OR XXVII<sup>4</sup>. In this manner:



<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU III, 362 ff., nos. 67-94. — Two MSS. compared in MABILON's appendix to his OR I; PL 78, 965 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. cit.*, 337 f., 362, var.

<sup>3</sup> *Ed. cit.*, 362 ff., no. 67, var. 10 (*et a loco*); no. 70, var. 1 (correctly *iterum*); no. 71, var. 9 (*et finitur*); no. 78, var. 14 (*et unum*).

<sup>4</sup> ANDRIEU, 338, note 1, lists var. of N as « des inadvertances ou des maladresses de copiste ».

The six manuscripts which Andrieu preferred to W and C differ from them from Thursday onwards. The title *Feria V* before *Per titulos...* is omitted, thus turning the rubric into an appendix to the previous Wednesday<sup>1</sup>. Subsequently, the order for Friday (Jerusalem) is assigned to Thursday and those for Saturday (Mary Major's) and Sunday (Cosmas & Damian's) to Friday and Saturday. The final instruction that the guests accompany the pope to the Lateran on Low Sunday is dropped. This arrangement can scarcely be due to a scribal error. Perhaps it is a crude attempt to bring the Ordo, as handed down in C and W, in agreement with the titles in the Gregorianum, providing also solemn stations for Thursday, at the cost however of Low Sunday. The re-arrangement contradicts some of Amalar's indisputable statements, the tradition of the chant books, Vat. lat. 5319, London, BM, Add. 29988, and the *Politicus*<sup>2</sup>. Thus while the Ordines XXX<sup>B2</sup> and W C may claim a Roman origin, the one in circulation by the mid-8th century and published by Andrieu as OR XXVII cannot<sup>3</sup>.

4. Confirmation of some of these observations comes from the 10th-century Romano-German pontifical<sup>4</sup>, Andrieu's OR L<sup>5</sup>. As in manuscript N, mentioned under no. 3, the chapter for the Easter vespers is entitled :

Ordo in eodem die sancto ad vesperum et usque ad octavam paschae.

But, like OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>, it only describes three stations for Easter Sunday : in church, at the font and at the cross. Still, the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 284. Andrieu had to explain the peculiar consequences for understanding the text. *Ed. cit.*, 370, lines 3 ff., he sees the rubric at the end of Wednesday as explaining a rubric on Easter. The idea is inspired by the transfer of the former in the Romano-German pontifical ; see below ; under no. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 347, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> ANDRIEU III, 342 : « ... l'Ordo XXVII (nos. 67-94) est sans doute un véritable *Ordo Romanus*... »

<sup>4</sup> Ed. VOGEL-ELZE, *ed. cit.*, II, 116 f., no. 411. — HUGLO, « Le chant », 118 f., text A is a still further reduction and adaptation of this pontifical.

<sup>5</sup> ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani* v, 308 ff., nos. 1-12.



compiler had access to a copy of OR XXVII. The appendix to the Wednesday vespers, the earlier Ordo for Thursday, is inserted just before the final rubric (*Haec ratio*):

... per singulos titulos redeunt ad faciendos vespers. <Ipsi enim tantummodo<sup>1</sup> super psalmos *Alleluia* dicunt ~ deinde oratio.> Et bibunt de dato presbiterio. *Haec ratio*...

The compiler also made drastic changes in the texts for those following the by now widespread Gregorian style<sup>2</sup>. The four major Alleluias have disappeared. Instead there are in church the *Haec dies* ✠ *Confitemini*, the Alleluia of the Mass *Pascha nostrum*, sung *cum melodis infantibus* (!), with the verse *Epulemur* and a *melodia*. At the font the last two psalms (112-3) are sung together, followed by Alleluia *Venite exultemus* ✠ *Praeoccupemus*<sup>3</sup> instead of the Greek one. At the cross there is neither psalm nor Alleluia; only a collect. The invitation to the threefold drink is extended by a notary or the majordomo.

5. One more source illustrates a still later development of these Ordines. It is again based upon the version of W C or OR XXVII but restricted to Easter Sunday and, even in this respect, far from complete. It is found in the early 11th-

<sup>1</sup> Adverb typical of OR XXVII, not in W C.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 54, note 2, could have been more to the point had this pontifical been consulted. Indeed, Gregorian antiphonals and graduals never have Easter vespers with Gregorian melodies, but the truth is that we have no Old-Roman melodies from north of the Alps either. Amalar's *memoratum cursum celebramus*, below, p. 320, must be left for what it is until some evidence gives it meaning. The copies of Ordines Romani from the North prove nothing, since no one sang or could sing from an Ordo. Nor does the antiphonal of Compiègne prove anything; it has no notation. What has been preserved with melodies is thoroughly curtailed and adapted, just like the pontifical in question, in Gregorian style. The Old-Roman chant books of the 11th-13th cent. prove that their vespers could be sung, but by Romans; they say nothing about the possibilities among northerners. The number of testimonies suggesting that Old-Roman was sung north of the Alps is increasing, but implications of the kind presented in this note offer little help.

<sup>3</sup> Gregorian style: HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, 243 (index).

century copy from Monza, bibl. capitolare, C.12. 75 (M) <sup>1</sup>. An occasional variant reminds one of N <sup>2</sup>. It also includes drastic changes in the choice of liturgical texts and chants <sup>3</sup>.

The successive stages in the history of the respective *Ordines Romani* and of the Easter evensongs themselves are thus easily recognised in the scheme of Appendix I (below, p. 358-9).

### IIIA THE LATIN MAJOR ALLELUIAS

The sources describing the musical performance of the major Alleluias, the most typical feature of the Easter vespers, throw a good deal of light upon the development of its technique. This, in its turn, emphatically confirms the chronology proposed in Appendix I. Before these two points can be fully appreciated however, a few misunderstandings and uncertainties should be removed. Some are due to the content of the *Ordines Romani*, others to that of the major Alleluias themselves.

Ordines and ordinals were liturgical guides and, according to their age and purpose, more or less accurate in their description. Particularly in the early middle ages they were never meant to provide every group of assistants or participants with all the precise details of their duties. Thus the Ordines under discussion do not give the cues of collects; these were in the sacramentaries. Likewise, members of a schola would not expect ordinals to explain all the technical data for their performance. In fact, this type of book has, at all times, presupposed a good deal of knowledge which might or might not be codified elsewhere. For historical research comparison with contemporary liturgical books is, whenever possible, much needed; frequently it furnishes satisfactory answers. But comparison with books of a different age may equally well create other problems of evolution.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. HUGLO, « Le chant », 118 f.; HESBERT, *Corpus*, 181 ff.

<sup>2</sup> ANDRIEU III, 362 f., no. 67, var. 10; no. 69, var. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Still another form in the 11th-cent. monastic antiphonal from Silos, London, BM, Add. 30850; ed. HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonalium. Vol. II. Manuscripti « cursus monasticus » ... Fontes VIII*, Rome 1965, 331-43; for Easter to Friday.

A point commonly supposed to be known among those who used Ordines was that of the interpretation of textual cues. As the complete texts were given in the respective liturgical books, the length of cues was more often than not unimportant and, consequently, haphazard. In the case of the Easter vespers they range from two words (e.g. *Dominus regnavit*) to a whole sentence or psalm strophe (*Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus* or *Priusquam montes fierent aut formaretur orbis terrae a saeculo et usque in saeculum tu es deus*)<sup>1</sup>. At times cues were expanded because of underlying problems of interpretation or because the texts were little known, e.g. in Greek. The variants to Andrieu's edition of OR XXVII moreover show that not even one and the same scribe was ever consistent: cues with and without *et reliqua* alternate with phrases, sentences or whole verses. A glance at contemporary and later ordinals confirms that this was common practice; everybody understood.

The differences between the cues in the Ordines and the texts in the later chant books are hardly ever real but, in principle, the result of different methods of recording, inherent in each type of book. This is particularly obvious in cases where they wholly or partially cover each other. The first Alleluia on Monday has four « verses » in the later chant books, only two cues in the Ordines, but they read<sup>2</sup>: — verses marked with small capitals, cues listed underneath each other —

DOMINE refugium factus est nobis A GENERATIONE et progenie.

PRIUSQUAM fierent montes ~ terre A SEculo ~ tu es deus.

The third Alleluia on that day has five « verses » in the chant books but three cues in the Ordines; these read<sup>3</sup>:

IN EXITU Israel de Egypto domus Iacob DE POPULO barbaro.

FACTA EST Iudea. [...]

MARE vidit. [CONVERSUS...]

<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU III, 363, nos. 70, 72; 367, no. 80.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 62, no. 7; *PL* 78, 772; HESBERT, 186; ANDRIEU III, 367, no. 80.

<sup>3</sup> « Aufbau », 63, no. 9; *PL loc.cit.*; HESBERT, 188; ANDRIEU, 368, no. 82.

The first Alleluia on Tuesday with six « verses » in the chant books has three cues in the Ordines <sup>1</sup>:

PARATUM cor meum ~ cor meum CANTABO et psalmum dicam domino.

EXURGE o gloria mea [EXURGAM ...]

UT LIBERENTUR electi tui. [BENEFAC ...]

The cues *Facta est Iudea* and *Mare vidit* do not and cannot positively exclude the second half-verses of the strophes: *Israel potestas...* (not a separate « verse » in the chant books) and *Conversus est...* Nor do *Exurge o gloria mea* and *Ut liberentur electi tui* ignore the subsequent *Exurgam...* and *Benefac domine...* These and other instances reveal how, at least in the mind of 7th- and 8th-century scribes of ordinals, the psalmodic strophes were intended as whole verses, not just the first halves or portions covered by their cues.

The reality behind such cues comes to light when placing them in their liturgical setting, by establishing, in fact, the reason for the choice of texts. For example, the first Alleluia on Friday is for the station at the basilica of Jerusalem. The Ordines give three cues of ps. 121, vv.1,2,5, which, at some later stage, were sung as six half-verses <sup>2</sup>:

LETATUS sum in his que ~ IN DOMUM domini ibimus.

STANTES erant pedes nostri IN ATRIIS tuis Jerusalem.

ROGATE que ad pacem sunt Jerusalem ET ABUNDANTIA diligentibus te.

The *domus domini* and *atria Jerusalem*, the cross and the basilica, were chosen for this particular church — like the gradual at Mass on the fourth Sunday in Lent <sup>3</sup> — to which also the concluding invitation to prayer refers. In giving the cues *Letatus*, *Stantes*, *Rogate*, the Ordines presuppose that three complete strophes were being sung. For the first two the choice lies in the second half-verses; without these the first half-verses would be meaningless.

<sup>1</sup> « Aufbau », 63, no. 11; *PL loc.cit.*; HESBERT, 188; ANDRIEU, 368, no. 83.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 64, no. 20; *PL* 78, 774; HESBERT, 194; ANDRIEU, 370, no. 89 (Thursday).

<sup>3</sup> HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, 74 f., no. 60.

The choice of the second Alleluia that day, at the baptistry, is moreover inspired by the geographical situation. Also at Mass on the fourth Sunday in Lent this text follows the previous one <sup>1</sup>. The Ordines give three cues, the chant books five « verses » of ps. 124, 1 ; 2a, 2b ; 3b, 4 <sup>2</sup>.

QUI CONFIDUNT in domino sicut mons Syon ~ in Jerusalem  
MONTES in circuitu eius et dominus ~ EX HOC nunc...

UT NON extendant iusti ~ BENEFAC DOMINE bonis et rectis  
corde.

Again, the first cue must also extend to the second half-verse, and for two reasons : the first half-verse lacks sense without it ; the second half-verse mentions the station church. The second strophe refers to the surroundings.

With these two instances I have drifted into another aspect of the major Alleluias, that of their thematic choice. To establish the « identity » of a chant musicologists frequently content themselves with tracing text and melody to other occurrences in the liturgical year ; they note any changes and leave it to that. Doing so with the Easter vespers, they discover— with astonishment — that a good number of Alleluias turn up under Advent- and Christmastide ; others seem to lack identity and are classed as « de circulo anni » <sup>3</sup>.

This kind of comparison however falls short of the mentality of the composer-liturgist. The purpose of his choice cannot be established by the books in which his work occurs but by its background. The arrangement of chants in graduals or antiphonals takes little or no account of the occasions for which they were originally composed. Particularly later Roman books follow a system by which, in principle, an item is given the first time it is required, while subsequently cross-references to earlier pages are either given explicitly or supposed to be known by the user — another reason why the first portion of the temporale is larger than the remainder

<sup>1</sup> Tract in HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, loc.cit.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 64, no. 21 ; PL 78, 774 ; HESBERT, *Corpus*, 194 ANDRIEU III, 370, no. 91 (Thursday).

<sup>3</sup> « Aufbau », 51, see 53.

of the book. What however evinces identity is, in the present case, the *romanitas* of the City and the century, the place of the station, the historical facts and mysteries of Easter, a feast much older than either Christmas (4th century) or Advent (2nd half 6th century).

Bearing this in mind, one discovers that referring to other feasts obscures rather than clarifies the identity of chants. The choice of the first Alleluia and its Greek pendant has really more meaning on Easter Sunday than on Christmas; the application of ps. 92, vv. 1; 3a, 3b; 4a, 4b reveals another mentality<sup>1</sup>:

Dominus regnavit decorem indutus = glory of the resurrection  
indutus est ~ fortitudinem et ~ virtutem = consignatio  
Elevaverunt flumina dne... = waters of baptism

The Alleluia with ps. 89 on Monday places the mystery of baptism right in the middle of the glory that was Rome; its application differs plainly from that on Christmas<sup>2</sup>:

Domine refugium factus es nobis = the newly baptised  
Priusquam montes fierent... = Seven Hills, centre of the world

The Alleluia with ps. 113 at St Andrew's the same day is a musical interpretation of the identical psalm just chanted, a perfect harmony which newly baptised could appreciate after instruction<sup>3</sup>:

In exitu Israel de Egypto = elect through the waters of baptism  
Facta est Iudea sanctificatio = baptism and consignatio

The Alleluia with ps. 97 on Saturday at St Mary's translates all facets of the occasion<sup>4</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> « Aufbau », 62, no. 2; PL 78, 770; HESBERT, 182; ANDRIEU III, 363, no. 69.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 62, no. 7; PL 78, 772; HESBERT, 186; ANDRIEU, 367, no. 80.

<sup>3</sup> « Aufbau », 63, no. 9; PL *loc.cit.*; HESBERT, 188; ANDRIEU, 368, no. 82.

<sup>4</sup> « Aufbau », 65, no. 23; PL 78, 774; HESBERT, 194; ANDRIEU 371, no. 92. — For other applications to St Mary's see K. GAMBER, « Oratio ad collectam. Ein Beitrag zur römischen Stationsliturgie », in EL LXXXII, 1968, 46 f.

Cantate domino canticum novum = Easter Alleluia <sup>1</sup>  
 quia mirabilia fecit = baptism, Magnificat (Quia fecit mihi  
 magna)

Notum fecit dominus salutare = publicity of baptism  
 ante conspectum gentium = the heart of a once pagan civilisation

And what, on Monday at the baptistry, could be more impressive to Greek-speaking neophytes than ps. 79 with its verses <sup>2</sup> :

Ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ (Qui regis Israel)  
 Ἀμπελον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου (Vinea de Aegypto transtulisti)

They had heard and seen all about the Vineyard of the Lord. On Holy Saturday, after one of the lessons, they probably sang the Greek refrain to the bilingual canticle *Cantabo nunc dilecto canticum vineae meae* <sup>3</sup>. They could scarcely have missed instruction <sup>4</sup> on this ancient symbol of God's chosen people, first Israel (Isa 27, 2-5 ; Jer. 2, 21) then the Church (Mat. 20, 1-15 ; 21, 33-46 ; John 15, 1-17). Not only the sacramentaries connected the theme with baptism but also decorations in baptistries. The huge 6th-century stylised vine in that of Salona even bears the supra-scription from the Itala :

Vinea facta est dilecta in cornum <sup>5</sup> in loco uberi.

And the first two verses of ps. 77 on Tuesday at the baptistry <sup>6</sup> were just as aptly chosen ; they were also heard at the scrutinies in northern Italy <sup>7</sup> :

<sup>1</sup> See H. Saturday in the late-12th-century court sacramentary, elaborated in the ordinal of Innocent III: *primicerius annuntiat pontifici lenta voce dicens. Annuntio vobis canticum novum. scilicet Alleluia. Quod Alleluia ipse pontifex propter sui novitatem totum decantat* ; forthcoming ed. in *op. cit.*, 274.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 63, no. 8 ; *PL* 78, 772 ; HESBERT, 188 ; ANDRIEU III, 367 f., no. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 345 f.

<sup>4</sup> See M. BOGAERT, « Sermon sur le cantique de la Vigne attribuable à Quodvultdeus », in *Revue bénédictine* LXXV, 1965, 109-35.

<sup>5</sup> This var. also in early psalters.

<sup>6</sup> « Aufbau », 63, no. 12 ; HESBERT, 190 ; *PL* 78, 772, corrupt.

<sup>7</sup> C. LAMBOT, *North Italian services of the eleventh century. Recueil d'Ordines du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Henry Bradshaw Society* LXXVII, London 1931, 23 ; *CLLA*, no. 290. The region has been identified as « north of Monza in the non-Ambrosian zone of the duchy of Milan » ;

*Προσέχετε λαός μου* (Attendite popule meus legem)  
*Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς* (Aperiam in parabolis os meum)

Leaving the search for more contacts to others, I fail to see any lack of originality in the adaptation of these psalms. On the contrary, it is full of the mentality, revealed throughout the Roman books, which some have qualified as that of the Golden Age of Roman liturgical concepts<sup>1</sup>. To suggest that for Easter they borrowed from Christmas or any other feast during the year sounds almost like an insult.

Once it has been established that the cues in the Ordines are not in themselves related to the manner in which the texts are treated in the chant books, one observes immediately how the performance of the Latin major Alleluias went through three stages of development: 1. the oldest and simplest is given in OR XXX<sup>Ba</sup>, 2. the most complicated one in the two groups W C and OR XXVII, 3. while a new vocal dramatisation is attested by the late medieval chant books, Rome, VL, Vat.lat. 5319, and London, BM, Add. 29988.

1. Taking OR XXX<sup>Ba</sup> at its letter, we come to the following application of its rubrics about the first major Alleluia of the octave<sup>2</sup>:

Sequitur post hunc [ps.110] primus scolae cum paraphonistis infantibus

1 1<sup>a</sup> *Alleluia* [= Alleluia prima]  
 et respondent paraphoniste [viriles].

2 1<sup>b</sup> [*Alleluia*]

Sequitur subdiaconus [= quartus scolarum] cum infantibus:

3 2 *Dominus regnavit decore induit* [\**induit ~ virtutem.*]  
 et respondent paraphoniste:

4 1<sup>c</sup> *Alleluia.*

Item [subdiaconus cum infantibus:]

M. HUGLO, « Vestiges d'un ancien répertoire musical de Haute-Italie », in *Zweiter internat. Kongress für kathol. Kirchenmusik Wien 4-10 Okt. 1954*, Vienna 1955, 142-5; the text in question, 143; Idem, « Vestigia di un antico repertorio musicale dell'Alte Italia apparentato col canto ambrosiano », in *Ambrosius* 1955, 37.

<sup>1</sup> *Tempora mutantur*; see CLLA, 27.

<sup>2</sup> ANDRIEU III, 476, nis. 74-5.



- 5 3 *Parata sedes tua deus* [\**ex tunc a seculo tu es.*]  
et sequitur *Alleluia* a paraphonistis.
- 6 1<sup>a</sup> [*Alleluia*]  
Item [subdiaconus cum infantibus:]
- 7 4 *Elevaverunt flumina dne et reliqua* [= \**Elevaverunt flumina voces suas*]  
Post hos versus salutat primus scolae archidiacono et, illo annuente, incipit *Alleluia* cum melodias cum infantibus.
- 8 5 [*Alleluia* = *Alleluia secunda*]<sup>1</sup>  
Qua expleta, respondent paraphoniste prima[m]
- 9 1<sup>e</sup> *Alleluia.*  
Et finitur.

This is a technically accurate description of a normal responsorial technique, applied to an *Alleluia* with verses, performed by two half-choirs. The boys directed by the prior or the subdeacon, the *quartus* who was their teacher, lead the singing, while the male choir of *paraphonistae* repeated the response or refrain *Alleluia* (no. 1) four times (nos. 2,4,6,9).

2. The Ordo in W C and OR XXVII give a much more involved picture, consequent upon a light extension of the rubric prefixed to item no. 4 (1<sup>e</sup>). Instead of  
et respondent paraphonistae

<sup>1</sup> Not in London, BM, Add. 29988. — The *Alleluia secunda* is common to both the urban and Ambrosian repertoires, but few have been preserved in the chant books; « Aufbau », 52. In the former the melody begins like that of the *Alleluia prima*, the jubilus however is developed and longer; cf. *loc.cit.*, 66, ex. II, with 69, no. 14; also *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. F. BLUME, s.v. *Alleluia* (STÄBLEIN). As the Ordines qualify the *Alleluia secunda* with *cum melodiis* (Romano-German pontifical simply *melodia*, ed. VOGEL-ELZE II, 117, no. 411), this terminology must be identical with the *cum sequentia* found after 5 of the listed *Alleluias* in the gradual of Mont-Blandin, HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, 198:

Blandinensis	Easter vespers
Alla Jubilate deo	-
Alla Dns regnavit	no. 2
Alla Beatus vir (John evang. I)	melody of no. 21 (Qui confidunt)
Alla Cantate dno	no. 23
Alla Confitemini	no. 16

we now read <sup>1</sup> :

Et <semper> respondent paraphonistae <et adnuntiant verba infantibus>.

The adverb *semper* makes, in principle, little change. The responsorial technique of OR XXX<sup>Ba</sup> already implied that the refrain was repeated after EVERY psalm strophe. Still, the addition was inspired by the new coordinate clause. In the latter the male choir is ordered to follow up the refrain with « announcing the cue » of the subsequent psalm text. One might argue <sup>2</sup> that, since the refrain is repeated after every psalm strophe (*semper*), it follows that every time also the *verba* of the subsequent verses must be announced. This conclusion however is too wide ; it also ignores the evidence provided by the chant books. Here *verba* (text and melody) are not prefixed to all psalm strophes but mostly to a limited number of second half-verses. What is more, they are not like those customary intonations by which the subsequent melody is hummed by a chanter before a soloist or choir begins to sing. This kind of intonation would not need explicit recording. The melody of these annunciations <sup>3</sup> is uniform (recitative c, cadence c-h-G) and the text is not necessarily identical with the opening words of the psalm text.

Leaving the melodic technicalities aside for a moment, one observes that the restricted number of *verba* in the chant books puts a narrowly literal translation upon the new rubric, namely : the male choir should always repeat the refrain, and announce *verba* to the boys choir whenever there are any, i.e. when the books give them. This in actual fact is only seventeen times. Two of these occur in the first major Alleluia of Easter Sunday, viz. *Ex tunc a saeculo* and *Elevaverunt secunda*. Taking again W C and OR XXVII at the letter, we come, with the aid of the chant books, to the following reconstruction. Rubrics and cues are exactly those in the Ordines ; only two clauses, clarifying the performance, are repeated in square brackets. For the sake of easy comparison

<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU III, 363, nos. 70-1.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 68.

<sup>3</sup> An exceptional annunciation quoted above, p. 299, note 1. — « Aufbau », 49, speaks of *annunciationes*. I find no trace of this term in the documents.

with the previous practice (OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>) I prefix my numbering of its items in square brackets to that of the new technique :

Sequitur post hunc primus scholae cum paraphonistis infantibus :

[1] 1 1<sup>a</sup> *Alleluia*

Et respondent paraphoniste [viriles].

[2] 2 1<sup>b</sup> [*Alleluia*]

Sequitur subdiaconus cum infantibus :

[3] 3 2 ✠<sup>1</sup> *Dominus regnavit et reliqua* [= *decorem induit\**  
*induit ~ virtutem.*]

Et semper respondent paraphoniste :

[4] 4 1<sup>c</sup> [*Alleluia*]

[Sequitur subdiaconus cum infantibus :]

[5] 5 3 ✠ *Parata sedes tua deus\**

[Et semper respondent paraphoniste :]

6 1<sup>d</sup> [*Alleluia*]

et adnuntiant verba infantibus :

7 4<sup>a</sup> *Ex tunc a seculo*

[Sequitur subdiaconus cum infantibus :]

[5] 8 4<sup>b</sup> *Ex tunc a seculo tu es.*

[Et semper respondent paraphoniste :]

[6] 9 1<sup>e</sup> [*Alleluia*]

Iterum [sequitur subdiaconus cum infantibus :]

[7] 10 5 ✠ *Elevaverunt flumina domine\**

[Et semper respondent paraphoniste :]

11 1<sup>f</sup> [*Alleluia*]

[et adnuntiant verba infantibus :]

12 6<sup>a</sup> *Elevaverunt secunda*

[Sequitur subdiaconus cum infantibus :]

[7] 13 6<sup>b</sup> *Elevaverunt flumina voces suas.*

Post hos versus salutat primus scholae archidiaconum et, illo annuente, incipit *Alleluia* cum melodiis cum infantibus.

[8] 14 7 [*Alleluia* = secunda]

Qua expleta, respondent paraphoniste primam

[9] 15 1<sup>g</sup> [*Alleluia*]

The implications of this *semper* in the rubric are obvious. In the earlier technique the first *Alleluia* was repeated four

<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU III, 363, no. 70 : *Alleluia*.

times. Now, certain psalm strophes being divided, the number of repetitions has increased accordingly. The adverb draws attention to these new opportunities.

What actually lies behind this *semper* melodically, is a fascinating attempt at further dramatisation. Nine of the thirteen Alleluias, but none of the Greek ones, have one or more psalm strophes halved and an annunciation inserted <sup>1</sup>. But the number is not chosen at random. The four remaining cases <sup>2</sup> have text and melody combined in such a manner that they did not allow for division (Easter *Venite exultemus*; Tuesday, *Confitebor*; <sup>3</sup> Wednesday *Confitemini*; Low Sunday *Omnes gentes* <sup>4</sup>). Obviously, all this results from the later chant books; in the Ordines only the short rubric links them with this period. The following selective list serves as an aid to our explanations; divided half-verses are marked with an asterisk; numbering of the Alleluias and symbols of the melodic types are taken from Smits van Waesberghe's analysis of Rome, Vat.lat. 5319 <sup>5</sup>.

Alleluia verses	melodic type	psalm
Easter		
in the basilica		
2 Dominus regnavit	IV (III var.) <sup>6</sup>	92, 1
Parata sedes	III	92, 2a
* Ex tunc a seculo	I	* 92, 2b
Elevaverunt flum.dne	III	92, 3a
* Elevaverunt flum.voces	I	* 92, 3b
at St Andrew's		
5 Venite exultemus	X + IIa	94, 1
Preoccupemus		94, 2
[Hodie si vocem] <sup>7</sup>		94, 7b

<sup>1</sup> « Aufbau », 62 ff., 49, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc.cit.*, nos. 5, 13, 16, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Add. 29988, fol. 78, 1 verse, expl. *psallam coram te*; no melody.

<sup>4</sup> Add. 29988 no melody.

<sup>5</sup> « Aufbau », *loc.cit.*

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 335.

<sup>7</sup> Thus the Ordines: HESBERT, 182 f., *PL* 78, 771; ANDRIEU III, 366, no. 77, brought forward to 365, no. 76. Not in Vat.lat. 5319 nor Add. 29988.

## Monday

at the basilica

7 Domine refugium	III	89, 1a
* A generatione		* 89, 1b
Priusquam fierent	III + III	89, 2a
* A seculo usque	I	* 89, 2b

at St Andrew's

9 In exitu	III	113, 1a
* De populo	I	* 113, 1b
Facta est Iudea	[IIIb+]¹ IIIb+I	113, 2
Mare vidit	IIIb	113, 3a
* Conversus est	I	* 113, 3b

## Tuesday

at the basilica

11 Paratum cor	III + III ²	107, 1a
* Cantabo et ps.	I	* 107, 1b
Exurge gloria	III + III	107, 2a
* Exurgam diluculo		* 107, 2b
Ut liberentur	IIIa	107, 7a
* Benefac domine	I	* 107, 7b

## Wednesday

at the basilica

15 Te decet hymnus	X + IIa	64, 1 ³
Replebimur	Ivar.	64, 5a
* Sanctum est	I	* 64, 5b¹
* Mirabile in	I	* 64, 5b²

at the baptistry

16 Confitemini...invoke	III + III + I ⁴	104, 1
Cantate et ei ps.	III + III + I	104, 2
[Laudamini in nom.]	-	104, 3

¹ In Add. 29988, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>, and Vat.lat. 5319 the strophe is tripartite : *Facta est Iudea sanctificatio eius/ Israel potestas eius/ Israel regnavit in ea.*

² *Paratum cor meum deus / paratum cor meum*, also melodically almost identical. Similarly the half-verse 2a. — Add. 29988 no melody.

³ « Aufbau », 64, no. 15 gives vv 2,5,5,6, which is incorrect. Only the 2nd half-verse of strophe 5 is divided, since only here the melody allowed it.

⁴ Add. 29988 no melody. See above, p. 301, note 1.

⁵ Only in the Ordines : HESBERT, 192 ; PL 78, 773 ; ANDRIEU III, 369, no. 87.

Anyone who has had occasion to inspect, however briefly, the Old-Roman repertoire must be struck by certain melodic features pointing to great antiquity <sup>1</sup>. One of these is that many chants preserve a more patently schematic structure than the corresponding Gregorian ones. This is noticeable e.g. among a good number of introits and, in a more elaborate form (with *torculus* instead of recitation note), among a group of offertories; graduals, tracts and Alleluias have frequently a centonisation of melodic patterns which is extremely systematic, not to say uniform. In most of these cases the underlying scheme goes back, in one form or another, to psalmody with its basic elements of:

initium - tenor - mediatio \* initium - tenor - terminatio

This scheme is also preserved in the greater part of the Latin major Alleluias. R. J. SNOW <sup>2</sup> already remarked: « with a single exception <sup>3</sup> all the nineteen Vesper Alleluias [Latin and Greek ones] have two or three verses with a total of forty-five. Twelve of these are borrowed from the Mass liturgy. The remaining thirty-three verses occur only in Vespers and these show a radically different musical style. They are all based upon the same material consisting of two psalmodic formulae, one ending on a, the other on g [sic]. The G-formula is used for the final phrase, the A-formula [sic] for all the preceding phrases ».

On the whole, this statement is correct; but it could have been more precise. The « two psalmodic formulae » are none else than first and second half- or part-verses of psalm strophes. And « the same material » belongs melodically, for the greater part, to the seventh mode. Hence the functions of the a- and G-formulae are clear. The a-cadence, concluding the first half- or part-verses, is a perfect psalmodic *mediatio suspensiva* of the 7th mode; the G-cadence of the second

<sup>1</sup> See also B. STÄBLEIN, « Kann der gregorianische Choral », *loc.cit.*, 154, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> In W. APEL, *Gregorian chant*, 498.

<sup>3</sup> I suspect this to mean the All. "Ὅτι θεὸς μέγας (ps. 94, 3) on Low Sunday; « Aufbau », 65, no. 27. But counted separately, one arrives at a total of 20 rather than 19. See below, p. 315.

half- or part-verses constitutes a regular *terminatio* of the same mode.

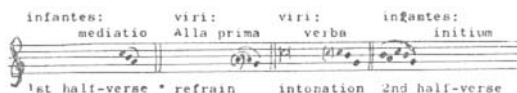
In short, these verses were composed as psalmodic strophes. Leaving aside melodic variations, one could say that in the first half-verses the *initium*, although variable, is consistent, ranging from a simple interval (G-a) to an elaborate neum. The *tenor* (c) consisting of one or more *torculi* (c-d-c, c-d-c) is followed by a flourished formula introducing the *mediatio* (h-d-c-h-(c-a) (c-h)-a-c-h-a). The second half-verses always have a clearly defined *initium* (h-a-c-h-G) ; their *tenor* (h) may lack an obviously stated recitation tone, in other cases it is, again, the emphatic *torculus* (h-c-a, h-c-a) <sup>1</sup> ; the *terminatio* is frequently melismatic (a-c-h-c-G-a-(a-) G) but occasionally simplified (c-h-a, h-c-a-G) :



The musicologist has here a straight-forward answer to two questions. First, the parallelism between *tenor* (c-d-c) with *mediatio* (h-d-c-h-a) in the first half-verse and *tenor* (h-c-a) with *terminatio* (a-c-h-a-G) in the second half-verse, an identity differentiated by a second, is so elementary in the Formenlehre of Old-Roman chant that there can be no doubt that the Alleluia verses with this scheme were composed as complete psalmodic strophes and intended to be sung as such long before the period when some verses were divided. Secondly, only sixteen of their verses were regarded as being composed regularly enough according to this scheme and material of the seventh mode ; these were actually divided. All others have, in one way or another, irregularities or rather free variations in the application of its melodic formulae : the *mediatio suspensiva* may not coincide with the asterisk but is found elsewhere in the text ; the *initium* of the second half-verse differs from the standard one, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See also « Aufbau », 57, note 6.

As for the annunciations : the suspense proper to the *mediatio* (c-h-a) was resolved by the insertion of the Alleluia, always repeated by the male choir. This treatment of ending a phrase, sentence or psalm strophe with a suspensive cadence, provided this is brought to finality by a response or refrain, is known not only in the Gregorian repertoire but also in the Old-Roman. It is, for example, most effectively used in the responsorial technique of the canticle *Cantabo nunc*, also in the seventh mode <sup>1</sup>. The strophes — with recitation tone on the dominant (d) — end on an a-cadence (c-d-c-d, c-h-a), a suspense which the response *domus Israel* brings to a concluding G-cadence (h-c-h-c, h-a-G) ; even the paralellism mentioned above is preserved. But the case of the « split » verses in the Alleluias differs. The *initium* of the second half-verse (h-a-c-h-G), conceived as following a *mediatio*, does not simply re-open a movement ; it begins half-way. If, at this point, the boys were to take up, another kind of suspense had to be created that would also facilitate intoning this second *initium*. This is the function of the newly composed *verba*. Built upon a single melodic scheme, they introduce the first neum of the second half-verse, providing a useful as well as dramatic element, heightened by the alternating voices :



3. In addition to the annunciations for the sixteen divided psalm strophes, there are two which do not strictly fit into this group. The first offers no real difficulty but is rather interesting. It concerns the first verse of the Alleluia *Pascha nostrum ¶ Epulemur*, borrowed from the Easter Mass <sup>2</sup>. Its text is not taken from the psalms and lacks the balanced structure of half-verses. This gave the chanter looking for divisible psalmodic strophes an idea. Regarding the sentence *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus* as a first half-verse, he troped the last word with *Christus qui nos adiuvet*, possibly inspired

<sup>1</sup> Below, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 278.



by the refrain of the Acclamations, *Salvator mundi, tu illum adiuva* <sup>1</sup>. He opened its melody with the regular *initium* cadence of the psalmodic second half-verse (h-a-c-h-G), treating it otherwise as a normal melodic type I. Inserting also the annunciation *Christus qui nos adiuvet*, he had added one more case to his divided half-verses <sup>2</sup>.

The second annunciation belonging to a later period is textually unlike any of the others. Found in Vat.lat. 5319<sup>3</sup> just before the second Alleluia to the *Pascha nostrum*, it was meant to apply to all second Alleluias throughout the octave. S.v.W. also understood it in this way, when placing it after the preceding Alleluia *Dominus regnavit* <sup>4</sup>. It concerns the rubric prefixed to item no. 14 of the Ordo in W C and OR XXVII <sup>5</sup>:

Post hos versus salutatur primus scolae archidiaconus  
et, illo annuente,

14 7<sup>a</sup> *Alleluia secunda dic domne*

incipit Alleluia cum melodiis cum infantibus

[8] 15 7<sup>b</sup> [*Alleluia* = secunda]

Qua expleta, respondent paraphoniste primam

[9] 16 1<sup>s</sup> *Alleluia*.

These *verba* (7<sup>a</sup>) introducing the second Alleluia (7<sup>b</sup>) represent a totally new element. Being an explicit consent with obvious dramatic effect, it lacks the musical function of the other annunciations. This one brings in the archdeacon, the celebrant, and seems to be inspired by the already existing « practical » annunciations, sung by the male choir. While one must agree with S.v.W. that it was not only meant for

See e.g. *Liber politicus*, no. 22 ; PL 78, 1014 ; ed. FABRE-DUCHESNE, 146.

<sup>2</sup> In Vat.lat. 5319 the *Pascha nostrum* at Mass ends on *Christus* with a final cadence (h-a-c-h-a-G). At vespers both this MS and Add. 29988 only give the cue. Hence it cannot be established whether perhaps this cadence was changed into one ending on : a (*mediatio*) ; which it should do according to the technique of the other divided half-verses.

<sup>3</sup> Not in Add. 29988, as it has no second Alleluias.

<sup>4</sup> « Aufbau », 67, 69.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 303.

the *Pascha nostrum*, its irregular place in the Vatican gradual betrays it as an addition. Consequently, it should have no place in a reconstruction of the Ordines <sup>1</sup>. Here the meaning of *illo annuente* was, not a musical invitation but a purely ceremonial act <sup>2</sup>. And there are other reasons why this annunciation from outside the choir belongs to a later development, proper to a third stage and the chant books. All Ordines maintain the responsorial technique within the choir; solo chant is not foreseen. However, the chant books introduced another method. Here the annunciations are marked with *primicerius* (p. 21, nos. 7, 12), the verses (nos. 8, 13) with *schola* <sup>3</sup>. These changes threw the previous arrangement into disorder, unless one presupposes that the two terms were meant as exceptions to the prevailing rubrics; in which case the sequence would be:

*infantes* : first half- or part-verse

*virī* : response

*precentor* : annunciation

*schola* = *virī* + *infantes* : second half- or part-verse.

But one may equally feel that the general term *schola*, without distinction between adults and boys, confirms what is already known from elsewhere, namely that the boys choir had been abandoned. After Guido of Arezzo's visit to Rome (1026) education of chanters from a very young age was no longer urgent. Alternation between *precentor* and *schola* is attested in prior Bernard's ordinal for the Lateran canons, in latemedieval pontificals, the ordinal of Innocent III, even the 15th-century papal ceremonial, etc. None mentions *pueri* or *infantes* <sup>4</sup>.

With the boys disappeared their high-pitched voices, the striking vocal element of dramatization in the traditional techniques of antiphonal and responsorial singing <sup>5</sup>. Consequently, the Old-Roman chant books record another kind of

<sup>1</sup> « Aufbau », 69.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 267 f., and ANDRIEU III, 363, no. 69 (twice).

<sup>3</sup> Both Vat.lat. 5319 and Add. 29988, fol. 74 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A vague exception in DURANDUS' pontifical where a *precentor* with 4 singers and 4 *pueri bene cantantes* sing the Acclamations; ed. ANDRIEU, *Le pontifical* III, 648.

<sup>5</sup> For testimonies of early consciousness of this see WELLESZ, *Eastern elements*, 52 f.

« sound », the alternating of the precentor's solo chant with the massed voices of the male choir. The voice of the arch-deacon, giving his musical consent to intone the second Alleluia, is still another development, from the usefully to the purely dramatic, from the real to the symbolic.

The term *primicerius* instead of the older *prior* or *primus* also points to a later stage <sup>1</sup>. The first documents known to me date from the second half of the 9th and early-10th centuries <sup>2</sup>. But whatever its date in the Easter vespers, this cannot, without positive proof, be related to the origins of the annunciations introduced by that term. The former are attested for the second period (*adnuntiant verba*), when the Ordines at least used *prior* or *primus*. The Vatican gradual itself suggests that *primicerius* does not belong to that period. Easter Sunday vespers open with a few notes in which the term occurs for the first time. But they are excerpted from the longer rubrics of the Ordines :

OR XXX <sup>2</sup> title <sup>3</sup>	W C title <sup>4</sup>	OR XXVII title <sup>5</sup>	Vat.lat.5319, fol. 83 <sup>v</sup> In nomine Christi. <sup>6</sup> Incipit vesp.
In primis dominica sancta, hora nona, con- venit scola cum episcopis et diaconibus in ecclesia maiore,	Conveniente scola tem- porius		Convenientes  cum episcopis et diaconi- bus.
que est catholica, <sup>7</sup> et a loco crucifixi incipiunt <i>Kyrieleyson</i> . Et veniunt usque ad altare. Ascendentibus diaconibus in pogium, episcopi et pres- biteri statuuntur in locis suis et scola ante altare stet. Finito <i>Kyrieleyson</i> , annuit archidiaconus primo sco- lae et ille inclinans se illi incipit ant. <i>Alleluia</i> ...	ad locum crucifixi		Ad locum crucifixi. [ita ; usque ad = ante]
			Finito K. Dicit primi- cerius A. <i>Alleluia</i> ...

The three stages in the development of performance of the Latin Alleluias run parallel with those of the Ordines but

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 282, 300 f., 303, and this page, below.

<sup>2</sup> VAN DIJK, « Gregory the Great », 346 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 281.

<sup>5</sup> ANDRIEU III, 362.

<sup>6</sup> For this expression see « Urban and papal rites », 418, note 11.

<sup>7</sup> See OR XXI, ed. ANDRIEU III, 247, no. 1.

extend beyond them into the chant books. The scheme for the overall content of the Easter vespers (Appendix I) can therefore be completed with the details surveyed in Appendix II (p. 360-1).

### IIIB THE GREEK MAJOR ALLELUIAS

The Greek major Alleluias in the Easter vespers are only a single case in a long-drawn history of cultural exchanges between East and West. The correct perspectives are, here as elsewhere, difficult to see as yet, but these chants should certainly not be studied in isolation, without their context of the liturgical year. After all, these vespers are the continuation of baptism and resurrection, celebrated not only at the Lateran but also in title churches and basilicas <sup>1</sup>.

Bilingual recitation is found in the 7th- perhaps even 6th-century order of the scrutinies, OR XI<sup>2</sup>, where the creed is said first in Greek then in Latin. Bilingual reading and chant for baptism and Mass <sup>3</sup> on Holy Saturday are attested in three *Ordines Romani*: Andrieu's appendix to OR XXVIII <sup>4</sup>, OR XXIII <sup>5</sup> and the first portion of OR XXX<sup>B</sup> <sup>6</sup>. Although the earliest manuscripts do not go beyond the 8th century, the custom itself was clearly much older <sup>7</sup>. The *Ordines* prescribe that Greek lessons and canticles should be sung first, the Latin ones afterwards. This sequence was maintained for centuries. It persists in the pontifical of Apamea, copied in the early-13th

<sup>1</sup> CHAVASSE, 99. For baptism at St Mary's Major's see *Liber pol.*, no. 45; *PL* 78, 1043, FABRE-DUCHESNE, 152; *Liber cens.*, no. 33; *PL* 78, 1078; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 297 f. Texts also found in the later court ordinals.

<sup>2</sup> ANDRIEU II, 434 f., nos. 62-5; GELASIANUM, lib. I, no. 35; CHAVASSE, 164.

<sup>3</sup> See CHAVASSE, 107 ff.

<sup>4</sup> ANDRIEU III, 412 f. The chronology, *loc.cit.*, 388, is, after Chavasse's study, inaccurate.

<sup>5</sup> ANDRIEU III, 272, nos. 26-7.

<sup>6</sup> ANDRIEU III, 472, nos. 39, 41. — All texts collected by CHAVASSE, 108 f.

<sup>7</sup> For early practices, see WELLESZ, *Eastern elements*, 19 f.; for later ones H. A. P. SCHMIDT, *Hebdomada sancta*, II. 2, 842 ff.

century from a late-12th-century Roman model<sup>1</sup>. But this is perhaps the last witness. Prior Bernard of the Lateran monastery still copied the tradition subconsciously: *XII [lectiones] grece et XII latine*. Yet, the same passage explains: *XII videlicet latinas subdiaconi curie legunt... Statim enim ut expleta fuerit latina lectio, inchoatur lectio greca a greco subdiacono*<sup>2</sup>. Benedict of St Peter's,<sup>3</sup> Albinus, Censius Savelli and all later court ordinals have the Latin lessons first, the Greek ones in the second place.

The bilingual text of lessons and canticles is preserved in the 9th-century *Liber Commonii* from Wales, in a composite Oxford manuscript in the Bodleian library, Auct. F. 4. 32,<sup>4</sup> a book that came to Glastonbury under the abbacy of St Dunstan (945-88)<sup>5</sup>. The Latin here is given first, in the left-hand columns, the Greek second, on the right-hand side. The former is basic, the Greek being on obvious addition. Yet, the latter too has changes in order to achieve agreement between the two texts. What is more important, however; the Latin is that of the *Vetus Itala*, unlike the Vulgate by St Jerome, a translation from the Greek and known already in the days of St Augustine. And Dom Fischer, editing the Book of Commonius, did not hesitate to see the *Itala* used in the Roman liturgy into the 7th century, at least. This conservatism seems to make sense. The *Itala* belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. ANDRIEU, *Le pontifical* 1, 241, no. 12; See F. WORMALD, « The pontifical of Apamea », in *Het nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 1954, 271-9. — The same order, Greek-Latin, in the Beneventan fore-Mass on Good Friday; *Paléographie musicale* xiv, 290 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ordo lateran.*, ed. FISCHER, 62, no. 145.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Politicus*, nos. 20, 62; *PL* 78, 1033, 1049; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 146, 157.

<sup>4</sup> B. FISCHER, « Die Lesungen der römischen Ostervigil unter Gregor d.Gr. », in *Colligere fragmenta. Festschrift Alban Dold zum 70. Geburtstag am 7.7.1952*, in *Texte und Arbeiten... Beuron. 1. Abteilung. Beiträge zur Ergründung des älteren lateinisch christlichen Schrifttums und Gottesdienstes*, 2. Beiheft, Beuron 1952, 144-59.

<sup>5</sup> The role of Glastonbury in the history of Old-Roman - Gregorian has been analysed by VAN WAESBERGHE, « Die Geschichte von Glastonbury (1082) und ihre Folgen », in *Colloquium amicorum. Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 70. Geburtstag*, Bonn 1967, 372-8. Historical data are here misused to prove a thesis.

Greek text, particularly in bilingual worship. In other words, liturgically Latin continued to be treated as a translation of an older, Greek text.

All this makes one wonder. It is by now commonly accepted, not to say fashionable, to view the influence of Byzantium and Greek liturgy as becoming noticeable round the mid-6th century, during the early youth of Gregory the Great, when Justinian I made Italy into a province of the empire (Pragmatic Sanction), and extending roughly to the pontificate of the last pope of Greek origin, Zachary (741-52), when the Longobards put an end to the exarchate of Ravenna and the papacy sought closer relationship with the Merovingian dynasty<sup>1</sup>. But if Greek readings and chants were introduced under 6th- and 7th-century influence of Byzantium as a translation of the Latin, why were they placed first? This was scarcely due to pastoral considerations: Greek cathecumens were usually not more numerous than those of Latin origin. Are perhaps these lessons, etc. a relic from the far-off past when Greek was still the *lingua franca* and the liturgical language? Had the esteem for the Greek « original » survived the onslaught of the Goths, the years of famine and plague?

The case of « Byzantine influence » in the Greek Alleluias illustrates still another aspect of bilingual liturgy. The Ordo with the whole octave of Easter vespers, our first OR XXVII (W C), has five. On Easter Sunday there is first the Latin *Dominus regnavit* (ps. 91, 1, 3, 4; above, p. 22, no. 2) followed at the baptistry by its Greek counterpart *Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν* (ps. 91, 1,2). This Latin first Greek afterwards looks like the late-medieval custom. Actually, against the background of the entire octave the function of the Greek Alleluias is different. The five chants are assigned to the stations at

<sup>1</sup> Obviously, it did not end here; see e.g. J. A. JUNGSMANN, « Flectere pro Carolo rege », in *Mélanges en l'honneur de Mons. Michel Andrieu*, in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, vol. hors série, Strasbourg 1956, 218 ff., J. LEMARIÉ, « Les antiennes 'Veterem hominem' du jour octave de l'Épiphanie et les antiennes d'origine grecque de l'Épiphanie », in EL lxxii, 1958, 3 ff.; VAN WAESBERGHE, « Das gegenwärtige Geschichtsbild... », in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* xlvii, 1962, 63 ff.

the baptistry, except that Low Sunday has no explicit title for the second station. The lay-out is as follows. Again, I copy the numbering and melodic symbols from S.v.W.<sup>1</sup>:

baptistry Alleluias	melodic type	psalm
Easter		
4 Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν	free	92, 1
Καὶ γὰρ ἐστερέωσεν	free	92, 2 <sup>2</sup>
Monday		
8 Ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ	III + III + III	79, 1-2 <sup>3</sup>
Ἀμπελον ἐξ Αἰγυπτου	III + III + III + III	79, 9-10
Tuesday		
12 Προσέχετε λαός μου	III + III	77, 1 <sup>4</sup>
Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς	III + III +	77, 2 <sup>5</sup>
Wednesday : 16 <i>Confitemini</i>		
Thursday : tituli vespers		
Friday : 21 <i>Qui confidunt</i>		
Saturday		
24 Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται	III + III + III + I	18, 1 <sup>6</sup>
Ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρα	III + III + I	18, 2
Sunday		
26 Δεῦτε ἀγαλλιασώμεθα	III + III + I	94, 1 <sup>7</sup>
Προφθάσωμεν τό	III + III + I	94, 2
Ὅτι θεός μεγὰς	[III + III + I] free	94, 3

The absence of a Greek Alleluia on Wednesday is an anomaly underlined by the *Haec dies*, sung that day at St Andrew's<sup>8</sup>. The particular interest in the theme of ps. 124 may explain the case on Friday<sup>9</sup>. But is the absence of Greek Alleluias on these three consecutive days just coincidence? If it is not,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 304, and note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Not in C; PL 78, 771<sup>A</sup>, only cue of the 1st verse; see HESBERT, 182.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 299.

<sup>4</sup> Add. 29988 no melody, See above, p. 299 f.

<sup>5</sup> « Aufbau », 60, no. 12: ps. 72, 2. Not in C; PL 78, 772<sup>C</sup>, no Greek text, but see HESBERT, 190.

<sup>6</sup> Neither text nor melody in Add. 29988. Next verse not in C; PL 78 774<sup>c</sup>; HESBERT, 194.

<sup>7</sup> No melody, Add. 29988.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 319, no. 6.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 296 f.

the reason escapes me. That on Low Sunday may be due to a connection between the spring at Sts Cosmas & Damian's and baptism; or perhaps to the veneration for these Aegean brothers-physician, which came from Byzantium long before the reign of Felix IV; their names are in the Roman canon and the mosaics in the basilica connect them with St Peter and St Paul. This Byzantine background may have been sufficient. This Alleluia is a textual repeat of the Latin *Venite exultemus*, sung at the last station of Easter Sunday (no. 5). In the Greek liturgy too this ps. 94 belongs to the same « Sunday of St Thomas » (St John 20, 19-31). Likewise Alleluia no. 4 belongs to the Greek Easter octave.

The western connections with the Easter mysteries are mentioned above; those with baptism are particularly obvious<sup>1</sup>. But there existed other relations between the baptistry and the *Graeci* which are a mystery. They persisted up to the 12th and 13th centuries, when on the feast of St John Baptist (24 June) the Greeks came to sing the vigil in the Lateran basilica and matins at the baptistry<sup>2</sup>. Even the compiler of the Romano-German pontifical was so impressed by the relations between Greek and baptism that he thought it desirable to write a chapter *De verbis graecis baptisterii quomodo vertantur in latinum*<sup>3</sup>. Just because this evidence is so vague, it is frequently suggested that the presence of Greek texts originated, among other things, in the pastoral care for the many Greeks living in Rome at least from the end of the 6th century<sup>4</sup>. And, indeed, it might explain why OR XV

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 275, 298 f. — The mosaics in S. Venanzo, above, p. 287, include images of John IV (640-2), a Dalmatian, and of Theodor (642-9), a Greek from Jerusalem who introduced the Passio of John the Baptist (30 Aug.), CHAVASSE, *op.cit.*, 372, and the feast of St Euplius of Catania, a typically urban feast; « Urban and papal rites », 454, note 173. For the mosaics see S. WAETZOLDT, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mozaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, in *Veröffentlichungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max Plank Institut in Rom)*, Vienna-Munich [1964], nos. 264-72, pls. 145-9; ARMELLINI, 136 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber politicus*, no. 66; *PL* 78, 1050; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 157; *Ordo lateran.*, ed. FISCHER, 140 ff., no. 276; ordinal Innocent III, forthcoming ed., in *op. cit.*, 402.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. VOGEL-ELZE II, 172 (cap. CXI).

<sup>4</sup> ANDRIEU II, 394.



records the Greek custom of starting Lent on Sunday Sexagesima<sup>1</sup> and was justified — though earlier popes had objected — in maintaining their widely accepted date of the Epiphany for the administration of baptism<sup>2</sup>. It might be the reason why Greek and perhaps Greek clergy had a share in the most typical chants during the Easter vespers. But why just at the baptistry? And why were the three drinks offered outside the baptistry called *de greco*, *de pactisi* and *de procuma*<sup>3</sup>, whatever these terms may mean? And why Greek first and Latin afterwards in OR XI, Andrieu's appendix to OR XXVIII, OR XXIII and OR XXX<sup>B1</sup>? In other words, the so obvious explanation of pastoral care may equally well miss the point.

The chant books provide not only musicological material and problems but also at least one striking liturgical change in the arrangement of the ordinals<sup>4</sup>. On Low Sunday the latter had one Greek Alleluia with the first three verses of ps. 94. The former however separate the last verse from the other two by another Alleluia; both this Alleluia and the verse have a different, freely composed melody, strongly recalling

<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU III, 115, no. 82. — See A. MICHEL, « Die griechischen Klostersiedlungen zu Rom bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts », in *Ostkirchliche Studien* I, 1952, 32-45.

<sup>2</sup> ANDRIEU III, 110 ff., nos. 70 ff. For the antiquity of the custom see e.g. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Adversus eos qui differunt baptismum*, PG 46, 415-32. See « Urban and papal rites », 451, 455; « Recent developments », 316 f. — It is doubtlessly true that, during the 7th and 8th centuries the Romans disliked the Byzantines as much as the Longobards. This however did not prevent them from following and adopting Byzantine art or Byzantine liturgical symbols and practices.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 349. MABILLON's suggestion in the appendix to his OR I, PL 78, 966, note 1, is not likely, since the first term is generic.

<sup>4</sup> We are not concerned here with the Alleluia for the Friday Mass; « Aufbau », 64, no. 19, inserted by a later hand in Vat.lat. 5319; earlier testimonies for it in HUGLO, « Le chant », 110, no. 12. Nor with the fact that S.v.W. gives 5 verses for 'Ο ποιμαίνων on Monday (no. 8, a-e), while the London nocturnal gives the 2 listed in the Ordines (1 = a+b; 2 = c+d+e) and the Vatican gradual mistakenly subdivides the first (1 = a; 2 = b; 3 = c+d+e).

the Gregorian version of the Latin *Quoniam deus magnus* <sup>1</sup>. The melodic background of the first two verses and of the other Greek Alleluias clearly reveals that this textual separation also entailed musical interference. Except for the Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν on Easter (no. 4), the other four are composed to the same psalmodic scheme predominant among the Latin Alleluias <sup>2</sup>. Not so this newly separated verse.

One is well justified in presuming that originally this last verse was treated like the others. This, in its turn, suggests that the Latin Alleluias nos. 2, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 20, 21 <sup>3</sup>, 23, 28 and the Greek nos. 8, 12, 24, 26 + 27 were all composed in the same style on the scheme of psalmody, though not always with complete regularity. And one wonders again whether this primitive treatment together with the flawless choice of texts does not go beyond the accepted period of Byzantine influence?

#### IV AMALAR OF METZ ON THE EASTER VESPERS

In the following extract from Amalar's *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, chapter 52 <sup>4</sup>, my own numbering and lay-out attempt to illustrate how the text is built up round nine basic facts, embellished with the author's usual allegories :

*De glorioso officio quod fit circa vespertinales  
terminos in paschali ebdomada in romana ecclesia*

1. Notum solempniter est canere matrem nostram romanam ecclesiam tres psalmos ante ymnum evangelii et post ymnum duos <sup>5</sup> per diversa altaria diversorum locorum, saepissime ta-

<sup>1</sup> « Aufbau », 53 : « von dem gregorianischen Alleluia mit Vers abhängig ist » ; abhängig is, of course, unproven. Melodic comparison *loc.cit.*, 71 f. Both Latin and Greek texts side by side in the gradual of Mont-Blandin ; HESBERT, *Antiphonale*, 198, no. 199<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 304 f.

<sup>4</sup> Except the Alla. and the 1st verse *Qui confidunt*, both of which are identical with the Alla *Beatus vir*, which may have been proper originally to the first Mass of St John Evangelist ; see above, p. 301, note.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. J. M. HANSSENS, *Amalarii episcopi opera omnia* III, in *Studi e testi*, vol. 140, Rome 1950, 83-4.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 277.

men ad crucem et ad fontes, ut ex scriptis discimus quae continent per diversos libellos ordinem romanum.

2. Simili modo notum est quod in fine psalmorum versum solemus dicere ante orationem ... Versu enim commonemus ad aliquam mutationem et renovationem mentis... De eodem versu scriptum habemus in « Libello officiali » et in prologo istius <sup>1</sup>.

3. Ea enim hic oportet dicere de illo [versu], quibus intelligatur qua de re consuetudo sanctae romanae ecclesiae [a] amittit versum in paschalibus diebus, et [b] alter cantus constituatur pro eo.

[a] Paschalis enim dies, qui per septem dies quasi unus dies celebratur, apud nos ordine officii sui praedicat nobis illud tempus de quo I.C. dixit in evangelio Iohannis : Iterum autem videbo vos, et gaudebit cor vestrum, et gaudium vestrum nemo tollet a vobis... Orando enim rogamus quod nondum habemus ; quod non erit necessarium quando cor electorum gaudebit et gaudium eorum nemo tollet ab illis...

[b]. Ut iam gaudeamus in spe ex eo quod expectamus futurum in re, versus qui solet animum nostrum revocare ad aliquam introducendam orationem, aufertur in paschali-bus diebus, et cantatur pro eo ad aliquos cursus diurnales responsorius *Haec dies ... in ea*.

4. Exultatio et laetitia, unde responsorius praesens dicitur, clariores efficiuntur in mente nostra, si clariore lingua, id est ebrea, pronuntiatae apud nos fuerint. Ideo in ea statione in qua apostolicus celebrat vespertinale officium, Alleluia canitur cum omni supplemento et excellentia versuum et sequentiarum ... post tres psalmos canitur unum Alleluia ante ymnum sanctae Mariae, post quartum unum, post quintum unum ; quae pertinent ad crucem et ad fontes.

5. In romano enim ordine invenitur in ipsa die resurrectionis domini repetitus psalmus *In exitu Israel*. Hoc enim fit propter multiplicia altaria illius loci ubi illa die statio fit.

6. Invenitur etiam a quarta feria responsorius indutus *Haec dies...* post duo Alleluia, ut demonstretur illum fuisse primo

<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv, cap. 23 f. ; prologue to *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, nos 1-2 ; etc.

statutum pro versibus, sed dignitate apostolica Alleluia mutatum est pro eis.

7. Eadem enim re factum est ut multi versus Alleluia greca lingua in memorato officio canentur.

8. In sexta feria interponitur responsorius *Haec dies...* inter duo Alleluia, ut opinor, propter loca stationum, quae prius designantur per loca vilia et postea nobilia ; de quibus scribitur in romano ordine.

9. Usque ad diem octavum paschae iuxta romanam consuetudinem memoratum cursum celebramus.

The basic facts around which Amalar weaves his mysteries are as follows :

1. In Rome a solemn Office of 3 psalms with *Magnificat*, followed usually by one psalm *ad crucem* and one *ad fontes*<sup>1</sup>, is attested by many copies of the OR.

2. We say a verse after the psalms and before the final collect.

3. Rome a. omits this verse and b. substitutes the *Haec dies*.

4. At that papal station there are elaborate Alleluias instead of the *Haec dies* : one after the 3 psalms and before the *Magnificat*, one after the 4th, and one after the 5th psalm, the last two being sung *ad crucem* and *ad fontes*.

5. In Rome, according to the OR, there are 6 psalms on Easterday, ps. 113 *In exitu* being repeated.

6. On Wednesday the *Haec dies* follows the 2 Alleluias.

7. Several Alleluias are chanted in Greek.

8. On Friday the *Haec dies* occurs between the 2 Alleluias ; see OR.

9. According to the Roman custom, the order of the above Office is observed throughout the octave, including Low Sunday.

There are here three references to the *Ordo Romanus* and one, more generally, to the Roman custom (nos. 1,5,8,9). They are all to one and the same document, which I have termed the first OR XXVII, found in two manuscripts W and C : W agrees in every detail, C has ps. 114 instead of ps. 113

<sup>1</sup> Here and in no. 4 the sequence *ad crucem*, *ad fontes* is incorrect. It only holds for the Friday or Thursday (adapted OR XXVII) station *ad cubicellum Rigodem* ; above, p. 283.

(no. 5)<sup>1</sup>. Hence all facts reported in connection with this Roman Ordo are contemporary with each other. Amalar deals with existing circumstances; historical events are not discussed. In fact, but for a few exceptions, the conjugated verbs are in either the present tense or have the meaning of a present.

The first and last statements (nos. 1, 9) are made without further commentary; their correctness is borne out by the Ordo. Fact no. 5 is superficially but realistically explained. Amalar, however, rather exaggerated; his *multiplicia altaria illius loci* points to the one additional station at St John's *ad vestem*, missing from Gregorian sacramentaries<sup>2</sup>, OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>, the Romano-German pontifical and the order of Monza (M) but witnessed in the New-Gelasian sacramentaries and in the first and the adapted OR XXVII.

With the facts 2, 3a + b and 8 Amalar leaves the world of reality for that of allegory. He regards the versicle as an item of change and transition (no. 2). Historically this is quite incorrect; hence P. Alfonso<sup>3</sup>: « E fantastica, al solito, la spiegazione di Amalarico, *De ordine antiphonarii: Versus dicitur ille cantus per quem revertitur intentio mentis in aliam intentionem...* ».

The allegory to no. 8 requires some comment. Amalar may seem to argue that the *Haec dies* is maintained on Friday because the stations were at first held in ordinary churches (*prius...per loca vilia*), the Alleluia being added when either they were rebuilt more sumptuously or the stations switched over to larger basilicas (*postea nobilia*). Actually he is playing upon the fact that from Friday onwards the stations were no longer in the small chapels of the Lateran baptistry but in well-known basilicas: St Cross', St Mary Major's and Sts Cosmas & Damian's. The adverbs *prius* and *postea* therefore are not concerned with historical developments but with the first four and last three days of the octave. The adjective

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 282; also ANDRIEU III, 366, no. 77, var. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For an exception see p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *I riti della chiesa...II. Le ore canoniche*, Rome [1945], 163, note 10.

*vilis* is also to be taken with a pinch of salt. Roman pilgrims with some knowledge of the Lateran baptistry and St Andrew's of the Cross must have wondered what he was talking about.

Had this play *prius vilis - postea nobilis* been connected with the fact that the *Haec dies* had been dropped in favour of the more joyful Alleluia, the comparison as such would have been adequate, although the relationship of chapels and basilicas with two chants would still have remained an enigma. This however is not the case. The parallelism itself is contorted and the allegorical link contradicts the historical events. First, on that Friday the response was not eliminated by the Alleluia. Amalar himself correctly states that it is sung between two Alleluias. His source lists: *Alleluia. Laetatus sum. Haec dies. Alleluia. Qui confidunt*<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, the response was introduced for an interpolated station at the relic of the cross at Jerusalem. Instead of being older, it is a stop-gap, an easy way out of a situation similar to that on Easterday, where St John's *ad vestem* at least was given an Alleluia. Amalar's allegory then is not only far-fetched but also an implicit misrepresentation of facts; the *Haec dies* HAD to be older, otherwise the allegory would not have worked. In the field of the true allegorical method this is bad workmanship.

A further sign that the explanation of fact no. 8 cannot be understood historically is the one given for the Wednesday (no. 6). Here the response turns up at the station of St Andrew's<sup>2</sup>. The historical reason for this is obscure. Amalar says: on that day the *Haec dies* follows two Alleluias in order to show how at first (*primo*) it took the place of the simple

<sup>1</sup> Page 296 f.

<sup>2</sup> Amalar uses here *responsorius indutus*, a « dressed up » responsory; one would expect it to have at least one verse. Neither W C. OR XXVII, nor the chant books indicate or suppose it. *Indutus* must then refer to the melismatic idiom. — Even in OR XII, ed. ANDRIEU II, 464, no. 18: *Ad nocturnos seu ad matutinos pro versu Haec dies tantum prima*, it turns up without a verse. The expression *pro versu*, obviously, does not mean that previously there was one in this context; it means: where otherwise, i.e. outside Eastertide, there is one. For *tantum prima* see OR XXIV, appendix, ANDRIEU III, 298, and the Ordines dependent upon it.

verses ; but in accordance with the pope's majesty these, i.e. the verses not the *Haec dies*, are now changed into, i.e. replaced by, the Alleluia. And he dares to say this in one breath with the observation that the response continues to exist alongside the Alleluia ! Apart from the fact that *primo* refers to the Easter octave rather than to the historical past, the pope provides, conveniently, a SINGLE reason for two different relationships between Alleluia and *Haec dies* on Easterday and Wednesday (nos. 4, 6), while the ONE juxtaposition of the two chants on Wednesday and Friday (nos. 6, 8) requires two different explanations. Both of them, moreover, are incomprehensible if history is involved. All this doubtlessly reaches the delights of lofty allegory where everything is possible. No wonder that already Agobard and Florus of Lyons failed to appreciate it. As in the previous case, this brings the allegorical method itself into disrepute.

Then there are the facts nos. 4, 6 and 7, all of which are in some way brought in connection with the *Apostolicus*. If I am not mistaken, the explanation of no. 7 follows from that of no. 6 ; the latter repeats in a different context that of no. 4. The question again is whether these comments are historical or allegorical ; and, if the latter, how far the « deeper meaning » is justified. Amalar maintains, first, that our (*mens nostra*) Easter joy expressed in the response becomes more effective if it were pronounced in Hebrew among us (*apud nos*). Therefore at that station (*in ea statione*) celebrated by the pope the Alleluia is especially elaborate. In other words, the pontiff embodies on that occasion the whole of mankind in the exceptionally solemn manner proper to him. Secondly, on the following Wednesday the same Alleluia replaces the verses for the same reason. Thirdly, the *memoratum officium* therefore has also Greek verses.

What strikes one at first sight here is the unrealistic manner in which the mystery of the Resurrection and its rebirth in the newly baptised is almost totally ignored. The real motifs for *exultatio* and *laetitia*, pervading the octave and its evening stations, particularly their Alleluias with all their *supplementum et excellentia* of verses and sequences <sup>1</sup>, remain foreign

See above, p. 301, note.

to Amalar's fanciful inventions. Instead, he makes the papacy responsible for what, after all, is the apogee of the liturgical year for all Christians. No wonder that one suspects devotional rather than factual arguments and reasons, asking oneself how they are justified. So far Amalar has given us little cause for trusting him.

As the reason why the Alleluia replaces the *Haec dies* (no. 4) is pure allegory, the implication that, in this context, the latter is liturgically older than the former does not hold. Likewise, the subsequent IDEO *in ea statione in qua apostolicus celebrat...* (no. 4) is also a conclusion drawn in the realm of allegory. What is more « that station » remains unspecified. Why the singular? <sup>1</sup> Which one? Or all of them? If it is taken as referring to Easter Sunday, Amalar was careless again when stating that one Alleluia followed the first three psalms (no. 4): his Ordo gives two. Finally, the remark that for the same reason (*eadem re*; no. 7), viz. the pope's presence, several Alleluias were sung in Greek simply heaps a « Greek » allegory upon an earlier « Hebrew » one. And even this is misplaced. Grammatically the « above mentioned Office » is the Wednesday service (no. 6). But, once more, Amalar needs leniency: both Wednesday and Friday had no Greek chants <sup>2</sup>. The reference must be taken as a general one to the whole octave. Thus slipping from the Wednesday reality of *Alleluias* AND *Haec dies* to the previous allegory of *Alleluia* INSTEAD of *Haec dies*, we happily mix Hebrew and Greek joy with papal pomp and ceremony.

Rejecting, so to speak out of Amalar's own mouth, the presence of the pope as the justification for the exceptional content of the Easter vespers, one is still faced with what looks like an obvious assumption on Amalar's part, namely that they were papal stations. But the evidence is too poor, since the *Ordo Romanus* known to him provides us with no more than a single sentence: on Low Sunday the invited guests and the leader of the schola preceded the pope from Sts Cos-

<sup>1</sup> See his remark on Good Friday, *In ea statione ubi Apostolicus salutatur crucem nemo ibi communicat*; in *Liber de eccles. officiis*, lib. 1, cap. 15; *ed. cit.*, ...

<sup>2</sup> PL 78, 773; HESBERT, 190 ff.; ANDRIEU III, 369 f.



mas & Damian's to the Lateran, while chanting an antiphon <sup>1</sup>. But at « that » station there were two not three Alleluias, nor processions to the cross or the font (no. 4). Little perspicacity is required to see how these stations were designed as services of the city clergy <sup>2</sup>. To make Amalar, because he was in Rome once <sup>3</sup>, into an eye-witness of vespers celebrated by the pope — against the evidence of his source — is, apart from an unhistorical procedure, also begging the question. In view of Amalar's vagary it is also wishful thinking.

Hence one can neither subscribe to his use of the verb *celebrat*, a pious exaggeration for *adest* at the most, like *multiplia altaria* for one altar more, and *loca vilia* for the size of the Lateran baptistry and St Andrew's. Wishing to safeguard Amalar's reading capacity, one must give him some benefit of doubt: occasionally the bishop of Rome was present at those vespers but without his court. He gave « that » last station on Low Sunday more external splendour. The short and final rubric of Amalar's source inspired him to a « glorious » allegory. But as long as the Ordines were observed, the bishop took no part in the procedure. These evening stations were and remained a feature of the city clergy; from the mid-7th century onwards they became a venerable counterpart of what had developed into typically papal morning stations.

## V THE RECONSTRUCTION BY J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

Smits van Waesberghe distinguishes three principal periods (Hauptfasen) in the development of the Easter vespers; the first two he finds attested by Amalar, the third he establishes by comparing the respective Ordines with the gradual Vat. lat. 5319. As, moreover, he views these evening stations as being derived from the normal form of Roman vespers <sup>4</sup>, he pre-supposes still another, initial stage prior to these three

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 282, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 285 ff.

<sup>3</sup> « Aufbau », 49.

<sup>4</sup> « Aufbau », 48: « Die Form dieser Ostervesper, aus der traditionellen Form der Römischen Vesper...entstanden, hat historisch betrachtet drei Hauptfasen... »

periods. I follow closely the content of his scheme, prefixing the initial stage [A] to the periods numbered I-III, here therefore listed as [B.C.D.]

[A] The stage in which the Easter vespers had the traditional form of vespers : 5 psalms with antiphons, a verse as transition <sup>1</sup> to the *Magnificat*-antiphon, *Magnificat*, collect.

[B] = I the period of preparation, described by Amalar, in which there were 3 psalms, *Haec dies* instead of the versicle, *Magnificat*, after which 2 more psalms.

[C] = II the period of establishment and continuation of threefold papal vespers with the characteristic 3 or 4 major Alleluias, partly with Greek verses. Having witnessed this organisation during a visit at Rome in 832, Amalar explains them in the passage : *sed dignitate apostolica Alleluia mutatum est pro eis [versibus]* ... The threefold service is concluded with *Magnificat*, corresponding antiphon and collect <sup>2</sup>.

[D] = III a period in which second half-verses were composed for some Alleluias. Proofs for these additions, all made at once, come from :

1. the silence of the 8th- and 9th-century *Ordines Romani*,
2. their presence in the tradition of the 11th-13th centuries,
3. the use of the [later] term *primicerius* [instead of the older *primus* or *prior*] to the annuntiations, preceding the Alleluia verses in period [C] = II, and that of *schola* before the subsequent melodies, sung by the choir ; all of which was unknown in period [B] = I <sup>3</sup>.

4. the uniformity of melody used for these 18 psalm- or half-verses.

This four-(three-)fold development scarcely conforms to the picture I have drawn above with the aid of the *Ordines*. The assumed initial stage [A] would precede even the oldest OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> ; the second and third stages [B-C], periods I and II, said to be described and witnessed by Amalar, should fit

<sup>1</sup> See p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 49. Actually, each station had its own antiphon *ad evangelium* and collect : above, p. 277, 284.

<sup>3</sup> The value of this argument thus presented must escape many. For its purpose see above, p. 310 f.

in with his source ; stage [D], period III, would be found in the Old-Roman chant books.

In the following pages the arguments in favour of these periods are surveyed in the light of what so far has been achieved by the analyses of the sacramentaries, the Ordines in question and the account by Amalar. Whenever available, other documents will complete the picture.

[A] S.v.W. provides no evidence for the initial stage during which the Easter vespers would have evolved from the traditional form of vespers with five psalms. But an early form of Roman Easter vespers with three psalms is described in OR XII<sup>1</sup>:

Dominica sancta [pasche] ad nocturnos in *Venite, Alleluia*. In matutinis laudibus sicut in capitulare habetur. Prima, nec tertia, nec sexta, nec nona a sancto pascha usque in octabas non cantatur... Ad vesperum tres psalmos usque in sabbato et per singulos psalmos *Alleluia*. Nam ad nocturnos semper mutantur psalmi tres et tres in unaquaque nocte.

In sabbato vero mutantur psalmi ; ad vesperum de ipso die cantatur cum *Alleluia* et versus dicitur *Dicite in nationibus*.

Dominica octabas pasche...

Andrieu<sup>2</sup> attempted, rather forcibly, to show how useless and defective this ordinal was, how unusual its references are to the *capitulare*<sup>3</sup>, and how the author, although familiar with local customs, did not write for Roman clerics. The evidence for this is no more than the title to the second portion :

De festis sanctorum qualiter apud Romanos<sup>4</sup> celebrentur.

As for the content, there can be little doubt that it is of Roman origin, more so even than that of OR XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX<sup>5</sup>, but with one fundamental difference : it was compiled

<sup>1</sup> Ed. ANDRIEU II, 464, no. 18 ; in the Romano-German pontifical no. CIII, ed. VOGEL-ELZE, II, 145 ff. ; VAN DIJK, « Urban and papal rites », 448 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. cit., II, 453 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. cit., nos. 1, 3-6, 8, 11-14, 18.

<sup>4</sup> « Urban and papal rites », 437, 448.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit., 450 ff. On p. 452, the argument from FERRARI should be deleted ; it has been refuted by K. HALLINGER, « Die römischen Ordines

for city clergy rather than for monastic communities. Andrieu<sup>1</sup> himself identified some typically urban traces described by Amalar. Huglo<sup>2</sup> confirmed the Old-Roman character of some more details. And several others<sup>3</sup> can easily be added by comparing this *Ordo* with the *Liber politicus* and the Old-Roman nocturnal, London, BM, Add. 29988. As for the unusual references to the capitulary, they can now with certainty be regarded as typically local<sup>4</sup>.

von Lorsch, Murbach und St Gallen », in *Universitas. Festschrift A. Stohr* I, Mainz 1960, 468. On the same page, last line, the expression seventh century should be changed to 767, the quote being from the *Ratio de cursu*, ed. *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, ed. S. ANSELMO, Rome, vol. 1. *Initia consuetudinis benedictinae. Consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, Siegburg 1963, 91 ; VAN DIJK, « Recent developments », 314 f. — Though I have insisted when possible on the Roman origin of these Ordines, while Hallinger brought evidence of another nature, « Aufbau », 56, still presents their author as an 8th-cent. monk who visited Rome and recorded that, after Gregory I and Martin I [sic], the abbots of the monasteries at St Peter's had the development of church music [*cantus* !] in their hands.

<sup>1</sup> See *ed.cit.*, notes.

<sup>2</sup> « Le chant », 115 f. ; but see « Urban and papal rites », 448.

<sup>3</sup> I abstain from details, as they are too numerous. One must suffice. Good Friday and H. Saturday had no little hours nor vespers ; ANDRIEU II, 464, no. 17. There are none in Add. 29988 either ; the Magnificat antiphon *Vespere* for Saturday has the Gregorian melody from « another » tradition : HESBERT, *Corpus* I, 178 f. ; PL 78, 380, no. 339. Through this it came into the *Liber pol.*, no. 43 ; PL 78, 1042 ; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 152. When the urban rite adopted vespers for Good Friday, the Magnificat-antiphon was taken from lauds, *Ait latro* ; Breviary of St Clare, ordinal of Innocent III, Paris, BN, lat. 4162A, fol. 34<sup>rb</sup>. The other tradition has *Posuerunt* ; HESBERT, 174 f.

<sup>4</sup> « Urban and papal rites », 541, note 159, suggested that this might be so. Like ANDRIEU II, 453, I had no answer ; there is one nevertheless. In OR XII all references, mostly for lauds, are to a nocturnal or antiphonal-responsorial. In this it is exceptional ; but the term was known in Rome. OR XVI refers first (no. 25) to the ordinal, i.e. OR XV (title), then (no. 32) to the book of pericopes or sacramentary. Sacramentaries (e.g. CLLA, nos. 742, 746, 806, see 830 ; 831, 850-1,880) and (Gregorian) chant books (*Paléogr. musicale* x, 31-8 ; CLLA, nos. 1335, 1350) often have their formulae numbered and/or listed in a table. This system produced *capitula*, a name also given to the table itself. Hence the term *capitularium* for these types of book. — Only the 3rd version (W) of OR XV knows *antiphonarius* ; ANDRIEU III, 113, no. 79.

This Ordo, in fact, is a short but well-balanced Office ordinal, a guide to the one and only Office capitulary, which Amalar regularly cites as the *antiphonale romanum* and which for centuries remained known under that name<sup>1</sup>. Divided into *temporale*<sup>2</sup> and *sanctorale*, it was meant predominantly for the hours of monastic origin which were creating complications with the new practice of celebrating saints days with their own vigils<sup>3</sup> and vespers<sup>4</sup>. Hence the Ordo contains, on the one hand, rules for matins (*nocturni*), closely connected with lauds (*matutinum*), vespers and little hours and, on the other, for double Offices (vigils and matins) on Christmas<sup>5</sup> — the model case in the liturgical year — and feasts of saints. In short, these Roman clerics, having adopted the complete structure of the Office from the basilica monasteries, with a certain freedom of choice<sup>6</sup>, required an overall guide, a collection of general regulations, explaining the use of their capitulary.

Low Saturday still has traces of the far-off past, when it was the real octave day of baptism: the scheme of vespers returns to normal<sup>7</sup>, (five psalms and) the versicle appearing again in its usual place. Still, the octave day of Easter is also known, just as in the Gregorianum. And in agreement with it, the regulation about the little hours includes Low Sunday. The hours were dropped since the clergy went to the daily morning and evening stations (*hora nona, temporius*)<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See « Urban and papal rites », 422, 425, 448.

<sup>2</sup> The title given by ANDRIEU to this portion (*Ordo antiphonarum*) is inadequate; it is an *Ordo officii. De tempore*.

<sup>3</sup> See note 42. For the 13th cent. should be added the patron saint of the papal chaplains and titular of their chapel in the palace, St Nicholas.

<sup>4</sup> Major feasts proper vespers, minor feasts « commemoration »; ANDRIEU II, 466, no. 24; 464, no. 21.

<sup>5</sup> ANDRIEU, 460 f., no. 4. The word *sicut*, 1st line, p. 460, must read *sic*; see var. and VOGEL-ELZE, 145, no. 4. — ANDRIEU, 463, nos. 23 (vigils), 24 (matins).

<sup>6</sup> ANDRIEU, 464, nos. 20-2; 465, nos. 23-4.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 273 f. — I follow Andrieu's punctuation but would prefer: *In sabbato vero mutantur psalmi ad vesperum; de ipso die cantatur...* Similarly, at the end of no. 23: *... si fuerint antiphonae propriae, dicuntur; sin autem Alleluia. Dicitur in benedictione...*

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 276, 281, 311.

From this, I believe, one may safely conclude that, at the time, the secular Easter vespers, at both the tituli and the Lateran, consisted of three fixed psalms with Alleluia antiphons. As those at the Lateran etc. were followed by prayer services, the idea must have arisen of making them into a unity of three stations with five psalms. This is the stage found in all Ordines. The objection that the tituli vespers might have been a curtailment of the Lateran ones, made with the intention to reduce the clergy's duties to a minimum, is contradicted by the fact that the octave of these tituli vespers ended on Low Saturday, while those at the Lateran include Low Sunday as well. In other words, OR XII continues an older tradition than the Gregorianum, the New-Gelasianum or the two versions of OR XXVII.

As it stands OR XII cannot be dated beyond the pontificate of Hadrian I (772-95), but we have an earlier record of similar Roman vespers with three psalms in a decree of Gregory III (732)<sup>1</sup>: after vespers the monks of the three basilica monasteries at St Peter's should go to an oratory he had built and sing three psalms in honour of the saint whose anniversary fell on that day. These vespers were not, like the late-medieval devotional Offices, said « over and above the usual canonical Hours »<sup>2</sup>. They were the original sanctorale vespers, in fact, the counterpart of the second night Office also described in this OR XII. Another feature suggesting that this Ordo is much older is the absence of the octave of Whitsun, introduced around 630-50<sup>3</sup>.

For these reasons I do not hesitate to regard the overall content of OR XII, like that of OR XIV-XVI, XVIII-XIX, as belonging to the 7th century. Its Easter vespers are the

<sup>1</sup> *Liber pontificalis* I, 417, 421 ff, and note 13. — An instance of such vespers outside Rome are those on Good Friday in the 11th-cent. gradual of Benevento; HESBERT, *Paléographie musicale* XIV, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> G. FERRARI, *Early Roman monasteries. Notes for the history of the monasteries and convents at Rome from the V through the X century*, in *Studi di antichità cristiana* XXIII, Vatican City 1957, 367; see 166, no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> CHAVASSE, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 251, 262. — M. ROBERT, « Les adieux à l'Alleluia », in *Études grégoriennes* VII, 1967, 41 f., omits OR XII as an early, quite explicit source for Rome; ANDRIEU II, 462, no. 11.

ones which priests and acolytes sang in the title churches, after returning from the Lateran, Jerusalem, St Mary's or Sts Cosmas & Damian's <sup>1</sup>. They represent the simplest form from which that of the Lateran etc. was derived.

Still, the solemn vespers too have traces of great antiquity. Baumstark <sup>2</sup> already suggested that the stations at the baptism and at the cross (St Andrew's) are a direct result of the liturgy of Jerusalem, described by Egeria in the early-5th century. Obviously these did not have the later form of vespers. But the silence of the Ordines on the introductory *Deus in adiutorium* and on the short reading (chapter) is also difficult to square with the assumption that these « vespers » were derived from the traditional structure. Both are very ancient in the Roman Office : the former, also mentioned in OR XII <sup>3</sup>, seems to have been introduced before or by Gregory the Great perhaps from the Rule of St Benedict ; the latter, already in the Rules of the Magister and Benedict was foreign to the urban office. There is, moreover, the omission of the *Kyrieleison* concluding the ancient Roman hours. Only the interpolator of the station at St John's *ad vestem* felt the need for a rubric that this final *Kyrie* should be dropped <sup>4</sup>.

Instead, the evening stations open with *Kyrieleison* <sup>5</sup>. Although it is impossible to determine where it was sung — *et a loco* or *ad locum* (*incipiunt crucifigi*) <sup>6</sup> — it nevertheless presents itself as a relic of an ancient litany or procession chant rather than just unusual opening prayers to unusual vespers.

Thus one suspects that, against all expectation and current opinion, the Easter vespers preserve traces of a Roman *lucer-*

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 280 : rubric in all Ordines.

<sup>2</sup> A. BAUMSTARK - B. BOTTE, *Liturgie comparée. Principes et méthodes pour l'étude historique des liturgies chrétiennes*, 3rd ed., *Collection Irénikon*, Chevetogne-Paris [1953], 46 f.

<sup>3</sup> ANDRIEU II, 465, no. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 282 f., and 283, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 311.

<sup>6</sup> See also MS N of OR XXVII, and M (ed. HUGLO, HESBERT) for *et a loco...*

*narium* or *vespera* <sup>1</sup>. As in the Milanese and Mozarabic rites, the cursus of Caesarius of Arles, etc. they open with a three-fold *Kyrie*. Should the three fixed psalms remind us of the *psalmi lucernares* (ps. 130, 141, 12)? On the example of Jerusalem the clergy, neophytes and faithful may have followed up this service with prayer stations at the principal places of their baptism. At some stage, long before the OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>, the solemn stations had been assimilated with vespers of five psalms, while the title churches continued the *lucernarium* scheme. The transition may have developed when the people were no longer invited. Instead of such typical ceremonies with light and incense, known throughout the West, Rome gave its full attention to the characteristic Easter element, the Alleluia <sup>2</sup>.

Whatever this may be, both the tituli vespers and the solemn stations have too many features foreign to the pattern of vespers. They should prevent one from making easy but misleading generalisations.

[B] The second stage (I) would, according to S.v.W., have been the combination of three psalms with the *Haec dies* and the *Magnificat*, followed by two more psalms. The reason why it is termed a period of preparation is that these vespers would not yet have developed the typically papal features, expressed in the major Alleluias. This period, however, is made up by lifting Amalar's statement no. 1 out of its context and by slipping in the *Haec dies* mentioned under no. 4. Ignoring that Amalar's first reference to the *Ordo Romanus* is only one of four, all to one and the same document, S.v.W. eliminates its sequence of psalms (3 + 2) from that sketched a few lines below. To Amalar his initial and vague observation (no. 1) served as a starting point for allegories, leading up to and culminating in a similar but « laden » paragraph where the major Alleluias are built into the same sequence

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. RIGHETTI II, 658-61; also the title in OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>, above, p. 5b.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt, through texts connected with the *Traditio Apostolica* and *Testamentum Domini*; see G. DRX, *The treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome*, London 1968, 51 f. (xvi, 28-31).



of psalms (no. 4). S.v.W. converts this development of ideas into one of historically successive periods.

As for his handling of the *Haec dies*: Amalar relates how during the Easter octave Rome had this response where otherwise — not previously — there was a versicle, except at « that » papal station where the major Alleluia takes its place. This is the usual way of comparing contemporary facts for the construction of allegories. Again, S.v.W. takes this working with ideas as a description of history. Hence the whole concept of a period preliminary to a change over to papal vespers with Alleluia instead of a response distorts the context beyond recognition.

[C] The period of consolidation of vespers with typically papal features hinges on an oversimplified exegesis of Amalar's allegory. He would have pretended that the Alleluias with their abundance of verses and sequences were sung because the *Apostolicus* celebrated « that » station. The analysis of the Ordines and of Amalar's text makes further insisting upon the fallacy of this interpretation unnecessary. Whether Amalar witnessed Gregory IV (827-44) present at some station or just exploited the final rubric of his source, it does not alter the evidence that, by design, these vespers belonged to the urban clergy. As such they were, certainly from a musical point of view, splendid, not to say pompous. But just as Amalar's comments on this *gloriosum officium* contribute little to our understanding of these stations, so their ceremonies cannot stand comparison with, for instance, the typically papal organisation of OR I<sup>1</sup>. Every attempt to impress the reader with the splendours of these vespers only contributes to our appreciation of the glory that was Rome before it was overshadowed by the grandeur that was the papacy.

[D] The last period suggested by S.v.W. (III) originates in the composition of eighteen half-verses to nine Latin major Alleluias; their uniform melody would have created a more aesthetic balance and unity of form<sup>2</sup>. — Granted for the

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 50.

sake of argument that these verses were conceived together <sup>1</sup>, a first criticism must surely be that this event can scarcely be hailed as the birthday of a main historical period (Haupt-fase). Nor is its character in line with the origins of the earlier period which, still according to S.v.W., was papal interference with or take-over of the Easter vespers. Moreover, the facts <sup>2</sup> adduced in favour of this « period of half-verses » are questionable in themselves.

1. The silence of the 8th- and 9th-century <sup>3</sup> *Ordines Romani* on these verses might, indeed, have been of positive value, had it really been complete, and should they have been silent. Instead, the Ordines protest loud and clear against this unjustifiably imposed silence.

The oldest Order at our disposal, OR XXX<sup>B2</sup>, presupposes that the Alleluia verses were sung in accordance with the given cues and performed *in toto* as psalmodic strophes, i.e. first and second half- or part-verses belonging together <sup>4</sup>. Had this not been so, the deviation from accepted standards would have required adequate measures of recording. But these are absent. The two Ordines for the whole octave (W C and OR XXVII) confirm this for such instances where the use of first half-verses alone would have made nonsense of the thematic choice <sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, the presumed value of their silence cannot arbitrarily be restricted to the cues of the major Alleluias. It should, for instance, also apply to those of the circa twenty major antiphons to the Magnificat. None of these cues gives us an inkling that the antiphons are followed by versicles in the chant books. Such antiphonal verses occur scantily in the medieval Gregorian Office <sup>6</sup>, but they are relics of an

<sup>1</sup> *Loc.cit.*, 49 f.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 326. Only three are answered here ; no. 3 is already answered above, p. 310 f.

<sup>3</sup> Analysis of the Ordines contradicts this dating ; above, p. 279 ff. Nor can the antiphonal of Compiègne be placed on a level with the manuscripts collated for Andrieu's adapted OR XXVII, except of course W ; « Aufbau », 49, note 5 ; see above, p. 281, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 295 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 296 f.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to VAN DIJK-HAZELDEN WALKER, *The origins of the*

ancient and widespread tradition. Were those in the Easter vespers also composed at a later date, initiating still another main period? The idea that both the antiphonal verses and the psalmodic second half-verses belong to the original compositions appears to be preferable.

The two Ordines for the whole octave also represent a further development in the performance of the Alleluias. Now the male choir « always » repeats the Alleluia refrain and announces *verba* to the boys choir. The technical implications behind this new rubric are explained above<sup>1</sup>: whenever melody and text allowed, the psalm strophes had been divided into two or three half- or part-verses; each time the refrain was inserted and immediately followed by a newly composed annunciation. The rubric however can only correctly be interpreted with the content of the chant books. Its injunction that the male choir « always » repeats the refrain does not imply that in each case this is followed by an annunciation. The proviso namely is: only in those cases foreseen and recorded in the books.

The basic mistake made here by S.v.W. is that he applied the « always » in the first coordinate clause of the rubric to the second one. His transcription and reconstruction of the Alleluia *Dominus regnavit* proves this beyond doubt. He omits the refrain three times<sup>2</sup> but has composed himself two annunciations (*Parata sedes*, *Elevaverunt flumina*)<sup>3</sup> in order to make the facts fit the idea.

2, 4. Apart from the contribution typical of chant books, the presence there of seventeen separated half-verses adds scarcely anything materially new to what was already implicitly attested in the Ordines. Hence the melodic analysis<sup>4</sup> explaining how a unity of style was achieved when these half-verses were inserted at a later stage falls short in two

*modern Roman liturgy...* London, Westminster MD [1960], 486, note 1, see the antiphonal of Compiègne (C), in *PL* 78, 790 ff. (St Paul), 794 f. (St Lawrence).

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 306 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In my reconstruction of the first OR XXVII, above, p. 303, nos. 6, 9, 11.

<sup>3</sup> In the same reconstruction, p. 303, before nos. 5 and 10.

<sup>4</sup> « Aufbau », 50.

respects. It starts from an historical misapprehension of the sources and separates the musicological issues from both the underlying texts and the musical background <sup>1</sup>.

As for the former, instead of an agreement between the cues of the Ordines and the texts of the chant books, S.v.W. seeks opposition. The characteristics of psalmodic strophes, half- and part-verses are continually confused. We hear of eighteen younger « verse-texts » inserted between « verses » of an earlier period, of series of « psalm verses » always concluding with one of the « verse-texts », of seventeen younger « texts », taken from the psalms in such a manner that, as a rule, they complete « a first half-verse » of the older « psalm verses », etc <sup>2</sup>. Yet the complexity of these details turns into a perplexing simplicity when they are listed and numbered as parts of psalm strophes, and both content and choice are investigated.

As for the melodic background, unity of style is not proper to these eighteen half-verses alone. It is an integral part of a synthesis of two complementary modal types (III and I), both constituent parts of a single psalmodic strophe. This melodic treatment is found not only in ten Latin Alleluias but also in four Greek ones. Consequently, the question why many « psalm texts » (with type III) end with a cadence c-h-a, although G-melodies of the 7th mode are involved <sup>3</sup>, is nonsensical, since, formulated in this way, it bears no relationship to the facts. There are no « psalm texts » concluding with this cadence, only first half-verses. The purpose of the cadence

<sup>1</sup> My impression is that the thesis of S.v.W. fails the test whenever interpretation of historical background is required. On the other hand, attempts on my part to integrate records in the light of the co-existence of Old-Roman and Gregorian, even when only indirectly related to our varying theses, are rejected as « daring », or « not without difficulties, almost forcibly »; « Das gegenwärtige Geschichtsbild...II (1960-1962) », in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XLVII, 1963, 13 f. Or they are turned down with hollow comments; « Aufbau », 53 f., 2nd part note 4 (Bede in contraction with himself and his contemporaries); 57, note 2 (Old-Roman and Anglo-Saxon civilisation); 59, note 3 (ordinal of Lateran and medieval philology).

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 49 f., nos. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc.cit.*, 50.

c-h-a, upon which this argument hinges, is here as elsewhere <sup>1</sup> so obviously one of suspense, that there is no need for divining answers to the musicological riddle we are asked to solve.

Thus the records themselves seem to destroy any faith one might have in the proposed three main periods of development in the Roman Easter vespers. Similarly, any attempt <sup>2</sup> to involve pope Vitalian (657-72) with period [B] = I or Sergius I (687-701) with period [C] = II must necessarily follow suit. In point of fact, observing how Amalar's source and, as far as it goes, the older OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> agree with the 11th/13th-century chant books, one cannot really speak of a proper development of these Easter vespers. The most one observes are changes in the performance of the major Alleluias. I should not be astonished if others were tempted to trace this rigid conservatism back to the sketchy lines of the Gregorianum. The esteem for tradition expressed in these exceptional

<sup>1</sup> See the verses of the *Vinea*, p. 343 f., 308.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 59. Duchesne's explanation of Sergius' attitude to can. 82 of the council in *Trullo* (692 not 681) is more prudently worded than that in « Aufbau », 56. But the question whether Sergius introduced the *Agnus dei* is in no way answered conclusively. ANDRIEU II, 46 ff., dismissed Grisar's idea that Sergius did not introduce it but ordered that henceforth it should be sung by clergy and people. But his grounds are too shallow. To Andrieu the difference between the schola singing alone or alternating with the people was a thing of nothing (« mince, trop mince, me semble-t-il »). This is typically Andrieu, who had little time for notation and chant. In 7th-cent. Rome this difference was all important : first, because the Byzantine-styled papal Mass excluded participation of the people (as does OR I, even for the *Agnus dei*) ; secondly, because even the station Mass in the older OR XV, while involving the people in the *Sanctus*, does not do so for the *Agnus dei* ; ANDRIEU III, 103, no. 38. Thirdly, if Sergius' ordinance was a reaction against the council of 692 — which is suggested not proved by Duchesne — it would still have plenty of significance. If he involved the people during the breaking of the hosts, he intended them to react publicly to the council. This active participation was contrary to the character of Byzantine papal functions. Andrieu's dating of the 1st version of OR I hinges on the introduction of the *Agnus dei*. This is for want of any other proof. But it is still a poor one. — And why pick on Sergius as a candidate for having introduced OR I AND Easter vespers ; « Aufbau », 53 f. ? Why not his predecessor Adeodatus, a Roman, also educated in a Greek monastery ?

ceremonies was indeed remarkable ; tenacity is perhaps the more appropriate word.

## VI STROMATA

When in 1960 at the international patristic conference Amalar was discussed in connection with the character of the Old-Roman and Gregorian repertoires <sup>1</sup>, and, a year later, the points raised at that conference were collected in order to corroborate my thesis on the same <sup>2</sup>, I had, of course, no inkling that he would become a major issue in the debate. Thus under the pressure of the common belief that the Easter vespers were papal, I tried to explain their Old-Roman chant and liturgy as an exception to the rule of papal, i.e. Gregorian, liturgy ; in this vein : Amalar made such allegorical fuss about these vespers because the pope, so to speak, allowed Old-Roman to be sung in his presence ; just because these services were so ancient, they continued to be sung in their traditional but, to the pontiff, inappropriate style. This is why I wrote : « ... but the whole set-up was exceptional ; the vespers were not in accordance with the use of either the pope's chapel or his patrimonium » <sup>3</sup> and : « Again, no doubt is possible, some papal services were sung in Old-Roman chant... The solemn Easter vespers too were exceptional occasions at which urban chant was sung in the presence of the pope » <sup>4</sup>.

Objections were raised to these passages as being founded upon a methodically erroneous interpretation <sup>5</sup>. Amalar, it is said, explained the liturgical form and Greek texts not the music <sup>6</sup>. Indeed, he ignored the latter and embroidered upon

<sup>1</sup> VAN DIJK, « The Old-Roman rite », published 1962.

<sup>2</sup> VAN DIJK, « Urban and papal rites », published 1961.

<sup>3</sup> « Old-Roman rite », 199 ; see also 200.

<sup>4</sup> « Urban and papal rites », 425, 449.

<sup>5</sup> « Aufbau », 54, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, S.v.W. allows himself on the same page this argument : « da diese Ostervesper das *Eigene* der *Schola Cantorum* waren und dort gesungen wurden « *in ea statione* » wo « *in qua Apostolicus celebrat* »... muss hieraus konkludiert werden das der altrömische und nicht der gregorianische Choral das eigene Repertoire der *Schola Cantorum* war ». This then appears methodically and logically in-

Hebrew, Greek and Latin forms. But, in historical terms, it is such shifty sophistry! No, the fundamental error of these and other passages does not lie in their method of approach but in the approach itself, conditioned as it was by the common but mistaken trust in Amalar. They presented Old-Roman chant and liturgy rather than the presence of the pope as abnormal. Since documentary evidence has, again, exposed the futility of Amalar's testimony, the question should no longer be why was Old-Roman chant sung at papal services but how did the pope come to be present at this and other Old-Roman, urban services? The earlier question arose from the erroneous assumption and inference that some services which the pope celebrated, i.e. PAPAL services, had Old-Roman chant. The second is based upon the correct observation that, contrary to the rule, the pope was present at some services of the Old-Roman rite. For, indeed, the Easter vespers were not the only occasions; this too had been noticed before<sup>1</sup>.

The most likely answer to the second question lies in the particular local organisation of the Roman liturgy. Admitting that shortly after the mid-7th century the concept of doctrinal primacy found expression in a Byzantino-Roman papal liturgy with its own chant, ceremonial and texts, one also admits that during the preceding Latin period — roughly from Damasus (360/82) to Vitalian (663/72) — the Roman liturgy, if a definite article may be used at all, did not know the differences between urban and papal rites but, in principle, only between ordinary and solemn forms of eucharistic and prayer worship.

The ordinary, more strictly pastoral and presbyterial Eucharists were celebrated by clergy and monks in patriarchal basilicas, title and cemetery churches, etc. The solemn Eucharists, arranged in a stationary system, were restricted to the main periods and occasions of the liturgical year. At these the faithful, city clerics and monks gathered around their bishop and his *familia* or, in his absence, around his depute<sup>2</sup>.

correct. — If musicologists, indeed, regard my (hypo)thesis refuted by this, « Aufbau », *loc.cit.*, one can only hope that historians are more fortunate.

<sup>1</sup> « Urban and papal rites », 422, 425, 448.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 267 f.

The ordinary, daily prayer services were mostly performed by the monks of the basilica monasteries, but the secular clergy soon took their share in them. And with the development of the sanctorale, their duties became more and more complicated. The solemnity of these services arose naturally out of the mysteries of the liturgical year and special saints days. On outstanding occasions the highest authority of a community or an invited bishop might preside. But a stationary organisation by which the faithful with their bishop gathered in an appointed church does not seem to have existed. A few rare evening stations are listed in the Gregorian and Hadrian sacramentaries of which the Easter vespers were the most spectacular. While the pope celebrated the morning stations as bishop of Rome, the city clergy convened for the evening celebrations.

During the last stage of these first three centuries of growth towards unity, the ceremonial of the Roman liturgy became more and more majestic, making the differences between ordinary and solemn occasions more and more noticeable.

Then the pontifical morning stations underwent a dramatic development. The expression of papal primacy in worship broke through in consequence of mainly two socio-theological ideas, the western *doctrina Petri* and a milder form of eastern theocracy. The ensuing papal liturgy was not just created as a still more solemn setting for the *epiphaneiai*, revelations, of the Vicar of Christ. The purpose of worship itself changed. From being centred upon the community (reading, prayer) and upon the species of bread and wine, it became directed towards the pope. While the people were left as spectators and listeners, the actions of an increased number of assistants and court officials were all caught up in a single drama round Christ-among-us. Hence papal services were not just any Roman form of solemn worship at which the pope was present, but only those at which his person and office were « the centre of attention ».

The Old-Roman prayer services and Office, being older than the papal morning stations and conceived without the bishop of Rome, did however not escape the new ideas of liturgical primacy. In this connection the unchanging tradition of the Easter vespers contrasts sharply with the contemporary



evolution of the *Diligentia* <sup>1</sup>. Round 650 this was no more than a customary task of the custodians of St Peter's in the Vatican; they renewed the lights <sup>2</sup> and thuribles round the *confessio* and perhaps washed the walls. Early in the 8th century it was an official duty of selected *mansionarii* of the *confessio*, a body for which Gregory III drew up a detailed decree in 732. Long before the end of the century it was a solemn ceremonial at which the very successor of St Peter, assisted by those *mansionarii*, «celebrated» what previously had been no more than meticulous care for the tomb of the first apostle. The *Diligentia* had become a liturgical expression of the *doctrina Petri*.

In other cases it was the disappearing monastic character of the Office that gave rise to another organisation taking shape alongside that of the morning stations. Among the earliest instances of non-papal evening stations are certainly the Easter vespers. On Low Sunday the pope assisted, as bishop of Rome, at Sts Cosmas & Damian's. But in the course of time, the idea of liturgical primacy must also have taken hold of these and other occasions. The history of this reorganisation has never been studied, but it was completed long before the mid-12th century. The number of papal *stationes diurnae* had diminished rapidly and another group of *stationes nocturnales* had increased, the pontiff assisting at vespers, vigils (1 or 3 nocturns) and matins, mostly at St Peter's <sup>3</sup>. No doubt, the presence of the court had brought

<sup>1</sup> OR XLIV, ANDRIEU IV, 431-3, incomplete. The letter of Theodoric of Montecassino, *ed. cit.*, 420, is now available in *Corpus consuetudinum* I, 129 ff.; the passage, 134, no. 21. — The rubric in the ordinal of Innocent III, ANDRIEU, 425, note 3, forthcoming *ed.*, in *op. cit.*, 408 f., is almost identical with that (on the feast of St Paul) in the *Lib. pol.*, no. 69, and *Lib. cens.*, FABRE-DUCHESNE, 158, 424, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See also OR XIX, ANDRIEU III, 222, no. 32 (the monks of a basilica monastery at St Peter's). Note the contradiction between what ANDRIEU suggests *loc. cit.*, 213, and what he collects on the history of the *Diligentia*, OR XLIV.

<sup>3</sup> Terminology and lists of these stations in PETER MALLIUS, BENEDICT OF ST PETER'S, ALBINUS, etc.; see *PL* 78, 1053 f.; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 165, no. 2. MABILLON'S OR XIV, compiled after the suppression of the Old-Roman rite, lists them as *matutinum* and *vesperi papale(s)*; *PL* 78, 1222, no. 98.

with it a great deal of new ceremonial. Still, the hours themselves continued to be celebrated as had been handed down throughout the ages. True, occasional exchanges had been made; Gregorian and Old-Roman elements of such Offices « with court attendance » are abundantly obvious in the *Liber politicus*. Actually, it is in this light alone that one understands how its author, Benedict of St Peter's, presented in one ordinal <sup>1</sup>:

Qualiter... domnus apostolicus cum curia sua et tota Romana ecclesia in praecipuis solemnitatibus et quotidianis Officiis valeat se regere.

He combines the solemn liturgy of the *Apostolicus* with the daily *cursus* of the church of Rome of which St Peter's was the centre, particularly since Leo IX (1053). But it requires little effort to discover that there are two types of « papal » liturgy in this work. The Gregorian, typically papal eucharistic stations have few cues but they are well known from other sources. The Old-Roman *de facto* papal prayer stations are no more than external solemnizations of the City's daily *cursus*. Whenever the pope and his court meet the church of Rome for vespers or night Offices, they and the city clergy, more usually the canons of the respective basilicas, celebrate their traditional Old-Roman, urban rite. Comparing OR XII, London, BM, Add. 29988 and the *Politicus* as one group with the Gregorian antiphonals <sup>2</sup> and the ordinal of Innocent III as the other, one has an abundance of evidence.

Here it is not the place either to analyze these details <sup>3</sup> nor to attempt an answer to the still more basic question why the number of morning stations fell and that of evening stations rose. The point I am trying to make is that, although the inquiry into the character and tradition of the Easter vespers has established some relationships between urban

<sup>1</sup> Prologue, *PL* 78, 1025; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 141.

<sup>2</sup> HESBERT, *Corpus* I; it should be noted that the antiphonal of Compiègne (C) is the only early one (860-80), being full of Old-Roman elements; the others are all from the 11th and 12th centuries.

<sup>3</sup> Mostly: 1st vespers, vigils, matins of Sunday *Gaudete* at St Peter's; Christmas at St Mary Major's, previously at St Peter's; Whitsun, feasts of St John Baptist (cf. *Ordo lateran.*) and of St Peter.

and papal rites within the City, they are only a minor aspect of a much wider field of research. And whatever liturgical or musicological questions may be raised about these vespers, they can only be solved against the urban background. Any further quest for more light upon their origins will probably be centred on the 7th century, but it can safely disregard the development of the papal rite as a directly contributing factor.

Although all facets of life contribute to a civilisation, they can still not be taken indiscriminately as contributing to a solution of this particular problem. Without some good suggestive source material one would not convince many by pointing, for instance, to the foundation of the deaconries in Rome, imported from the monastic East and known at Pesaro, Ravenna (?) and Naples in the days of Gregory I. The acceptance of a connection between this primarily social phenomenon and contemporary liturgy needs documentary evidence<sup>1</sup>, otherwise it has little value.

The same must be said about the attempt to see the problem Old-Roman-Gregorian and, consequently, of the Easter vespers against the local rivalry between monks and clergy. The former, having enjoyed the approval and help of Gregory I, felt the slowly increasing strength and reaction of the secular clergy, who were favoured first by Deusdedit (615-8) and Boniface V (619-25) and later by John IV (640-2) and his successors, certainly up to the reign of Adeodatus (672-6)<sup>2</sup>.

When the issue was first raised, I stressed that this rivalry is nowhere linked with liturgy, that neither Duchesne, the editor of the *Liber pontificalis*, nor Ferrari, who analysed its records on the subject, ever suggested anything in this direction<sup>3</sup>. Even the one enigmatic text which I set against this background must be understood in a very down to earth

<sup>1</sup> Some vague evidence is now available in the urban suffrages for the dead called *diaconiae*. They are found in several Old-Roman manuscripts; to those mentioned by HUGLO, « Le chant », can now be added Florence, bibl. Riccardiana, 299, London, BM, Add. 29988, fol. 154<sup>v</sup> ff.

<sup>2</sup> Details in FERRARI, 389 ff.

<sup>3</sup> « Urban and papal rites », 430 f.

manner. Deusdedit, *excuvians Christi cantibus hymnisonis*, instituted a second *missa* for his clergy<sup>1</sup>. I tried to see a relationship between this term and a second Mass ceremonial or ritual<sup>2</sup>. But reading it together with the *roga integra* which Boniface V, Severinus (640) and John IV granted their clergy<sup>3</sup>, I am inclined to see this *missa* as an equivalent of the common terms *missa* and *massa*, message, meaning a house, holding or property providing some form of rent. In other words, Deusdedit gave his clerics a second source of income. This may, indeed, have been another cause for rivalry, but it certainly was not a liturgical one.

S.v.W. took no notice of my earlier doubts. Instead of offering some proof for a connection between this rivalry and public worship, he now turns this competition for pastoral prestige and its administrative and economic consequences into a fight for power at the papal court, causing insuperable estrangement between the two parties<sup>4</sup>.

Yet, even in this unjustifiably narrow interpretation, the liturgical aspect still remains unrelated to the struggle. A musical repertoire is inspired by attitudes, modes of thinking, feeling and living, culture and civilisation. There is no evidence that the Roman monks, as a body, thought in a musically different way from the Romans and their clergy, high or low, before the mid-7th century. But the subsequent development of « papal worship » was founded upon a new style, upon Byzantine *romanitas*, a well prepared and sound cultural basis for a new musical repertoire. Nothing of this, of course, answers the question which style of chant belonged to which

<sup>1</sup> *Liber pont.*, I, 319. FERRARI, *loc.cit.*, does not even mention it.

<sup>2</sup> « Urban and papal rites », *loc.cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Liber pont.*, I, 321, 329 f.

<sup>4</sup> « Aufbau », 58 : « eine Erinnerung an den Streit...um die Macht am päpstlichen Hof [kann] vielleicht auch miteinbezogen werden ». The vielleicht (perhaps) in this context remains meaningless, since elsewhere the issue is presented as proven and new, e.g. *loc.cit.*, 57 : « Wenn der Streit ... eine unüberkömmliche Entfremdung zwischen diesen beiden Gruppen entstehen liess, dann ist es begreiflich, dass, wenn die Mönche auf kirchenmuzikalischen Gebiet ... die Macht nahmen oder bekamen, auch die Gegenpartei auf demselben Gebiet nicht still gesessen hat und Anlass gab zu einem 'cantu[s] quando Apostolicus celebrat' ... ».

group. It is only the background against which the answers take shape.

This background brings us back to what I have stressed from the beginning, namely that separating chant from liturgy is unrealistic for those days <sup>1</sup>. In doing so and by dating both repertoires as appearing at the height of the battle between monks and clerics, one reduces them not only to a kind of battle songs but to premeditated and purposely elaborated battle styles, to symbols not just of the monastic and clerical life but of a fight between two ecclesiastical groups within one city. Church history has seen frequent instances of similar strife and competition. Usually they lack the constructive elements of religious culture, inherent in worship and chant; none had such edifying and yet peculiar results. Peculiar indeed; for the textual differences between the two rites were minimal. Presumably the affair only incensed chanters who remained blissfully unaffected by the texts! Even the suggestion that the papal style, grown out of the all-pervading concept of primacy, might have been misused as a weapon in the battle for the upper hand in local affairs still leaves date, origin and purpose of the other style unexplained, apart from the fact that the historian has now also the duty to define how that weapon might have been brandished.

With all this I do not maintain that this phase of local history could not or did not influence Roman worship. Liturgical texts of this era have, indeed, reminiscences of public disasters. Actually, the strikingly double content of the Old-Roman canticle *Vinea* <sup>2</sup> might well hint in this direction:

✠ Vineā (enim) domini Sabaoth \* domus Israel.

or

✠ Vineā domini speciosa facta est.

*Cant.* Cantabo nunc dilecto canticum. dilectae vineae meae.

<sup>1</sup> The importance of the all-round liturgical approach is also underlined by P. PEACOCK, « The problem of the Old Roman chant », in *Essays presented to Egon Wellesz*, 43-7.

<sup>2</sup> A study of this canticle is in progress. — Text available in 4 manuscripts, the oldest from c. 788; variants mostly due to influence of the Vulgate. Psalmodic melody known in 1 manuscript, that of the refrain *Vinea domini speciosa* unknown.

[domus or Vinea]

Vinea facta est dilecta. in cornu in loco uberi.

Et aedificavi turrin in medio eius. et torcular fodi in ea.

Et maceria circumdedi et circumfodi. et plantavi vineam Sorech.

Nunc homo qui habitas in Hierusalem. iudica inter me et vineam meam.

Debuerat enim facere uvas. fecit autem spinas.

Sustinui ut faceret iustitiam. fecit autem iniquitatem.

Diruam maceriam eius. non potabitur neque fodietur.

Vae qui coniungitis domum ad domum. et agrum ad agrum copulatis. usque ad terminum loci.

Numquid habitabitis soli vos. in medio terrae?

In auribus meis sunt haec. dicit dominus exercituum.

The oldest form of this canticle was the complete text of Isa. 5, 1-7, preserved in the Book of Commonius<sup>1</sup>. This second version selects and re-arranges eight verses from that pericope, but three continuous « verses » are added (Isa. 5, 8<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>). These undoubtedly explain how the vineyard's thorns and iniquity were understood by the Romans of the time. The house of Israel, the new Jerusalem, the City of Rome (*terminus loci*), was threatened by those who bought or built houses and palaces (*domus*), who acquired fields and gardens (*agrum*) as though they were the only ones on earth (*soli vos in medio terrae*). If the local conflicts envisaged here were connected with monks and clergy, the reproaches were almost certainly addressed to members of the papal entourage. For, when the canticle was changed and reduced to its third version, a tract with Gregorian melody, only those verses with a positive content about the vineyard were retained. All negative elements, accusations, threats and reproaches, from *Nunc homo* onwards, were dropped. Seventh- or 8th-century chanters of the papal schola, knowing themselves to be the freemen of Jerusalem on earth, would never have likened the monks or, for that matter, any of « the others » to the house of Israel. This would have been completely out of character.

To return to the point at issue : if both the liturgy and the culture of early medieval Rome are integral parts of the musi-

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 313.

cological problem Old-Roman-Gregorian, one of the two styles must be older than the other. For this reason alone the idea that Old-Roman and Gregorian chants developed simultaneously (c. 665) from a common Old-Italian idiom seems to be wholly inadequate. So is the notion that Gregorian influenced Old-Roman while influence in the opposite direction is ignored<sup>1</sup>. To the best of my knowledge, this «set-up» contradicts every historical development of western art forms. The direction is always from diversity to unity and subsequent uniformity, which, in its turn, breaks up again through renewed diversification. But the requirements for the rise of various art forms out of a single living, cultural idiom were not available in 7th-century Italy.

The changing performance of some major Latin Alleluias, the most noticeable feature in the internal development of the Easter vespers, does not in the least interfere with the persistently conservative character of these vespers, as displayed in the early sacramentaries, in the Roman Ordines and in the scanty chant books. However, in addition to these sources there are others, predominantly late medieval ones, which also outline an external development; this could be termed the papal history of the Easter vespers.

It has already been suggested<sup>2</sup> that the presence of collects in the early station sacramentaries does not necessarily point to a papal character of these vespers. The first and only explicit witness of papal attendance is that for Low Sunday in the first OR XXVII. Amalar in the 9th century used «that» station for allegories on the whole octave; his comments however can be ignored. Then just before the mid-12th century Benedict of St Peter's describes how the pope celebrated evening stations on Easter Sunday, Monday and Low Sunday<sup>3</sup>. But henceforth a variety of Roman documents,

<sup>1</sup> «Aufbau», 59, scheme.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 269.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber pol.*, no. 54; *PL* 78, 1047; ed. FABRE-DUCHESNE, 155. — HUGLO's statement, «Le chant», 117, that, according to the *Politicus*, the pope celebrated the stations till Low Saturday is mistaken for 2 reasons: a. it mentions the pope only on Easter Sunday, Monday and Low Sunday (nos. 49, 51, 54), and b. the last rubric (no. 54)

ranging from c. 1175 to 1275, attest to only two occasions, on Easter and the subsequent Monday: the ordinal of the Lateran canons <sup>1</sup>, the *Ordo Romanus* by Censius Savelli <sup>2</sup>, the three copies of the papal sacramentary <sup>3</sup> and the two of the neo-urban sacramentary of cardinal John Cajetan Orsini <sup>4</sup>.

Seen against the contemporary Old-Roman tradition of evening stations throughout the octave, this chronological sequence of no (?), one, three and two stations with papal attendance suggests that, at various stages in history, the popes showed more or less interest in the solemn vespers of the Roman clergy. The increase of this interest lies before the forties of the 12th century. It may well be another expression of the consciousness that primacy should express itself in solemn, liturgical terms. The decline dates from the second half of the same century. The little interest left died suddenly with the Avignon Exile.

Both versions of OR XV <sup>5</sup>, OR IV <sup>6</sup> and the life of pope Zacharias (741-52) in the *Liber pontificalis* <sup>7</sup> attest in different

opening with the morning station at St Pancras', is not for Low Saturday but Low Sunday. See above, p. 274.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. FISCHER, 88, no. 181. The evidence is circumstantial. After vespers of the court in the basilica, the canons say their own at St Pancras'. The same on Monday: « On these two days we do not process to the baptistry ». But from Tuesday onwards they say vespers in the basilica and visit the baptistry. — The Lateran missal, Rome, Archivio di Stato, archivio del Ssmo Salvatore 997, fol. 186<sup>v</sup> ff., still has all collects of the Gregorianum, except that Low Sunday has one, *Deus qui nos*; see above, p. 273. The collects of Low Saturday are erased and rewritten with a Mass for the pope.

<sup>2</sup> PL 78, 1079, 1081, nos. 35-6 (Easter), 38 (Monday). No further mention.

<sup>3</sup> Madrid, bibl. nac., 730, fol. 89<sup>r</sup>; see above, p. 271, note 2; Montpellier, bibl. municipale, 25, fol. 62<sup>r</sup>; Rome, Archivio di Stato, arch. del Ssmo Salvatore 1001, fol. 156<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Rome, Vatican Library, Ottobon. lat. 356, fol. 124<sup>r</sup>; Avignon, bibl. municipale, 100, fol. ?

<sup>5</sup> ANDRIEU III, 109, no. 65. The oldest version mentions a single drink, the second the traditional threefold one.

<sup>6</sup> ANDRIEU II, 168, nos. 95-6.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. DUCHESNE, 430; in note 32 his explanation goes far beyond the context.



ways that, after stational Masses, the pope, his court and assisting clergy used to take refreshments before going to dinner. The second portion of OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> and the two versions of OR XXVII extend this evidence to the city clergy, taking a threefold drink after vespers during the Easter octave: *de greco una, de pactisi [una et] una de procumma*<sup>1</sup>. When in the course of time the pontiff came to assist on Easter Sunday, the gathering in the portico of St Venantius was accompanied by elaborate ceremonial around the pope<sup>2</sup>. One of the details added was that during the drink « chanters » or « the precentor with chanters » sang the Greek prose *Πάσχα ἱερὸν ἡμῖν*. The term schola is not used in this context<sup>3</sup>. Whether by that time the papal schola had taken over from the urban institution or not, the reality behind this vagueness about the schola as such may well be that only a few chanters, urban or papal, were invited, just to sing the prose.

This prose is an exaltation of the Easter mystery: the Pascha is new, holy, mystical, venerable, immaculate and grandiose; it is the Pascha of Christ, the redeemer, and of his faithful, transforming all mortals. The text is derived from a Byzantine sticheron for Easter, also found in the 11th-century Beneventan gradual, Benevento, bibl. cap. VI. 40<sup>4</sup>. But there is one difference of detail worth while mentioning. The last line of the sticheron reads:

*Πάσχα πάντας ἀγιάζον πιστούς* = Pascha sanctificans omnes fideles;

<sup>1</sup> ANDRIEU III, 477, no. 81; reads *de greco una, de pactisi una, de procumma [una]*. In the var. he remarks that the last *una* is added because of OR XXVII. But the latter, *op.cit.*, 366, no. 78, see var., has *de greco unum, de pactisi unum et unum de procoma*; so does the first OR XXVII. It is likely therefore that OR XXX<sup>B2</sup> must be completed as above, because of a real homoioteleuton.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber politicus*, no. 49; PL 78, 1045; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 154; *Liber censuum*, no. 36; PL 78, 1080; FABRE-DUCHESNE, 298. — « Aufbau », 60: « Die Cantores der Schola singen... »; « primicerius und den Cantores der Schola... ».

<sup>4</sup> *Paléographie musicale* XIV, 461.

that in the Beneventan gradual however :

Pascha panthe anaplatete = Πάσχα πάντα ἀναπλάττον =  
Pascha omnia renovans,

while the Roman text has :

Πάσχα πάντας ἀναπλάττον βροτούς = Pascha renovans omnes  
mortales.

This development of thought is interesting for the final line of the Roman prose, missing in both the sticheron and the Beneventan copy. The lyricism changes unexpectedly to an invocation for the pope. In the 12th-century sources, the *Liber politicus* and the *Liber censuum*<sup>1</sup> it runs : *Καινὸν πάπαν χρῖστε φύλαξον* « The new pope, o Christ, preserve ». Some « thoughtful » scribe possibly failed to grasp the meaning of *καινὸν* and substituted *Ρόμεν*<sup>2</sup>, « The Roman pope, o Christ, preserve ». Now S.v.W. has another suggestion<sup>3</sup>. Substituting *καὶ νῦν* for *καινὸν*, he argues that, taking the Italian pronunciation into account, the change from *νῦν* to *νὸν* could easily have taken place ; *καινὸν* is meaningless for an annually recurring chant. One has, therefore, to see it in the sense of *Et nunc* or *Eia*, frequently occurring at the end of tropes and prosulae.

However fascinating the reference to *Et nunc* may be from a purely literary viewpoint, it ignores the text tradition and wrenches the invocation out of its own context as well as its western and eastern liturgical settings. The adjective « new » makes, indeed, no sense when related to the anniversary of a pope's election or coronation. But this is Easter, an annual feast which the sticheron itself qualifies as *Πάσχα καινὸν ἅγιον*. Here *καὶ νῦν* would be meaningless, while the parallelism of *Πάσχα καινὸν* and *καινὸν πάπαν* really makes sense, particularly in connection with the penultimate line of the Roman variant *Πάσχα πάντας ἀναπλάττον βροτούς*, Easter re-making, reforming, renovating all mortals. The pope was

<sup>1</sup> See note 7. *Politicus* in *PL* 78, only cue ; in FABRE-DUCHESNE complete text.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen this var. but do not recall where.

<sup>3</sup> « Aufbau », 60, note 5.

no exception. A glance at the concordances<sup>1</sup> shows that *nova creatura*, - *familia*, - *infantia*, - *proles*; *novus homo*, - *populus*; *innovare*, *renovare*, *regenerare*, *renascere*, *reparare*, etc. are all typically pascal expressions in the West. In the East it was exactly the same, but there is no need here for adding references. To Byzantines the Easter octave is their *διαχωνέσιμος ἑβδομάς*, the *hebdomada renovationis*<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, a yearly returning prayer that the Πάσχα καινόν may restore the Vicar of Christ to a καινός πάπας has always made perfect sense. Especially so to the late-medieval mind with its strong sense of world order, when a new pope was not only the apogee of a reborn people but also the manifest cause for renewal of those whose primate he was.

This Roman addition, inspired by the stational Acclamations (*Tu illum adiuva*, etc.), in their turn derived from an imperial model, changed the Easter sticheron into a chant for a special Easter occasion at which the pope was present. It now also expressed in a rather crude but therefore easily recognisable Byzantino-Roman fashion that he was « the centre of attention »<sup>3</sup>. If the Roman version was originally intended for the Easter rinfresco, it must date from a period when the concept of papal primacy had taken a firm hold of all stational liturgy, including the Easter vespers. For this reason alone it is far from self-evident that one or another Greek-minded pope had the Byzantine text adopted [better : adapted] - during the period II [= C], Sergius I ? — and performed by his schola according to their musical style<sup>4</sup>, viz. Old-Roman. In this case he would have ordered or suggested that the schola should « put him into the Easter picture », even when the city clergy and/or the court were having a party ! The urban character of both vespers and rinfresco rather suggests that the city clergy, impressed by the grandeur

<sup>1</sup> G. MANZ, *Ausdruckformen der latein. Liturgiesprache*, in *Texte und Arbeiten*, 1. Beiheft, Beuron 1941 ; A. PFLIEGER, *Liturgicae orationis concordantia verbalia. Prima pars. Missale Romanum*, Rome-Freiburg-Basle 1964.

<sup>2</sup> « Aufbau », 51, where the Greek Alleluia no. 4 is specified as : « für den Sonntagabend 'Renovationis' ».

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> « Aufbau », 60 f.

of papal liturgy around them, also wished to honour their bishop, at this particular highlight of the year, in terms of his primacy. They did so hesitantly but in their own musical idiom and within the bilingual context of their Easter celebrations.

The melody of this prose is not preserved. But S.v.W. has an ingenious solution: the *Alleluia secunda* to the *Dominus regnavit* fits almost note for note. And although the melismatic and modal phraseology of the Alleluia is at times destroyed by the text, for a Greek-minded, late-medieval Roman chanter, setting a Greek poem to music, the result would have been extremely good. But this was a Greek sticheron, known at least south of Rome as a liturgical item. Thus, in all probability, one or another Byzantine melody was also known there. May it not be that the combination with this Alleluia is just sheer modern fluke and that, in reality, a Byzantine melody was extended with nine notes?

### CONCLUSION

Unlike the Church of Milan, which during the Easter octave celebrated baptism with a morning Eucharist in the winter basilica, the community of Rome centred its octave of baptism in stations connected with an evening Office, sung in the Old-Roman style. These three- and twofold Easter vespers can be traced from the early-7th to the late-13th century. For all their musical splendour, they are not lavishly documented, although the traditions of source material, namely of sacramentaries, Ordines and chant books, are, at first sight, most impressive. Extra-liturgical records contribute little to what is known from these sources. The longest account, that by Amalar of Metz, although a valuable confirmation of the existence of one Roman Order, has, unfortunately, grown into a *rudis indigestaque moles*. As such it inspired the present survey.

The pre-Hadrian (Gregorian) and Hadrian sacramentaries furnish, among others, a series of collects for these typically Roman stations: three from Easter Sunday to Thursday for stations at the Lateran basilica, baptistry and St Andrew's, two on Friday and Low Saturday for those at the basilica

and baptistry of St Cross and St Mary Major, and two on Low Sunday in the church of Sts Cosmas & Damian. The New-Gelasiana know the same set but with a fourth collect on Easter and one for Low Sunday. The series, for the greater part proper to the Gregorian tradition, was purposely compiled or at least collected for these stations. It was inserted into the sacramentary en bloc, when the octave day of Easter, had, in many respects, eliminated Low Saturday as the proper octave of baptism on Holy Saturday; possibly around the pontificate of Honorius I. The series certainly formed part of the book by the mid-7th century. Hence, like the sacramentary, both the collects and the Easter vespers themselves originated in a period when Rome did not yet know a papal rite as distinct from the older urban one. As moreover this Old-Roman station book itself was not exclusively papal, its Easter evening stations were not necessarily celebrated by the pope. The question who did is answered by the *Ordines Romani*.

Three early-medieval *Ordines*, at first in circulation as separate *libelli*, describe the structure of the stations, giving also a variety of ceremonial and musicological details. As the services were exceptional, a number of questions remains necessarily unanswered. But the documents agree so much among themselves and with the sacramentaries that a mentality of almost tenacious conservatism must have surrounded these vespers before the end of the 7th century at the latest, certainly before the second *Ordo* was compiled. The changes that followed were only of detail and due to causes foreign to the vespers as such. Still, they supply the evidence for establishing chronology, character and origins of the *Ordines*. These differ considerably from those sketched by Mgr Andrieu.

The *Ordo* which Andrieu appended to his OR XXX<sup>B</sup> describes the stations of Easter Sunday. It is the only *Ordo* conforming to the three collects in the Gregorian and Hadrian sacramentaries but also contains elements of a far-off past, when Low Saturday was still the octave of baptism, when a separate Mass on Easter morning was yet unknown and the evening service was possibly conceived not as vespers but as Easter stations based upon the ancient *lucernarium*. The model of this definitely Roman *Ordo* antedates the others;

the mid-7th century does not seem to be improbable. Neither the pope or his household nor the faithful or neophytes are mentioned. Already at this early stage the service was an exclusively clerical event, the major Alleluias being performed in a perfectly responsorial technique of two half-choirs, boys and men.

The second real *Ordo Romanus*, the one consulted by Amalar of Metz, describes vespers throughout the octave including Low Sunday. Not yet critically edited, it could be called the « first » OR XXVII, as it was the model of the version published by Andrieu under that number. Notwithstanding a slightly different wording, its rubrics depend directly upon the previous Ordo. Among the material additions are a fourth station on Easter Sunday, also in the New-Gelasiana, and a third one on Friday. The responsorial performance of the major Alleluias is given more dramatic impact by the division of some Latin psalm strophes, so that the refrain could be repeated more frequently. Instead of solemn stations on Thursday — which one would expect reading the sacramentaries — vespers that day are only sung in the title churches. An answer to what seems an obvious contradiction cannot be given until we actually know how they were sung, and what they consisted of. Here as in the previous Ordo the ceremonial leaves no room for the pope as celebrant or for the court assisting him. These vespers were celebrated by the archdeacon and his city clergy. The pontiff alone assisted as guest of the clergy on Low Sunday, obviously as a solemn closure of the octave. Even the protocol for the refreshment after vespers only foresaw invitations to dignitaries of the urban clergy, including the precentor of the urban schola. Amalar's canting allegories have misled many a scholar. The Ordo probably dates from before the reign of John VII, i.e. it belongs to the 7th century.

The second portion of Andrieu's OR XXVII is verbally identical with the second Ordo, but the short rubrics for the Thursday vespers at the tituli are now appended to the Wednesday stations, while the vespers of Friday, Low Saturday and Sunday are each brought forward one day. Low Sunday has no stations; even the one rubric concerning the pope's presence that day was dropped. This corrupted adap-

tation was circulating by the middle of the 8th century. It cannot originate from Rome. Although Amalar states that « we celebrate this Office », the Ordo certainly provides no evidence that these Old-Roman vespers were ever sung elsewhere. On the contrary, only unfamiliarity with this typically urban octave could have caused and perpetuated the erroneous corrections in OR XXVII.

The late-medieval Ordines of canon Benedict of St Peter's, prior Bernard of the Lateran monastery and the papal chamberlain Censius Savelli furnish a host of details. However, they are only interested in the vespers in so far as they were occasionally papal services. Benedict still knew them on Easter Sunday and Monday and Low Sunday. The others no longer include Low Sunday; their testimony is confirmed by the papal and urban sacramentaries throughout the 13th century. The service itself does not seem to have undergone any change. During the refreshment however a Greek sticheron was now sung, suitably adapted to honour the pope. Still, even at this stage there is no real evidence that he was surrounded by the court, schola, etc.

The development in the performance of the Latin major Alleluias, attested by the Ordines, continued in the later chant books. Probably in consequence of Guido of Arezzo's new notation technique, the boys choir was abandoned. Henceforth the Alleluias were dramatised by the alternating voices of the entire male choir and the precentor. The Greek Alleluias underwent little change. But the most remarkable feature the chant books preserve is the striking contrast between the primitive uniformity of chant and the colourful variety in the choice of texts, revealing a Byzantino-Roman culture of grandeur, the new *romanitas* which was able to express itself freely in literature but was still harnessed by musical formulae and patterns.

The partial take-over of these Easter evening stations by the papacy, while the ancient chant of the city clergy was retained, is only one of similar phenomena in the liturgy of the Roman Church. The desire to express papal primacy in terms of public worship was obviously not satisfied with the creation of a new papal rite alone. It inspired a continual search for more and more solemn ceremonies which, in one

way or another, could serve its purpose. The result was a group of station services additional to the Eucharists and designated to exalt the outstanding office and, later on, personality of the bishop of Rome. It incorporates typically papal functions created on the basis of non-liturgical local customs, imitations of monastic vigils, matins & lauds in a new, i.e. Gregorian style, even a simple take-over of existing services by which the pontiff either officiated instead of a church dignitary or, simpler still, honoured a city tradition by his presence alone.

The Easter vespers, which never had a Gregorian, i.e. really papal counterpart, proof of their antiquity and persistent urban character, belong to the latter group of superficial take-overs. Moreover, in addition to the fact that they were exceptionally solemn stations, they attracted « papal » attention when the early-medieval enthusiasm for Byzantino-Roman Eucharists (OR I) gave way to the sober realisation that these papal « epiphaniae » demanded much time, money and personnel, while putting too much strain upon the activities of the late-medieval court. While the eucharistic morning stations decreased, those of the evening and night Offices became more numerous. By that time however the two Roman traditions were cristalised. In principle, the presence of the pope and his court no longer influenced the urban Office to which a particular basilica was accustomed. And the Romans were consciously proud of their *modus romanus* and on the defensive. In the long-drawn process by which Gregorian customs penetrated the urban traditions, clearly visible already in the Ordo by Benedict of St Peter's, the celebrations of the Easter vespers remained, with or without the external splendour of the pope's presence, a monument of the Old-Roman rite.



## APPENDICES I, II

## APPENDIX I (to p. 34)

date

Gregory I ?  
590-604

Boniface V  
619-25

?

?

?

Honorius I  
625-38

before (?)  
640

?

?

7th cent.

Gregory II  
715-31

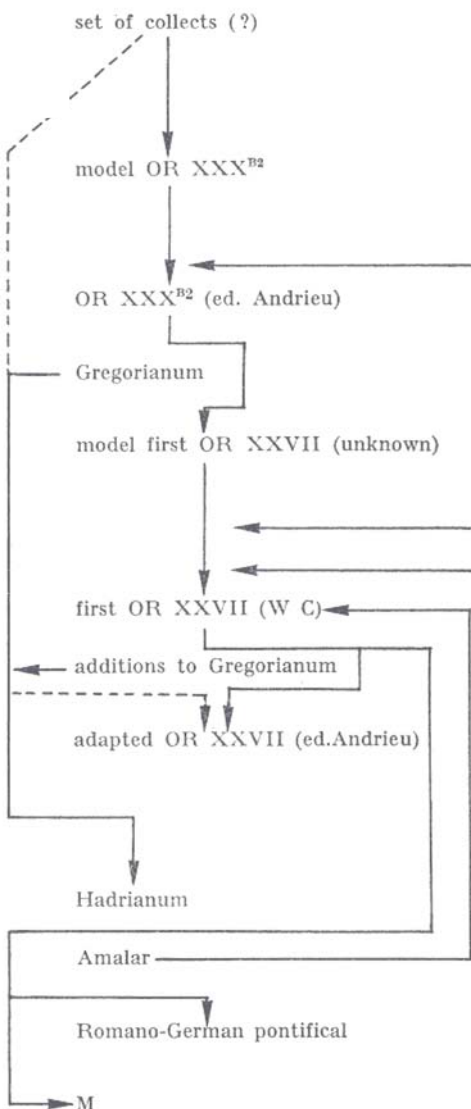
before mid-8th century

784-91

before  
834

10th cent.

11th cent.



## APPENDIX I (to p. 34)

## content

for Easter-Low Saturday, presumably : Easter-Wednesday, 3 stations ; Thursday tituli vespers, Friday-Saturday, 2 stations

*decree* : subdeacons administer baptism at Lateran

*title* : for Easter-Low Saturday

*content* : Easter Sunday, 3 Allas, 3 stations ; final rubric for Easter-Low Saturday

*addition* : Low Sunday as octave of Easter

*title* : for Easter-Low Saturday

*content* : Easter Sunday, 4 Allas, 3 stations ; final rubric for Easter-Low Sunday

for octave : Easter-Thursday, 3 stations ; Friday (Jerusalem)-Saturday (Mary Major), 2 stations ; Low Sunday (Cosmas & Damian), 2 stations

for octave : Sunday, 3 stations, final rubric ; Monday-Wednesday, 3 stations ; Thursday, tituli vespers ; Friday-Low Sunday, 2 stations, final • papal • rubric

*addition* : Easter, station St John's *ad vestem*

*addition* : Friday, station *ad cubicellum Rigodem*

*title W* : for Easter Sunday

*content W C* : for octave : Sunday, 4 stations, final rubric ; Monday-Wednesday, 3 stations ; Thursday, tituli vespers ; Friday, 3 stations ; Saturday-Low Sunday 2 stations ; final • papal • rubric

*title* : for Easter Sunday (except N)

*content* : for Easter-Low Saturday : Sunday, 4 stations, final rubric ; Monday-Wednesday, 3 stations ; Thursday rubric appended to Wednesday ; Thursday (= Friday), Friday (= Saturday), Saturday (= Sunday), 2 stations ; no final rubric

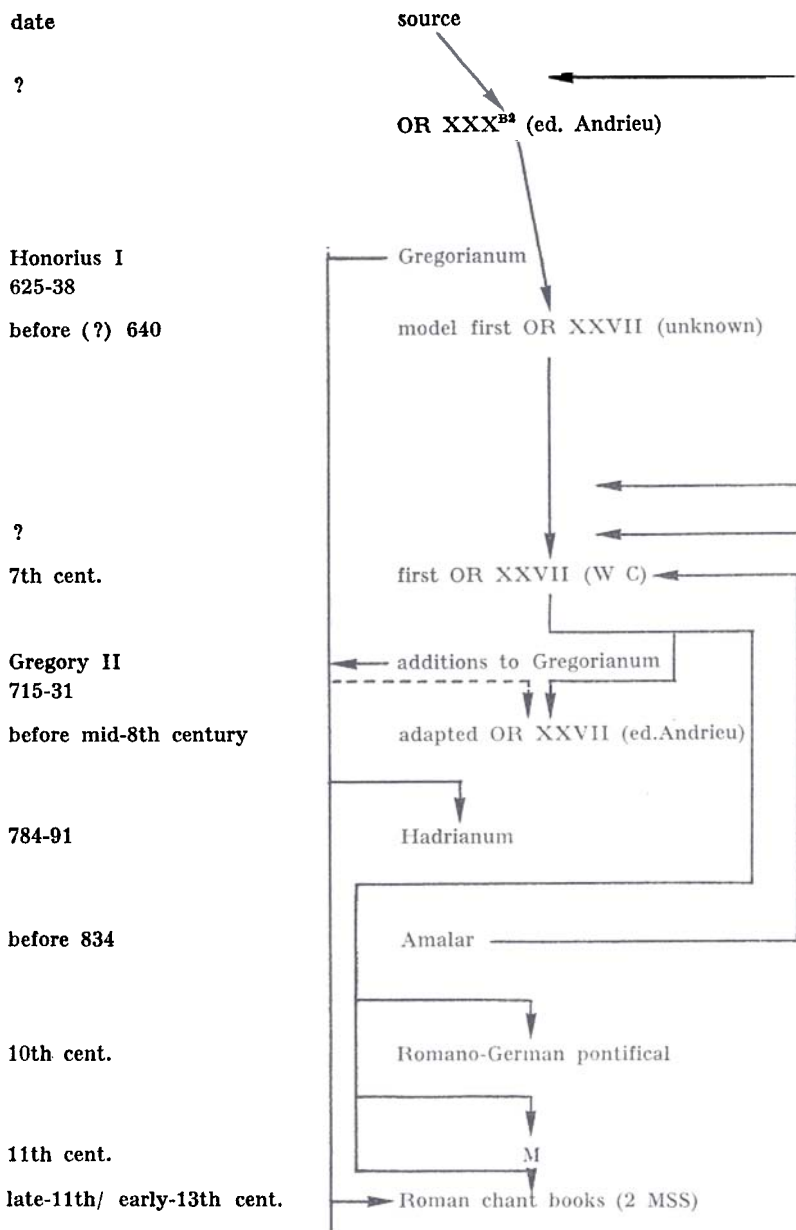
for octave, as in Gregorianum, with titles for station churches

*title* : for Easter octave

*content* : for Easter Sunday, 3 stations, adapted for Gregorian style

for Easter Sunday : 3 stations, adapted for Gregorian style

## APPENDIX II (to p. 52)



## APPENDIX II (to p. 52)

(content) <sup>+</sup> performance*addition ; etc.**title : for Easter-Low Saturday**content : Easter Sunday ; etc.**performance : responsorial chant of 2 half-choirs ; psalm strophes undivided  
first Alleluia repeated after each strophe.**for octave : Easter-Thursday ; etc.**for octave : Sunday, 3 stations ; etc.**performance : respons. chant of 2 half-choirs ; Greek Alleluias no change ;  
Latin Alleluias, psalm strophes divided when possible ; first Alleluia repeated  
semper, i.e. after each strophe or half-verse ; annunciation before  
the latter.**addition ; etc.**addition ; etc.**title W : for Easter Sunday**content W C : for octave : Sunday ; etc.**performance : as above in its model**title : for Easter Sunday (except N)**content : For Easter-Low Saturday ; etc.**performance : as in first OR XXVII**for octave, as in Gregorianum ; etc.**title : etc.**content : etc.**performance : respons. of 2 half-choirs**for Easter Sunday ; etc.**content : as in first OR XXVII**performance : alternating chant by precentor and schola ; psalm strophes divided  
when possible ; verses and half-verses by schola ; annunciations to  
latter by precentor ; additional annunciation half-verse to 1st verse of  
Pascha nostrum ; explicit consent of archdeacon for second Alleluia chanted.*

## SUMMARIUM

*Per octavam Resurrectionis, ab initio saltem saec. VII, speciales vesperae in Urbe per stationes solemniter cum cantu Vetere-Romano celebrabantur. Quas generatim auctores moderni, Amalario Metensi episcopo inspirante, vere censent papales. Unde recens orta est hypothesis viri cl. J. Smits van Waesberghe qui, arte sic-dicta Gregoriana liturgiae monasticae adscripta, omnem annalem cantum Veterem-Romanum a curia papali originem trahere et a curiali cantorum scola cantatum esse opinatur. Recentius, ut suam hypothesin de singulis agendo confirmaret, harum stationum versus alleluaticos disceptans, praesertim Amalarii innixus testimonio vesperarum evolutionem musicam deliniavit. Auctor, qui iam alio loco hanc thesin paucis verbis contradixit, hic, quod novae insuper interpretationes haud placent, huius Officii indolem atque historiam ampliore apparatu patefacere quaerit. Eo consilio, antiquam sacramentarium traditionem, Ordinum Romanorum progressum, Alleluiarum textus et cantum necnon et ipsius Amalarii relationem scrutanter enodat, ita ut ipsi hypotheseos defectus elucescant. — Utrumque sacramentarium, Gregorianum et Hadrianum, vespertinalium orationem seriem a die paschatis usque ad dominicam post Albas exhibent; quarum dispositio probabiliter saec. VII antiquior non est. Si adiectivis, ut sunt Romanus, papalis, urbanus, etc. clariores notiones liturgicas subicias, utriusque sacramentarii argumentum generale indolem habere stationalem potius quam papalem videtur. — Tres in usu erant Ordines pro vesperis paschalibus qui, contra chronologiam a M. Andrieu propositam, iam ante medium saec. VIII sibi hoc ordine sunt secuti: primo, altera pars OR XXX<sup>B</sup>, secundo, Ordo ab Andrieu ut talis publici iuris non factus sed in duobus manuscriptis saec. IX conservatus (W C), tertio, altera pars OR XXVII. De quibus primus tantum et secundus sine ullo dubio erant Romani. Omnes Ordines vesperas ab archidiacono, i.e. Papae inter clerum urbanum vicario, celebratas esse ostendunt; unica et brevis rubrica in secundo tantum Ordine papae apud SS. Cosmam & Damianum praesentiam in dominica post Albas, quando mane nulla fiebat statio eucharistica, praevidit. Ideo in ea statione Apostolicus solemniter sua praesentia, tam caeremoniali quam cantu revera Vetere-Romano, i.e. Urbis clericorum, remanentibus, Resurrectionis octavam concludebat. Hoc*

*altero Ordine Amalarius usus est. — Alleluiarum versus de psalmis sagaciter ex octavae mysteriis, basilicae stationalis vel situ vel titulari selecti, iuxta pristinum OR XXX<sup>B</sup>, perfecta methodo responsoriali a duobus semi-choris, puerorum nemque et virorum, cantabantur. Recentiores Ordines et libri cantuales testimonio sunt aliquos versus latinos, ubicumque psalmodica melodiae structura cum textu quadraret, esse divisos. Quibus casibus responsum Alleluia una cum novis « verbis », i.e. speciali intonatione alterum semi-versum nuntiante, inserebantur. Denique, puerorum choro abolito, etiam praxis responsorialis erat mutanda, ut versus cum responso (et intonatione) inter primicerium et virorum chorum alternarentur. Alleluiarum versus graece ad baptisterium cantati influxum Byzantinum denotant; sed qualem? Libri cantuales insuper aliquam inferioris aetatis innovationem in vesperis ad SS. Cosmam & Damianum inductam demonstrant. — Ad Amalarii relationem historice aestimandam et Paschatis mysteria et Ordinis ab eo memorati argumentum et methodus allegorica ponderentur oportet. Amalarius autem mysteria praeteriens, Ordinisque res et praecepta confundens, suis allegoriis plures veritatis superlationes addidit. Ita historicus modernus nec eius allegoriam de Apostolicae praesentiae effectui in stationes, utpote in brevi rubrica pro dominica post Albas fundatam, haud magni faciat. — Hiis rationibus tres aetates principales in huius Officii evolutione a van Waesberghe ex Amalario erutae fundamento historico carere videntur. Nec stationum origo in traditionali vesperarum structura inveniri potest; varia elementa affinitatem tam cum liturgia hierosolimitana quam cum antiquissimo lucernario ostentant. — Praeter minutias suae hypothese adherentes van Waesberghe alias quaestiones de liturgiae Romanae evolutione inde a saec. VII in medium profert; solemnitis et cotidianae liturgiae Veteris-Romanae progressum in duos ritus, urbanum et papalem; inter clericos et monachos contentionem eiusque in liturgiae formationem coniectum influxum; argumentum paschale et proprie Romanum illius prosae Πάσχα ἑρῶν. Quae omnia sub titulo « Stromata » ab auctore praesenti discutiuntur.*

# Zur Datierung von Augustinus *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*<sup>1</sup>

von  
A. MUTZENBECHER  
(Hamburg)

Die Datierung von *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* ist nicht nur im Hinblick auf das kleine Werk selbst, sondern zugleich auch für andere Werke aus Augustins Spätzeit von Bedeutung<sup>2</sup>. In den *Retractationes*, welche die Basis für die Chronologie der augustinischen Werke bilden, ist es im zweiten Buch an drittletzter Stelle als 65. Werk<sup>3</sup> besprochen. Von den vorhergehenden Werken sind die an 51. Stelle behandelten *Gesta cum Emerito* aus dem Jahre 418 das letzte fest

<sup>1</sup> Dieser Aufsatz ist im Zusammenhang mit der Vorbereitung einer Edition des Werkes für das *Corpus Christianorum* entstanden.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Datierung des Werkes cf.: Die MAURINER in der Admonitio ihrer Edition von *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* (1685), PL 40, 147-148 (= MAURINER, PL 40) sowie in ihrer *Vita sancti Aurelii Augustini* 8, 3, 5 (1700), PL 32, 527-528 (= MAURINER, PL 32); TILLEMONT L. S. Le Nain de, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, Bd. 13, Paris (1702) 21710, p. 842 s. 1027s (= TILLEMONT); ZARB Seraphim M., *Chronologia operum s. Augustini secundum ordinem Retractationum digesta cum appendice de operibus in Retractationibus non recensitis*, in: *Angelicum* 10, 1933, 359-396. 478-512; 11, 1934, 78-91: 10, 1933, p. 375 s (= ZARB, *Chronologia*); PERLER Othmar, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, Paris 1969 (= PERLER, *Les voyages*), p. 373-380. 382, n. 2, mit weiteren Literaturangaben. — Zur Datierung des Werkes im Zusammenhang mit Augustins Spätwerk cf. BARDY Gustave, *Les révisions = Œuvres de saint Augustin*, Bd. 12 (*Bibliothèque Augustinienne*), Paris 1950, p. 591-593.

<sup>3</sup> Ich zitiere die *Retractationes* nach Buch, den am Innenrand angegebenen Kapitelzahlen und den am äusseren Rand angeführten Paragrafenzahlen.



datierte Werk Augustins <sup>4</sup>. Da kein Grund vorliegt, im letzten Teil der *Retractationes* an der chronologischen Anordnung der Werke zu zweifeln — wie etwa bei *Contra Felicem Manicheum* <sup>5</sup>, wo die Zusammenfassung antimanichäischer Werke zu einer nicht der Chronologie entsprechenden Einordnung geführt hat <sup>6</sup> —, können wir davon ausgehen, dass alle 16 nach den *Gesta cum Emerito* besprochenen Werke in dem Zeitraum zwischen 418 und 427, dem mit guten Gründen für die Abfassung der *Retractationes* angesetzten Jahr <sup>7</sup>, verfasst worden sind. Gelänge es, die Abfassung von *De octo Dulciti quaestionibus* näher zu bestimmen, so wäre damit zugleich ein *terminus ante quem* für die 13 in den *Retractationes* voraufgehenden Werke und ein *terminus post quem* für die beiden darauf folgenden gewonnen.

Der seit den Maurinern immer wieder gemachte Versuch, gerade auf Grund dieses Werkes einen Festpunkt für die Datierung von Augustins Spätwerk zu gewinnen, nimmt seinen Ausgang von einem Satz der Praefatio, der den Anschein erweckt, als könne man das Jahr der Abfassung bestimmen. Ich zitiere ihn hier mit dem zum Verständnis erforderlichen Kontext.

*Quantum mihi videtur, dilectissime fili Dulciti, non tardavi respondere interrogationibus tuis. Per Pascha quippe hoc anno, quo Dominicus (In Plerisque Mss., Dominicum) eius fuit tertio calendas aprilis, a Carthagine mihi missas litteras tuae dilectionis accepi. Post eos autem dies sanctos confestim Carthaginem sum projectus: in qua civitate nihil me dictare permisit occupationum, quae ibi non potest deesse, nimia multitudo. Sed posteaquam inde regressus sum, peractis apud nostros quindecim diebus, qui me post absentiam diuturnam curare alia compulerunt (nam post tres menses redire permissus sum); rescribere ista non distuli... <sup>8</sup>*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *retract.* 2, 51, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *retract.* 2. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 255, n. 2 und 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 385.

<sup>8</sup> *quaest. Dulc. Praef.*, PL 40, 147-149.

Aus den hier gemachten zeitlichen Angaben lässt sich ohne weiteres die Jahreszeit der Abfassung bestimmen. Gleich nach den Ostertagen ist Augustin von Hippo nach Karthago aufgebrochen, was nach dem Sonntag der Osteroktav bedeutet <sup>9</sup>. Rechnet man für Hin- und Rückreise je zehn Tage <sup>10</sup>, dazu die drei in Karthago verbrachten Monate sowie die vierzehn von Amtspflichten erfüllten Tage nach der Rückkehr, so muss Augustin etwa viereinhalb Monate nach dem Ostersonntag den Brief des Dulcitius mit seinen acht Fragen beantwortet haben. Da Ostern auf die Tage vom 22. März bis zum 25. April fallen konnte, hat er das Werk also zu einem Zeitpunkt zwischen Anfang August und Mitte September geschrieben. Lange kann es ihn nicht in Anspruch genommen haben; denn es besteht zum grössten Teil aus Exzerpten, die er eigenen Werken entnommen hat <sup>11</sup>.

Fragwürdig ist jedoch das Datum, auf Grund dessen man das Jahr der Abfassung bestimmen wollte. Das haben schon die Mauriner erkannt. Sie stellten fest, dass der Ostersonntag, auf welchen sie das Datum *tertio calendas aprilis* (= 30. März) bezogen, während Augustins Episkopat nur in den Jahren 419 und 430 auf diesen Tag gefallen war <sup>12</sup>, die beiden Jahre jedoch ausserhalb des für die Abfassung möglichen Zeitraums lägen.

Die vordere Grenze des möglichen Zeitraums ergab sich den Maurinern daraus, dass Augustin in seine Antwort an Dulcitius zwei Exzerpte aus dem *Enchiridion* aufgenommen hat <sup>13</sup>. In diesem Werk ist von Hieronymus als von einem Verstorbenen die Rede <sup>14</sup>. Deshalb setzten die Mauriner auf Grund des bei Prosper überlieferten Todesdatums vom 30. 9. 420 <sup>15</sup> nach 420 als *terminus post quem* für die Abfassung von *De octo Dulcithi quaestionibus* an. Auf den *terminus ante*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. unten, p. 377.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 31. 163.

<sup>11</sup> Neu geschrieben sind ausser der Praefatio nur noch 1, 14; 7, 2-3 und die ganze Quaestio 5.

<sup>12</sup> Nach BUCHERIUS Aegidius, *De doctrina temporum, commentarius in Victorium Aquitanum*, Antverpiae 1634, p. 54-57.

<sup>13</sup> *enchir.* 18, 67-69; 29, 109-110 = *quaest. Dulc.* 1, 10-13; 2, 4.

<sup>14</sup> *enchir.* 23, 87: *sanctae memoriae Hieronymus presbyter.*

<sup>15</sup> PROSP. *chron.* I p. 469.

quem schlossen die Mauriner aus der Tatsache, dass Augustin das Werk noch in den *Retractationes* behandelt hat, für deren Abfassung sie etwa 427 ansetzten<sup>16</sup>. Andere Kriterien zur Bestimmung des möglichen Zeitraums haben auch wir nicht. Es muss jedoch berücksichtigt werden, dass in neuerer Zeit für das Todesdatum des Hieronymus das Jahr 419 vorgeschlagen worden ist<sup>17</sup>. Das Jahr selbst scheidet für die Abfassung von *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* aus, da Augustin das Werk, wie wir sahen, spätestens Mitte September, also sicherlich vor dem 30. 9. und erst recht vor Eintreffen der Todesnachricht in Hippo, verfasst hat. Hiernach wäre der früheste Termin August 420. Bezüglich des *terminus ante quem* ist zu beachten, dass es sich bei dem Jahr 427 für die Abfassung der *Retractationes* um ein erschlossenes Datum handelt. Da es jedoch der spätest mögliche Termin ist, können wir bei unserer Überlegung von diesem Jahr ausgehen. Es selbst kommt für die Abfassung von *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* nicht mehr in Betracht. Sonst wäre Augustin allzu sehr ins Gedränge geraten. Für die Abfassung der beiden in den *Retractationes* nach unserem Werk behandelten Schriften<sup>18</sup> sowie für die Beendigung der *Retractationes* selbst hätten ihm nicht einmal die vier Monate zur Verfügung gestanden, die ihm nach einer viereinhalbmonatigen Abwesenheit von Hippo sowie nach Abfassung seiner Antwort an Dulcitius noch geblieben wären; denn ein Konzil, das am 24. September 427 in Hippo tagte, hätte eine weitere Behinderung seiner literarischen Arbeit bedeutet. Somit können wir September 426 als *terminus ante quem* ansehen.

Zur Lösung des Problems, wieso in diesem zwischen 420 und 426 entstandenen Werk von einem Ostersonntag am 30. März die Rede sein könne, obwohl ein solcher für diesen Zeitraum nicht belegt ist, haben die Mauriner zwei verschiedene Vorschläge gemacht. Das zeigt, dass keiner von beiden

<sup>16</sup> MAURINER, PL 40.

<sup>17</sup> CAVALLERA Ferdinand, *Saint Jérôme, sa vie et son œuvre*, Bd. 2, Louvain 1922, p. 56-63.

<sup>18</sup> *retract.* 2, 66 *De gratia et libero arbitrio* und 2, 67 *De correptione et gratia*, beide mit je 32 Kolumnen in der *Patrologia Latina*.

sie selbst überzeugte<sup>19</sup>. Diese Unsicherheit bleibt auch für die späteren Versuche kennzeichnend; das wären zunächst der von Tillemont<sup>20</sup> und in unserer Zeit vornehmlich diejenigen von Zarb<sup>21</sup> und Perler<sup>22</sup>. Über diese Lösungsversuche gebe ich kein historisches Referat, sondern fasse sie, um ihre Voraussetzungen zu klären, methodisch zusammen.

Das Problem hat man auf dreierlei Weise zu lösen versucht:

- (1) indem man das Datum änderte;
- (2) durch die Annahme, in Hippo, resp. in Afrika sei Ostern zu einem anderen Termin gefeiert worden als in den übrigen Kirchen;
- (3) durch eine Kombination von (1) und (2).

Da es hier um die Osterdatierung geht, schicke ich eine Übersicht über die für die betreffenden Jahre belegten Daten voraus<sup>23</sup>:

<i>Jahr</i>	<i>Ostersonntag</i>
420	18. April
421	3. oder 10. April <sup>24</sup>
422	26. März
423	15. April
424	6. April <sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> PL 40, 147: *Scriptus forte an. 422, aut 425.*

<sup>20</sup> TILLEMONT, p. 1028: ... *nous mettrons le livre à Dulcice en l'an 424, jusques à ce que quelques personnes plus habiles nous donnent de meilleures lumieres.*

<sup>21</sup> ZARB, *Chronologia*, p. 376, spricht beide Male von *h y p o t h e - s i s*.

<sup>22</sup> Bei PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 380, heisst es: *peut-être 424.*

<sup>23</sup> Nach LIETZMANN Hans, *Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die Jahre 1-2000 nach Christus*, 3. Aufl., durchgesehen von ALAND Kurt = *Sammlung Götschen* 1085, Berlin 1956, p. 23 s. Diese Übersicht beruht auf SCHWARTZ Eduard, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln* = *Göttinger Gelehrte Abhandlungen*, N.F., Bd. 8, Heft 6, 1905, phil.-hist. Klasse.

<sup>24</sup> Die Alternative 10. April fehlt bei SCHWARTZ, findet sich jedoch bei KRUSCH Bruno, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie* 2. *Die Entstehung unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung* = *Sitzungsberichte* Berlin 1937, phil.-hist. Klasse. Nr. 8, p. 46, mit dem Zusatz *Latini*.

<sup>25</sup> In der Ostertafel des cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 2077 ist für das Jahr 424 als Osterdatum tatsächlich der 30. März angegeben. Dabei muss

425	19. April <sup>26</sup>
426	11. April.

(1) Die Änderung des Datums von *III* in *VII calendas aprilis* (= 26. März) führt auf das Jahr 422. Darauf beruht der eine Vorschlag der Mauriner <sup>27</sup>. Die Änderung von *III calendas aprilis* in *III idus aprilis* (= 11. April) ergibt das Osterdatum des Jahres 426. Das ist die eine der beiden von Zarb erwogenen Lösungen.

(2) Allein auf der Annahme eines verschobenen Ostertermins beruht ein Lösungsversuch, der von der Gegebenheit des einhellig überlieferten Datums ausging. Der 30. März fiel in dem für *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* erschlossenen Zeitraum nur im Jahre 424 auf einen Sonntag. Deshalb hielt Tillemont es für möglich, dass die afrikanische Kirche an diesem Tage Ostern gefeiert hätte, und schlug das Jahr 424 zur Datierung vor <sup>28</sup>.

(3) Sowohl auf der Annahme eines Schreibfehlers als auch auf der Hypothese eines verschobenen Osterdatums beruhen zwei weitere Lösungsversuche. *III* in *XI calendas aprilis* (= 22. März) änderten die Mauriner, weil sie Hippo unter denjenigen Kirchen des Okzidents vermuteten, die nach einer Angabe in dem chronographischen Werk von Bucherius im

es sich aber um eine fehlerhafte Berechnung handeln; denn sie ging von einem falschen Mondalter aus (XVI statt XV). In anderen Osterlisten sowohl für Rom wie für Alexandrien ist zu diesem Jahr nur der 6. April angegeben; cf. KRUSCH Bruno, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie* 1. *Der 84-jährige Ostercyclus und seine Quellen*, Leipzig 1880, p. 77-79; SCHWARTZ (Zitat in n. 23), p. 48. — CAPPELLI A., *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo*, Milano (1906) <sup>2</sup>1930, p. 221<sup>4</sup>, bemerkt zu diesem Datum: *Pasqua 23 mar. nelle chiese d'Africa*, ohne jedoch einen Beleg dazu zu geben oder auf Literatur zu verweisen.

<sup>26</sup> Zu diesem Datum gibt SCHWARTZ (Zitat in n. 23), p. 48, als Abweichung den 22. März an.

<sup>27</sup> Bei dieser Änderung fragt sich, ob *tertio* im Original als Wort oder als Zahl gestanden hat. Falls die Handschriften augustinischer Werke, die Daten enthalten, ein richtiges Bild vermitteln und dieses von den Editoren berücksichtigt worden ist, müsste beides möglich gewesen sein.

<sup>28</sup> TILLEMONT, p. 842. 1028.

Jahre 425 an diesem Tage Ostern gefeiert hätten <sup>29</sup>. Diese Lösung zieht auch Zarb in Erwägung. *III in X calendas aprilis* (= 23. März) änderte Perler auf Grund einer Angabe, nach welcher im Jahre 424 dieses der Ostertermin der afrikanischen Kirche gewesen sei <sup>30</sup>.<sup>†</sup> Zur Datierung des Werkes nach dem fraglichen Satz der Praefatio haben also vorgeschlagen :

422 oder 425	die Mauriner
424	Tillemont
425 oder 426	Zarb
424	Perler.

Einer kritischen Beurteilung hält keiner dieser Lösungsversuche stand. Eine Änderung des Datums an der einhellig überlieferten Stelle, die im Prinzip weitere Möglichkeiten zulässt, scheint willkürlich. Die Hypothese eines verschobenen Ostertermins ist an sich nicht abwegig. Wegen der Schwierigkeit der Osterberechnung waren trotz dem lebhaften Bemühen, zu einem einheitlichen Termin zu gelangen, Abweichungen im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert noch möglich, vor allem dann, wenn die römische Berechnung mit der alexandrinischen, deren Autorität anerkannt war, nicht übereinstimmte <sup>31</sup>. Für das Jahr 424 jedoch, auf das Tillemont, der sich ja als einziger allein auf diese Hypothese stützte, gekommen war, hatten Rom und Alexandrien dasselbe Osterdatum errechnet <sup>32</sup>. Somit fällt für dieses Jahr ein wichtiger

<sup>29</sup> BUCHERIUS (cf. n. 12), p. 55: *Latinis quibusdam, XI. Kalend. Aprilis*.

<sup>30</sup> PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 378-380, mit Verweis auf CAPPELLI A., (cf. n. 25).

<sup>31</sup> Zur Osterdatierung wären ausser BUCHERIUS (cf. n. 12), KRUSCH (cf. n. 24 und 25) und SCHWARTZ (cf. n. 23) vor allem noch zu nennen: SCHMID Joseph, *Die Osterfestberechnung in der abendländischen Kirche vom I. allgemeinen Konzil in Nicäa bis zum Ende des VIII. Jahrhunderts* = *Strassburger Theologische Studien*, Bd. 9, Freiburg Br. 1907, p. 103-107 über « Die Osterfestberechnung in der nordafrikanischen Kirche »; JONES C. W., *Bedae opera de temporibus*, Cambridge Mass. 1943, p. 3-122, besonders p. 6-104, mit weiteren Literaturangaben, sowie MAYR Joachim, *Der Computus Ecclesiasticus*, in: *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 77, 1955, 301-330.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. KRUSCH (cf. n. 24), p. 12 s.

Anlass, der zur Verschiebung hätte führen können, fort. Aber auch abgesehen davon erregt die Hypothese für die Jahre 420 bis 426 gerade mit Bezug auf Afrika Bedenken. Beschlüsse von Konzilen der Kirche Afrikas aus den Jahren 393, 397, 398, 401 und 402 sind bekannt, die vorschreiben, dass von Karthago aus allen Kirchen Afrikas das Osterdatum anzusagen sei <sup>33</sup>. Da Augustins Anwesenheit bei diesen Konzilen bis auf das von 398 bezeugt ist <sup>34</sup> und man ferner weiss, dass er in enger Zusammenarbeit mit dem Primas Aurelius von Karthago massgeblich an Konzilsbeschlüssen beteiligt war, scheidet die Hypothese eines allein in Hippo befolgten Sonderdatums für Ostern aus. Dass es Karthago aber auch über seine Provinz hinaus an einem einheitlichen Termin lag, zeigt die Korrespondenz mit Rom und Alexandrien über das Osterdatum der Jahre 414 und 420, in welchen der Termin zweifelhaft war <sup>35</sup>. Für dieses Bestreben hatte die katholische Kirche Afrikas einen gewichtigen Grund: ihre Abwehrstellung gegen die Donatisten. Den Schismatikern gegenüber ist ihr Hauptargument die eigene Einheit mit der Gesamtkirche <sup>36</sup>. In solcher Lage musste die Kirche Afrikas auch in diesem Punkt auf Übereinstimmung mit den anderen Kirchen bedacht sein. Für die Annahme eines Abweichens müssten wichtige Anhaltspunkte beigebracht werden. Eine Beseitigung der Schwierigkeit, die sowohl der Annahme eines

<sup>33</sup> Cf. SCHMID (cf. n. 31), p. 103 s.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 434-446.

<sup>35</sup> Siehe den Brief des Papstes Innocenz I. an Aurelius von Karthago (*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. DEKKERS E., Steenbrugis 1961, n° 2281a) und den Brief Kyrills von Alexandrien an das Konzil von Karthago von 419 (*Clavis Patr. Lat.* n° 2304), der später an Papst Bonifatius weitergeleitet worden ist; cf. KRUSCH B., *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie* 1, 1880, p. 344.

<sup>36</sup> Als Beispiel cf. AUG. *serm.* 271; grundsätzlich dazu VINCENT. LER. *commun.* IV. (5).

Dass ein Abweichen vom allgemein gültigen Ostertermin geradezu als ketzerisch angesehen wurde, zeigt ein kaiserlicher Erlass vom 8. Juni 423: *Manicheos illosque, quos Pepyzitas vocant, nec non et eos, qui omnibus haereticis hac una sunt persuasione petores, quod in venerabili die paschae ab omnibus dissentiunt, si in eadem amentia perseverant, eadem poena multamus, bonorum proscriptione atque exilio*; Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 24.

Schreibfehlers als auch der Hypothese eines verschobenen Ostertermins bedarf, erregt entsprechend schwerere methodische Bedenken.

Erstaunlich bei all diesen Versuchen ist eine philologische Unterlassungssünde, deren sich die Mauriner und in ihrem Gefolge alle weiteren schuldig gemacht haben. Die Mauriner selbst hatten festgestellt, dass die Mehrzahl der Handschriften in dem betreffenden Passus nicht das von ihnen in den Text aufgenommene *dominicus* böten, sondern stattdessen das Neutrum *dominicum*. Wenn nun eine von den meisten Handschriften bezeugte Lesart nicht auch die bessere zu sein braucht, so hätte sie doch jedenfalls in die Überlegung mit einbezogen werden müssen. *Dominicum* bedeutet entweder Basilika oder Eucharistie; beides gibt in diesem Zusammenhang keinen Sinn. Allerdings sind im *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* auch für die Bedeutung von Sonntag zwei späte Belege angeführt, einer aus einem afrikanischen Computus aus dem Jahre 455, der andere vermutlich erst aus dem 6. Jahrhundert<sup>37</sup>; doch bezeichnet Augustin den Sonntag, soweit ich feststellen konnte, entweder als *dies dominicus* oder nur als *dominicus*<sup>38</sup>. Ein Solözismus wie *dominicum* wäre in einer Predigt noch denkbar. Dass Augustin ihn aber ausgerechnet in der Widmung eines Werkes an einen hohen römischen Beamten verwendet haben sollte, kann man sich nicht vorstellen.

Dass *dominicum* nun aber wirklich die bessere Lesart und *dominicus* nur eine spätere Konjektur ist, konnte ich 26 Handschriften entnehmen, in denen ich die Praefatio für meine Edition von *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* kollationiert habe. Damit stellte sich der Deutung des Satzes eine neue Schwierigkeit entgegen. Zu meiner Verblüffung fand sich dann aber in einer Handschrift aus Heilsbronn vom Anfang des 13. Jahrhundert<sup>39</sup>, die im übrigen keine Sonderüberlie-

<sup>37</sup> ThLL, Bd. 5, 1, col. 1891, l. 66-70: COMPUT. Carth. (*Clavis Patr. Lat.* n° 2296) 1, 2: *cuius anni dominicum pasce agitur quintu decimum kalendas maias...* (cf. ib. 2, 8); col. 1892, l. 1-3: NICET. pasch. rec. B (*Clavis Patr. Lat.* n° 2302) p. 103, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Siehe besonders *epist.* 36 und 55.

<sup>39</sup> cod. Erlangen 179, foll. 76v-94v.



ferung enthält und sich auch sonst in nichts vor den anderen Handschriften auszeichnet, eine fast identische Buchstabenfolge, doch mit anderer Wortteilung. Ich zitiere hier den Satz mit beiden Lesarten, wobei ich in der bisherigen das besser überlieferte *dominicum* einsetze :

*Per pascha quippe hoc anno,*  
*quo dominicum eius fuit tertio calendas aprilis,*  
 (= « bisherige Leart »)  
*quo domi cum meis fui, tertio calendas aprilis*  
 (= « neue Lesart »)  
*a Carthagine mihi missas litteras tuae dilectionis accepi.*

Auf Deutsch könnte man den Satz so wiedergeben :

Denn in der Osterzeit dieses Jahres,  
 in welcher der Ostersonntag auf den 30.  
 März fiel, habe ich (bisherige Lesart)  
 als ich bei den Meinen zu Hause (in Hippo)  
 war, habe ich am 30. März (neue Lesart)  
 den mir von Karthago gesandten Brief deiner Liebe erhalten.

Um den Wert beider Lesarten abschätzen zu können, müssen wir sie genau miteinander vergleichen.

Der Sinn des ganzen oben zitierten Passus ist eine Angabe der Umstände, die zur Verzögerung von Augustins Antwort an Dulcitius geführt haben. Nach der bisherigen Lesart bezeichnet in dem fraglichen Satz *per pascha* den Termin, zu welchem Augustin den Brief des Dulcitius empfangen hat ; das Datum aber, das hier in dem Relativsatz steht, gehört zum Ostersonntag. Somit dient der Relativsatz einer Feststellung, deren Bedeutung für den Zusammenhang nicht erkennbar ist. Hätte Augustin damit, wie man ja angenommen hat, auf die auch zu seiner Zeit immerhin ungewöhnliche Tatsache verweisen wollen, dass das Fest in Hippo zu einem von der übrigen Kirche abweichenden Termin gefeiert worden wäre, so vermisst man einen Zusatz wie « hier bei uns », der den Satz in den Zusammenhang einbezöge. Noch ungereimter wäre der Satz, wenn man annähme, es handle sich um das allgemein gültige Osterdatum, mit welchem Augustin das Werk habe datieren wollen. So etwas tut er sonst nicht.

Finden sich in seinen Werken Datierungen, so beziehen sie sich auf ein fest datierbares Ereignis, das in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit dem Werk steht. In diesen Fällen bestimmt er das Jahr nach römischem Brauch durch Konsuln und nicht durch den Ostertermin<sup>40</sup>. Bei der neuen Lesart hingegen fügen sich alle Aussagen sinnvoll zusammen und haben eine präzise Bedeutung. Das neben *tertio calendas aprilis* als genauer Zeitbestimmung für den Eingang des Briefes zunächst überflüssig erscheinende *per pascha* hat seinen guten Sinn. Damit wollte Augustin dem Dulcitius vor Augen führen, dass ebenso wie nachher in Karthago und während der vierzehn Tage nach seiner Rückkehr Amtsgeschäfte ihn schon sogleich nach Empfang des Briefes keine Zeit zu antworten gelassen hatten; denn zu Ostern war ein Bischof ganz von seinen mit dem Fest und der Taufe verbundenen Pflichten in Anspruch genommen<sup>41</sup>. Wie das Datum den Tag, so bezeichnet *domi* den Ort des Empfangs. Beides ist der Ausgangspunkt für die folgenden genauen zeitlichen und örtlichen Angaben bis zu dem Tage hin, an welchem Augustin nach Hippo zurückgekehrt endlich mit der Antwort beginnen konnte.

Grammatisch-stilistisch ist bei beiden Lesarten *hoc anno* als ein aus einem Substantiv in adverbialen Kasus bestehendes Attribut<sup>42</sup> zu verstehen. Der mit *quo* eingeleitete Relativsatz bezieht sich auf das Wort *pascha*, welches Au-

<sup>40</sup> Siehe z. B. c. *Fort.* Eingangssatz; c. *Fel.* 1, 1; c. *Emer.* 1; cf. *epist.* 213, 1. — In *epist.* 65, 2 ist das Osterdatum zur Bestimmung eines Tages, nicht eines Jahres angeführt. Dass jedoch eine Jahresbestimmung nach dem Osterdatum möglich war, zeigt der 12. Kanon des 11. Konzils von Karthago im Jahre 407; cf. SCHMID (Zitat n. 31), p. 104 s.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. MEER F. van der, *Augustinus der Seelsorger, Leben und Wirken eines Kirchenvaters*, aus dem Holländischen übers. von GREITEMANN N., Köln 1953, p. 377-398.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. KÜHNER R. & STEGMANN C., *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Satzlehre, Teil 1, 3. Aufl. durchgesehen von THIERFELDER A., Leverkusen 1955, p. 216, n. 1; HOFMANN J. B. & SZANTYR A., *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* = *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 2. Abt., 2. Teil, Bd. 2, München 1965, p. 428, § 228, Zusatz δ).

gustin im Akkusativ als Neutrum Singular gebraucht. Bei der bisherigen Lesart fällt neben der Form *dominicum* für Sonntag das unbeholfene *per pascha quippe ... quo dominicum eius fuit* auf. Wie sehr es Augustins gewandtem Stil widerspricht, zeigt eine Stelle in *De civitate dei*, wo er den Übergang von den Ostertagen zum Ostersonntag so ausdrückt: *Venit et pascha, atque ipso die dominico mane ... repente prostratus est* <sup>43</sup>. Die neue Lesart gibt keinen Anstoss. Den Ausdruck *mei*, mit dem Augustin hier wohl seine eigene Gemeinde im Gegensatz zu der von Karthago meint und nicht die Kleriker, mit denen er in klösterlicher Gemeinschaft lebte, nimmt er weiter unten mit *apud nostros* wieder auf.

Paläographisch erklärt sich die Entstehung der beiden Varianten durch verschiedene Abteilung der Wörter eines in *Scriptura continua* geschriebenen Archetypus. Den durch falsche Trennung entstandenen Satz sollten leichte Änderungen verständlich machen. Im Archetypus müsste nach der bisherigen Lesart gestanden haben

*quodm̄cumeiusfuittertio*

nach der neuen

*quodomicūmeisfuittertio.*

Welche der beiden Lesarten die ursprüngliche ist, lässt sich nach paläographischen Kriterien kaum entscheiden. Zwar ist eher anzunehmen, dass aus *domicum* ein *dominicum* geworden ist als umgekehrt aus *d̄m̄icum* <sup>44</sup> das *domi cum*; doch könnten die übrigen Varianten *eius* - *eis*, *tt* - *t* und *m* - *mm* ebenso gut aus der einen wie aus der anderen Lesart entstanden sein.

Da die neue Lesart sich somit als die bessere gezeigt hat, muss untersucht werden, welche Möglichkeiten zur Datierung des Werkes sie bietet. Wieder bilden die Osterdaten in dem

<sup>43</sup> *civ.* 22, 8, l. 426-429.

<sup>44</sup> Eine Kürzung *domicum*, die als *domi cum* gelesen worden wäre, ist nicht anzunehmen, da *domi* eine seltene Kürzung ist, die zudem nur für den weltlichen Herrn gebraucht wurde; cf. TRAUBE Ludwig, *Nomina Sacra. Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*, München 1907 (Nachdruck Darmstadt 1967), p. 172. 192; LINDSAY W. M., *Notae Latinae. An account of abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the early minuscule period (c. 700-850)*, Cambridge 1915 (Nachdruck Hildesheim 1963), p. 405.

für die Abfassung möglichen Zeitraum von 420 bis 426 den Ausgangspunkt. Wenn der 30. März hiernach auch nicht das Datum des Ostersonntages ist, so fällt doch der Tag in die Osterzeit: *per pascha quippe ... tertio calendas aprilis ... litteras ... accepi*. Fraglich ist nur, welche Zeitspanne Augustin hier mit *pascha* bezeichnet. Er braucht das Wort, soweit ich es übersehe, sonst in der Bedeutung von Ostersonntag oder des *sacrum triduum* vom Karfreitag bis zum Sonntag<sup>45</sup>. Da er den Begriff *pascha* in dem folgenden Satz mit den Worten *eos dies sanctos* wieder aufnimmt, kann er hier nicht nur den Ostersonntag gemeint haben. *Pascha* bedeutet hier aber auch nicht nur das *sacrum triduum*; denn Augustin ist gleich nach diesen *dies sanctos* nach Karthago aufgebrochen, und das konnte er erst nach dem Sonntag der Osteroktav, weil ein Bischof noch die ganze Woche nach dem Fest intensiv mit den Neugetauften beschäftigt war, die erst am Sonntag der Osteroktav endgültig in die Gemeinde entlassen wurden<sup>46</sup>. *Pascha* muss hier also einen Zeitraum bedeuten, der diesen Sonntag einschliesst. In diesem Sinne begegnet uns das Wort im *Codex Theodosianus* in einer Verordnung über die Feiertage vom 7. August 389. Dort heisst es: *Sacros quoque paschae dies, qui septeno vel praecedunt numero vel sequuntur*<sup>47</sup>. Demnach umfassten die Osterferien sowohl die Kar- wie die Osterwoche. Da die angespannte Tätigkeit, welche diese beiden Wochen von einem Bischof verlangten, gerade das ist, worauf Augustin mit dem Wort *pascha* verweisen wollte, gehen wir bei unserer Untersuchung von diesem Zeitraum aus. In ihn fiel der 30. März in den Jahren 420 bis 426 dreimal: 421 als Mittwoch vor Ostern, 422 als Donnerstag nach Ostern und 424 als Palmsonntag.

Zwischen diesen drei Jahren zu entscheiden, bietet die Praefatio des Dulcitius gewidmeten Werkes kein Kriterium.

<sup>45</sup> Siehe besonders *epist.* 55.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 83 s.

<sup>47</sup> Cod. Theod. 2, 8, 19; cf. ib. 2, 8, 21. Von diesen vierzehntägigen Osterferien spricht Augustin in einer Predigt vom Sonntag der Osteroktav, *serm.* 259, 6.

Weiter führen die *Retractationes*. Geht man davon aus, dass in ihrem letzten Teil die chronologische Anordnung zuverlässig ist, so sprechen sowohl die Zahl der 13 nach den *Gestacum Emerito* vom 20. September 418 bis zu *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* verfassten Werke als auch die Tatsache, dass nur noch zwei Werke folgen, mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit für das letzte der drei Jahre, also für 424. Diesen Ansatz könnte man aus der Erwägung für zu früh halten, dass Augustin dann für die 13 Werke, darunter umfangreiche wie *Quaestiones in heptateuchum* und *Contra Iulianum* <sup>48</sup>, nur sechs Jahre, für die letzten zwei kurzen Werke <sup>49</sup> hingegen gut drei Jahre zur Verfügung gestanden hätten. Dagegen wäre jedoch einzuwenden, dass in diese drei Jahre ja auch noch die Abfassung der *Retractationes* selbst fiel, die deshalb eine am Umfang des Werkes gemessen unverhältnismässig lange Zeit beansprucht haben, weil Augustin daraufhin sein gesamtes Werk ausser Briefen und Predigten — bis zu dem Zeitpunkt waren es 93 Werke in 232 Büchern <sup>50</sup> — durchlesen musste. Ausserdem fällt in diese Jahre noch die Beendigung zumindest von *De civitate dei* <sup>51</sup> und von *De doctrina christiana* <sup>52</sup>.

Im Jahre 424 könnte auch der dreimonatige Aufenthalt Augustins in Karthago in einem nicht fest datierten Konzil seine Erklärung finden, falls sich der Ansatz in eben dieses Jahr als richtig erweisen sollte <sup>53</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Mit 278, bzw. 234 Kolumnen in der Patrologia Latina.

<sup>49</sup> Mit je 32 Kolumnen in der Patrologia Latina.

<sup>50</sup> Siehe den Schluss der *Retractationes*.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. PERLER, *Les voyages*, p. 384.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. ib.; *retract.* 2, 4, 1.

<sup>53</sup> Das Jahr 424 setzen ohne weitere Begründung an HEFELE C. J. & LECLERCQ H., *Histoire des conciles*, Bd. 2, 1, Paris 1908, p. 214; CROSS F. L., *History and fiction in the African canons*, in: *The Journal of Theological Studies*, N. S. 12, 1961, 227-247: p. 243. 245; und MUNIER Ch., *Un canon inédit du XX<sup>e</sup> concile de Carthage: « Ut nullus ad Romanam ecclesiam audeat appellare »*, in: *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 40, 1966, 113-126: p. 118, n. 16. Vorher hatte MAASSEN F., *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, Bd. 1, Graz 1870, p. 183, das Konzil in die Jahre 425 oder 426 datiert.

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, dass die Versuche, *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus* nach der bisherigen Lesart zu datieren, aus methodischen Gründen nicht überzeugen. Auf Grund der neuen Lesart ergibt sich zwar keine feste Datierung; doch können wir für das Werk mit hinreichender Wahrscheinlichkeit das Jahr 424 ansetzen. Mit Vorbehalt kann dieses Jahr auch als Orientierungspunkt bei der Datierung von Augustins Spätwerk benutzt werden.

*2 Hamburg 52*

*Quellental 65*

*D.B.R.*

# The Composition of Hildegard of Bingen's *Symphonia*

by

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The earlier of the two manuscripts of Hildegard of Bingen's *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum*, today codex 9 in the Abbey of Dendermonde [D], has received little detailed attention from scholars<sup>1</sup>. An examination of this codex, however, and a comparison of its contents with those of the better known Wiesbaden « Riesenkode » [R]<sup>2</sup>, sheds new light on Hildegard's lyrical work. It illuminates the way in which Hildegard conceived and designed the *Symphonia* as a lyrical whole : it enables us to distinguish certain stages in her work, to conjecture plausibly about the original contents of the cycle and about what Hildegard added to it or excluded from it in the last two decades of her life.

In the prologue to her *Liber vite meritorum*, Hildegard refers to the *Symphonia* as one of the works she completed

<sup>1</sup> There are some observations in M. SCHRADER-A. FÜHRKÖTTER, *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (Köln-Graz 1956) pp. 18, 21, 49ff., and in M. I. RITSCHER, « Zur Musik der heiligen Hildegard », *Colloquium Amicorum : Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 70. Geburtstag* (Bonn 1967) pp. 309-26. [Since this article went to press, there has appeared *Hildegard von Bingen, Lieder*, ed. P. Barth, M. I. Ritscher and J. Schmidt-Görg (Salzburg 1969). The brief discussion of manuscripts there (pp. 318-22) is valuable particularly for its indication of the further codices that contain occasional songs from Hildegard's collection.]

<sup>2</sup> Hessische Landesbibliothek cod. 2, containing the *Symphonia* on fols. 466<sup>r</sup>-481<sup>v</sup>. A facsimile of these pages was produced by J. GMELCH, *Die Kompositionen der heiligen Hildegard* (Düsseldorf, n.d. [1913]).

between 1151 and 1158 <sup>3</sup>. This does not preclude either that individual songs in the cycle may have been composed before 1151 — Hildegard is already celebrated for her lyrical compositions in a letter of 1148 <sup>4</sup> — or that she may have revised and enlarged the cycle at a later time.

The Reverend Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter, in their careful analysis of Hildegard's manuscript tradition, have established that the « Riesenkodex » was compiled at the Rupertsberg convent in the decade following Hildegard's death (i.e. c. 1180-90) <sup>5</sup>, whereas the Dendermonde manuscript was copied on the Rupertsberg in Hildegard's own lifetime, and so almost certainly under her supervision, at a date after 1163 <sup>6</sup>, and probably around 1175 <sup>7</sup>. The text of the *Symphonia* is fragmentary in this manuscript. The exact contents, however, and the extent of the gaps, have not been noted or analysed. This is the necessary starting-point for my enquiry.

The surviving portions of the *Symphonia* in D are as follows <sup>8</sup>.

			Pitra
153 <sup>r</sup>	1	A<ntiphona>      O magne pater*	II
	2	A      O eterne deus	III
	3	De Sancta Maria      R<esponsorium> Ave Maria, o auctrix vite*	XVII
153 <sup>v</sup>	4	R      O clarissima mater	XVIII
154 <sup>r</sup>	5	A      De Sancta Maria      O splendi- dissima gemma†	X

<sup>3</sup> Ed. J. B. PITRA, *Analecta Sacra VIII: Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis* (Monte Cassino 1882) pp. 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> Odo of Soissons to Hildegard, *P.L.* 197, 352A: « Dicitur quod elevata in caelestibus multa videas, et multa per scripturam proferas, atque modos novi carminis edas, cum nihil horum didiceris ». For the authorship and date of this letter, see A. FÜHRKÖTTER, *Hildegard von Bingen: Briefwechsel* (Salzburg 1965) pp. 42-43.

<sup>5</sup> *Echtheit* pp. 154-79.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 194.

<sup>8</sup> The Roman numbering of the songs is that of Pitra's text, *Analecta* pp. 441-57; where the numbering of Gmelch (*Kompositionen* pp. 18-22) differs from that in Pitra, I have added it in square brackets.



154 <sup>v</sup>	6	A	Hodie [ <i>Nunc</i> R] aperuit nobis*	XII
	7	A	Quia ergo femina*	XIII
	8	A	Cum processit factura	XIV
155 <sup>r</sup>	9	A	Cum erubuerint infelices	XV
	10	A	O frondens virga†	-
	11	A	O quam magnum miraculum*	XVI
155 <sup>v</sup>	12	Ymnus De Sancta Maria Ave, gene- rosa* (fragm.)		LVII [LVIII]
156 <sup>r</sup>	13	O virga ac diadema* (fragm.)		LV [LVI]
156 <sup>v</sup>	14	R	O tu suavissima virga†	XIX
	15	De spiritu sancto 157 <sup>r</sup> Spiritus sanctus, vivificans vita		VIII
157 <sup>r</sup>	16	<K>aritas habundat		IX
	17	A	Laus trinitati	-
	18	De spiritu Sancto Ymnus 157 <sup>v</sup> O ignee spiritus*		LIII [LIV]
158 <sup>r</sup>	19	Sequentia O ignis spiritus paracliti*		LII [LIII]
158 <sup>v</sup>	20	De angelis 159 <sup>r</sup> O gloriosissimi — lux vivens — angeli†		XXI
159 <sup>r</sup>	21	R	O vos angeli†	XXII
159 <sup>v</sup>	22	De patriarchis O spectabiles viri†		XXIII
160 <sup>r</sup>	23	A	De patriarchis O vos felices radices†	XXIV
160 <sup>v</sup>	24	De apostolis A O choors militie†		XXV
161 <sup>r</sup>	25	R	De apostolis O lucidissima apostolorum turba†	XXVI
161 <sup>v</sup>	26	De Sancto Iohanne evangelista A O speculum columbe		XXVII
	27	R	De Sancto Iohanne evangelista O dulcis electe	XXVIII
162 <sup>r</sup>	28	De Sancto Dysibodo O mirum ad- mirandum††		XXXIII
	29	R	O viriditas digiti dei††	XXXIV
162 <sup>v</sup>	30	De Sancto Dysibodo Sequentia O presul vere civitatis††		LX [LXI]
163 <sup>r</sup>	31	De martiribus A O victoriosissimi†		XXIX
163 <sup>v</sup>	32	Respons<orium> Vos flores rosa- rum†		XXX
	33	De confessoribus O vos imitatores†		XXXI
164 <sup>r</sup>	34	A	O successores fortissimi leonis†	XXXII

	35	De sancto Rupperto confessore	Antifana [sic] 164 <sup>v</sup>	O felix apparicio*	XXXVII
164 <sup>v</sup>	36	Item ant<iphona>		O beatissime Ruperte*	XXXVIII
	37	Sequentia	O Ierusalem, aurea civitas* (fragm.)		LXIV [LXV]
165 <sup>r</sup>	38	De virginibus		O pulche [sic] facies†	XL
	39	Respons<orium>		O nobilissima viriditas†	XLI
165 <sup>v</sup>	40	Simphonia virginum		O dulcissime amator*	LXVII [LXVIII]
166 <sup>r</sup>	41	Simphonia viduarum		O pater omnium*	LXVIII [LXIX]
166 <sup>v</sup>	42	De innocentibus		Rex noster promptus est	XLVII
167 <sup>r</sup>	43	De undecim milibus virginum		R Spiritui sancto honor sit	XLIII
	44	In evan<gelium>	A	O rubor sanguinis	XLIV
167 <sup>v</sup>	45	Favus distillans		Ursula virgo	XLII
	46	In Mat<utinis>	Laudibus	Studium divinitatis	XLV-XLVI
	47	A		Unde quocumque venientes	XLV-XLVI
168 <sup>r</sup>	48	A		De patria etiam earum	XLV-XLVI
	49	A		Deus enim in prima muliere	XLV-XLVI
	50	A		Aer enim volat	XLV-XLVI
	51	In evan<gelium>	A	Et ideo puelle iste	XLV-XLVI
	52	A		Deus enim rorem in illas misit	XLV-XLVI
	53	A		Sed diabolus in invidia	XLV-XLVI
168 <sup>v</sup>	54	Sequentia		O ecclesia, oculi tui	LXV [LXVI]
169 <sup>r</sup>	55	Ymnus		Cum vox sanguinis Ursule	LXVI [LXVII]
170 <sup>r</sup>	56	In dedicatione ecclesie		O virgo ecclesia*	XLVIII
	57	Nunc gaudeant materna viscera*(-170 <sup>v</sup> )			XLIX

\* occurs also in the Epilogue to the life of St. Rupert (Pitra, pp. 358-68); † occurs also in *Scivias* (P.L. 197, 383ff.); †† occurs also in a letter to Abbot Cuno (P.L. 197, 203-4).

This analysis shows that D in its present state lacks nineteen songs contained in R<sup>9</sup>, as well as lacking the *Ordo Vir-tutum*. On the other hand it contains two antiphons — one to the Virgin Mary and one to the Trinity — that are not in R, and have thus remained unpublished<sup>10</sup>. Even from the fragmentary state of D, it is clear that the songs in the *Sym-phonía* have been grouped thematically, though according to a slightly different principle from that in R: the main difference being that R tends to separate the antiphons and responsories on a particular theme from the hymns and sequences on that theme (so providing as it were a second cycle, from Pitra LII ff., on the same lines as the first), whereas D keeps all compositions on a particular theme together. At all events it is certain that a careful arrangement of the entire cycle, grouping the lyrics by their subjects, must stem from Hildegard herself.

<sup>9</sup> Pitra i: O vis aeternitatis; iv: O virtus Sapientiae; v: O quam mirabilis est praescientia; vi: O pastor animarum; vii: O cruor sanguinis; xi: O tu illustrata; xx: O quam pretiosa; xxxv: O felix anima; xxxvi: O beata infantia electi Disibodi; xxxix: Quia felix pueritia; L: O *orzchis* Ecclesia; LI: O coruscans lux stellarum; LIV: O virga mediatrix; LVI: O viridissima virga; LVIII: Matthias, sanctus per electionem; LIX: O Bonifaci; LXI: O Euchari, columba; LXII: O Euchari, in laeta via; LXIII: Columba aspexit.

<sup>10</sup> Fol. 155r:

O frondens virga,  
in tua nobilitate  
stans sciunt aurora procedit,  
nunc gaude et letare,  
et nos debiles dignare  
a mala consuetudine liberare,  
atque manum tuam porrige  
ad erigendum nos!

Fol. 157r:

Laus trinitati,  
que sonus et vita  
ac creatrix omnium  
in vita ipsorum est,  
et que laus angelice turbe  
et mirus splendor archanorum  
que hominibus ignota sunt est,  
et que in omnibus vita est!

It has been assumed without discussion in the past that more than half of the songs are simply musical settings of passages that derive from Hildegard's prose writings, and that their first occurrence is in the prose, not in the *Symphonia*<sup>11</sup>. As I have argued elsewhere<sup>12</sup>, this cannot be so for the twenty-four songs that occur also in the Epilogue to the life of St. Rupert: these bear no relation to the prose that surrounds them there, and fit admirably, by contrast, into the design of the *Symphonia*. It is less easy to decide this in the case of those songs, and those portions of Hildegard's play the *Ordo Virtutum*, that coincide with passages in the *Scivias*. We know that Hildegard was engaged in lyrical composition in the same years as she was writing the *Scivias*, and context alone does not here help to determine priority.

The three pieces that occur in Hildegard's letter to Abbot Cuno of the Disibodenberg are a different matter again. The Abbot had written asking Hildegard for an «inspired» composition on his abbey's patron saint, to be used in monastic devotions to him<sup>13</sup>. The two antiphons and the sequence are Hildegard's response to this request. Whether she included the music with the words at the time of sending her letter, it is impossible to decide. The fact that Cuno in his letter addresses her as «matri sue dilectissime de Monte S. Roberti» gives us 1150<sup>14</sup> as a *terminus post quem* for these three compositions.

Even if fourteen of the antiphons and responsories, and parts of the *Ordo Virtutum*, were incorporated in the *Symphonia* from an original context in the prose vision *Scivias*, this does not mean there is anything haphazard about the design of the *Symphonia* as a whole. The design by subject as it emerges in the two manuscripts is as follows :

<sup>11</sup> Cf. SCHRADER-FÜHRKÖTTER, *Echtheit* p. 21 ; RITSCHER, *art. cit.* p. 315.

<sup>12</sup> *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1970) p. 152.

<sup>13</sup> *P.L.* 197, 203B : «peto, ut si qua de patrono nostro beato Disibodo Deus vobis revelaverit, mihi aperiatis, quatenus cum fratribus meis illi ex hoc devotissimas laudes referre non differam».

<sup>14</sup> The year in which Hildegard and her nuns moved to their new foundation on the Rupertsberg (cf. *Briefwechsel* p. 104).

## D :

God (Father and Son)	1-2
Virgin Mary	3-14
Holy Spirit and Trinity	15-19
Angels	20-21
Patriarchs and Prophets	22-23
Apostles	24-27
Martyrs and Confessors	28-37
Virgins and Widows	38-41
The Innocents	42
St. Ursula	43-55
Ecclesia	56-57

## R :

God	I-IX	LII-LIII
Virgin Mary	X-XX	LIV-LVII
Angels	XXI-XXII	-
Patriarchs and Prophets	XXIII-XXIV	-
Apostles	XXV-XXVIII	LVIII
Martyrs and Confessors	XXIX-XXXIX	LIX-LXIV
Virgins and Widows	XL-XLVI	LXV-LXVIII
(incl. St. Ursula, XLII-XLVI, LXV-LXVI)		
The Innocents	XLVII	-
Ecclesia	XLVIII-LI	-

Now to assess the precise fragmentary character of D. The manuscript is today in a condition where it is possible to separate the gatherings <sup>15</sup>. Thus one can see that the *Sym-*

<sup>15</sup> The *Liber vite meritorum* in D consists with two exceptions of eight-leaved gatherings : 1<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>r</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>v</sup> (six leaves only, but no break in the text), 71<sup>r</sup>-78<sup>v</sup>, 79<sup>r</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>v</sup>, 95<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>, 103<sup>r</sup>-110<sup>v</sup>, 111<sup>r</sup>-118<sup>v</sup>, ; 119<sup>r</sup>-122<sup>v</sup> (four leaves only, with the end of the *Liber vite meritorum* on fol. 121<sup>v</sup>, followed at once, the rubric still beginning on fol. 121<sup>v</sup>, by ELISABETH OF SCHÖNAU's *Liber viarum dei*). The gatherings are marked by the scribe by a Roman numeral at the end of each gathering. The fifteenth one, ending on fol. 118<sup>v</sup>, was marked correctly XIII, but the last stroke has been deleted, and the same hand as wrote the other numerals has written XII (error for XVI?) on fol. 122<sup>v</sup>. The gatherings continue : 123<sup>r</sup>-130<sup>v</sup>, 131<sup>r</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>, 139<sup>r</sup>-144<sup>v</sup> (a six-leaved gathering, but nothing missing in the text), 145<sup>r</sup>-152<sup>v</sup>. Then follows the *Symphonia* (ending on fol. 170<sup>v</sup>), in the three gatherings : 153<sup>r</sup>-159<sup>v</sup>, 160<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>v</sup>, 167<sup>r</sup>-173<sup>v</sup>.

*phonia*, which in the modern foliation occupies fols. 153<sup>r</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>, is spread over three gatherings. Fols. 153<sup>v</sup>-159<sup>v</sup> were clearly an eight-leaved gathering: it is still possible to see that *one* leaf has been cut away between fols. 155<sup>v</sup> and 156<sup>r</sup>. So too fols. 160<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>v</sup> were an eightleaved gathering, from which *one* leaf has been cut away between fols. 164<sup>v</sup> and 165<sup>r</sup>. In the last gathering, the *Symphonia* concludes on fol. 170<sup>v</sup>. The last leaf of this gathering (fol. 174) is again missing.

It is wholly unlikely that the *Symphonia* in D began on fol. 153<sup>r</sup>: all other groups of antiphons and responsories in the manuscript have a heading, often individual ones have this also, but the first piece in the extant text, *O magne pater* on fol. 153<sup>r</sup>, has none (though it is of course complete). It is utterly improbable, therefore, that this should have been the opening piece of a group, let alone of the entire cycle. Thus we must reckon with a loss before fol. 153<sup>r</sup> of anything up to a gathering of eight leaves. (To postulate the loss of more than one gathering seems unwarranted, since this would imply an original *Symphonia* considerably larger than that preserved in R.)

The thematic design of D and R allows us to infer with some likelihood what the missing portions of D must have contained. Thus the gap of one leaf between fols. 155<sup>v</sup> and 156<sup>r</sup> falls in the middle of the section devoted to the Virgin Mary. R contains two responsories, an antiphon and a sequence to the Virgin that are not in D (Pitra XI, XX, LIV, and LVI). In R the music is written in double columns, in D across the page, and the size of the manuscripts is such that a column in R contains approximately the same amount of music as a page in D.

In R, XI (*O tu illustrata*) takes up nearly a full column (fols. 466<sup>vb</sup>-467<sup>ra</sup>); XX (*O quam pretiosa*) takes up half a column (fol. 468<sup>ra</sup>); LIV (*O virga mediatrix*) takes between a third and half a column (fol. 473<sup>vb</sup>, seven lines out of seventeen); LVI (*O viridissima virga*) takes up exactly a full column (fols. 474<sup>rb-va</sup>). These, then, could not all have been accommodated on the missing leaf in D. On that leaf, we must reckon with two more lines that concluded the hymn *Ave, generosa* from fol. 155<sup>v</sup>, and probably six lines for the opening of the sequence *O virga ac diadema*, which concludes on fol. 156<sup>r</sup>. That is,

two thirds of a normal twelve-line page in D will have been occupied by the opening and the close of the two fragmentary sequences. The remaining page and a third could have included only one of the two longer pieces in R (XI or LVI), together with one of the two shorter ones (XX or LIV). I can see no grounds for deciding which of the shorter pair is the later addition ; with the longer pair, however, poetic grounds may help us to decide.

The sequence *O viridissima virga* is, in its spectacular diction and control of a central complex image, one of the high points in Hildegard's work <sup>16</sup>. If, as seems natural, we assume that D before its mutilation was essentially the *Symphonia* in the form in which Hildegard had referred to it, as a finished work, in 1158, then this already contained two full-scale compositions to the Virgin Mary, in addition to the antiphons and responsories. What would have prompted Hildegard to add yet another elaborate song? Surely, the sense that she had only now composed her masterpiece on this theme. Thus we may conjecture that *O viridissima virga* is a composition of Hildegard's late years, the years in which she was composing her greatest prose vision, the *Liber divinorum operum* (1163-73), or perhaps even later, after the compilation of D.

Similarly, will it not have been on poetic grounds that Hildegard finally decided to exclude from the cycle the two antiphons still contained in D but absent from R? Both the antiphon to Mary (*O frondens virga*) and that to the Trinity (*Laus trinitati*) are slight and limping compared with the lyrics on the same theme that surround them in the cycle.

Between fols. 164<sup>v</sup> and 165<sup>r</sup> D could have contained only one thing: the remainder of the sequence on St. Rupert — *O Ierusalem, aurea civitas* — the longest lyrical composition in the cycle. On fol. 164<sup>v</sup>, D gives only the opening lines 'O Ierusalem... ardes in sole', in the final third of the page. In R this sequence takes up nearly two and a half columns: these can (only just!) correspond to the two and a third pages that existed in D. It is clear, moreover, that in D this se-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. my observations in *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. XVII (1966) 500-1.

quence must have concluded the section devoted to martyrs and confessors : fol. 165<sup>r</sup> begins with the heading *De virginibus*, plainly opening a new section.

This strongly suggests that none of the remaining compositions in R which are addressed to martyrs and confessors can have been in D, and that all of these, therefore, are later additions to the *Symphonia* that was complete in 1158. These include another responsory and antiphon in honour of St. Disibod, patron of the monastery with which Hildegard had the closest connections throughout her life (Pitra xxxv, xxxvi) ; another antiphon for St. Rupert, patron of her own convent (xxxix) ; and one for St. Boniface, a major saint for any German Benedictine foundation (lix). Such pieces will have been supplied to meet a local demand for further liturgical chant on the feastdays of these saints. The remainder of the pieces not in D are all connected with the principal saints of the town of Trier : Matthias <sup>17</sup> (lviii), Eucharius (lxi, lxii), and Maximinus (lxiii). It was at Trier that Hildegard won her first official recognition, when a portion of the still unfinished *Scivias* was read by Pope Eugene III at the Synod of Trier (1147/8) <sup>18</sup>. Later, in 1160, Hildegard herself journeyed to Trier, and preached there to clergy and populace <sup>19</sup>. After this journey, her correspondence with the Trier monastery of St. Eucharius became more and more frequent <sup>20</sup>. It seems likely, then, that all the pieces to the Trier saints were composed after 1160, at the request of the confrères and friends whom she had met during her stay. In particular, the richly and subtly organised sequences to Maximinus and Eucharius would seem to belong with Hildegard's maturest work.

The *Symphonia* in D concludes with two antiphons *In dedicatione ecclesie*. On fol. 170<sup>v</sup>, straight after the last line of music, a new text (not by Hildegard) begins. Thus the two further antiphons for the dedication of a church con-

<sup>17</sup> Matthias is celebrated as apostle rather than martyr, but again there is no space in the Apostles section where his sequence could have stood.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Briefwechsel* pp. 29ff.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 167.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. pp. 155ff.



tained in R (Pitra L, LI) cannot well have been in the original *Symphonia*. These too, we can conjecture, must have been composed in response to requests for specific occasions after 1158.

The most difficult problem<sup>\*</sup> is to estimate which pieces may have been contained in D before fol. 153<sup>r</sup>. The responsory (Pitra I) and four antiphons (IV, V, VI, VII) addressed to God could all have been accommodated in the missing gathering that preceded; taking up less than two columns in R, they would have fitted without difficulty into two pages of D. If the *Symphonia* began at the opening of a gathering rather than towards the end of one, it is perfectly possible that this gathering also included the entire *Ordo Virtutum* (exactly thirteen columns in R), and that the play was set before the lyrics in the original *Symphonia*, rather than after them as in R. One can calculate that the eight-leaved gathering could have accommodated the play and the remaining lyrical pieces in approximately fifteen pages: they would have fitted comfortably into the gathering, with possibly one page to spare. (We cannot rule out the possibility that this gathering included one or two compositions which, like the two antiphons already discussed, were deleted before the final version represented by R.)

In my view, there is every reason for supposing an early date for the *Ordo Virtutum*: it arises directly out of the imaginative preoccupations of the last visions in *Scivias* (completed 1151), if indeed it does not precede that vision itself<sup>21</sup>. If this early date is correct, then it is also most probable that the *Ordo Virtutum* formed part of the original conception of the *Symphonia*. It would indeed have made a brilliant opening to the work — why should it have been moved to the close? Could it not have been for the sake of a greater appropriateness, by reason of its subject? The *Ordo* is an essentially human drama, it is the drama of Anima: thematically, it belongs to the human end of the cycle, not the divine opening.

<sup>21</sup> On the dating of the *Ordo Virtutum*, cf. also my comments in *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages*, p. 151.

One difficulty remains : where the thematic design of the *Symphonia* in R is a consistently « hierarchic » one, descending from God to the Virgin, the angels, various groups of saints, and Ecclesia, the design in D corresponds to this except for one puzzling detail : the twelve compositions addressed to the Virgin come *between* the two smaller groups of compositions invoking God. Admittedly, these can be distinguished as addressed either to Father and Son, or to the Spirit and the whole Trinity. Of the five pieces not in D, four can again be seen as addressed to Father and Son ; the fifth, invoking Sapientia, corresponds in its language more to an image of the Spirit (here conceived as a kind of Christian *anima mundi*)<sup>22</sup> than of the Son as Logos. Was this antiphon again a later addition ?<sup>23</sup> Or does the *Symphonia* in D reveal something still provisional, still not fully thought out, in the ordering of the various compositions to God and to Mary ? At this point the problems both of design and chronology must be left open ; the uncertainties are too great for a convincing assessment to be made.

To sum up : we can perceive a design in the ordering of the *Symphonia* both in D and R, a design that is comprehensive and (with perhaps one exception in D) meticulous. We can infer, for the most part with confidence, which compositions were or were not contained in the lost portions of D. This enables us to reconstruct to a large extent the contents of the *Symphonia* as it was completed in its « first version », before 1158. Of a number of the compositions found in R but not in D, we can say with virtual certainty that they are later additions to the first completed *Symphonia*. These additions include the sequences to Maximinus and Eucharius, and probably also the sequence *O viridissima virga*, the most

<sup>22</sup> O virtus Sapientie,  
que circuiens circuiisti  
comprehendendo omnia  
in una via que habet vitam...

(Cf. *Timaeus* 34B, in Calcidius' version, ed. J. H. WASZINK, p. 26).

<sup>23</sup> The fact that the image « tres alas habens » corresponds to an image in *Scivias* (III 5) does not in this case suggest near-contemporaneity : the treatment of the image in the two contexts is quite dissimilar.

brilliant of Hildegard's compositions to the Virgin Mary. Of the two minor compositions found in D but not in R, we can assume that these (and possibly one or two others in the lost opening portion of D) were excluded by Hildegard herself from her final version of the *Symphonia*. Thus with the help of D and R we can distinguish between two versions of Hildegard's cycle, and even observe some of the transitions between them. We can perceive a poetess not only complying with outside requests for further liturgical compositions but, fully conscious of her own lyric art, deleting from her cycle and re-ordering it, and adding to it those pieces that she thought worthy and that harmonised with her overall design.

*University of Cambridge*  
*England*

## Ex libris sancti Petri Corbeiensis

von

ANKE EBEL

(Heidelberg)

Walter BULST

zum 70. Geburtstag

In t. 202 Collectionis Picardiae B.N. Paris. fragmenta trium codicum olim monasterii Sancti Petri Corbeiensis continentur, quae praebent quatuor epistolas saeculi XII ex. a quibusdam clericis regularibus monasterii Sancti Laurentii in Nemore sive monacho Claraevallensi conscriptas. Hanc collectionem epistolarum Domino Mabillonio, ut puto, notam hic descripsi et edidi, excepta epistola Hugonis de Folieto a Mabillonio iam edita.

Als Dom Mabillon sich in den Jahren 1658 bis 1663 als Genesender in der Abtei Corbie aufhielt <sup>1</sup>, fand er unter den der Abtei verbliebenen Handschriften <sup>2</sup> einen Brief des Hugo de Folieto, Kanoniker zu Saint-Laurent-au-Bois, einem kleinen Regularkanonikerkonvent, der zwei Meilen von Corbie entfernt in der Diözese Amiens gelegen war <sup>3</sup>. In diesem Brief an einen *dominus H.* lehnt Hugo die Abtswürde ab, die ihm die Kanoniker von Saint-Denis in Reims <sup>4</sup> angetragen haben.

<sup>1</sup> H. LECLERQ, *Dom Mabillon*, Paris 1953, I S. 50-54.

<sup>2</sup> Ein grosser Teil der Handschriften war im Jahre 1636, nachdem die Franzosen in den Kämpfen des 30-jährigen Krieges die Spanier wieder aus Corbie vertrieben hatten, von Richelieu nach Saint-Martin-des-Champs und von dort nach Saint-Germain-des-Prés gebracht worden; vgl. P. PIOLIN, *Le Cardinal Richelieu dans ses rapports avec les Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, in: *Rev. des quest. hist.* 49, 1891, S. 162.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, Macon 1935/36, II S. 2757.

<sup>4</sup> COTTINEAU II S. 2434.

Er tut es aus Bescheidenheit, aus Rücksicht auf seine Gesundheit und die seines betagten Priors. Auch befürchtet er, in einem reichen städtischen Kloster die strengen Gebote der Regel nicht befolgen zu können.

Dieser Fund wohl bewog Mabillon, Näheres über jenen Kanoniker erfahren zu wollen, über dessen Leben und Persönlichkeit so verschiedene Meinungen verbreitet und dessen Werke durch lange Zeit Hugo von St. Viktor zugeschrieben worden sind <sup>5</sup>. Die Ergebnisse seiner Forschungen fasste er in einem kurzen Artikel zusammen, der erst nach seinem Tode am 27. 12. 1707 von Dom Martène in den *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti VI* (1739) veröffentlicht wurde <sup>6</sup>: In ihm ist alles Wesentliche enthalten, was heute über Hugo de Folieto bekannt ist <sup>7</sup>.

Hugo de Folieto war von 1153 bis wenigstens 1172 Prior von Saint-Laurent-au-Bois <sup>8</sup>. Seine Schriften handeln vor allem vom wahren geistlichen Leben in Armut und Gottesdienst; er verurteilt den weltlichen Wandel der Mönche und des Säkular- und Regularklerus. Immer wendet er sich an einen Freund, den er zum monastischen Leben bekehren oder darin bestärken möchte. Sein am weitesten verbreitetes Werk <sup>9</sup> ist *De clastro animae* <sup>10</sup>, das auch das umfangreichste

<sup>5</sup> ed. MPL, in den Bänden 176 und 177, die die Werke Hugos von St. Victor enthalten.

<sup>6</sup> S. 460f., abgedruckt MPL 196, 1855, 1553-58. Dort ist auch der Brief ediert.

<sup>7</sup> vgl. *Histoire littéraire* XIII, 1869, 492ff.; MANITIUS III 226ff.; J. DE GHELLINCK, *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2me éd. Bruxelles 1955, S. 204ff. 235; zusammenfassend und vervollständigend H. PELTIER, *Hugues de Fouillois, chanoine régulier, prieur de Saint-Laurent-au-Bois*, in: *Rev. du m. d. latin* 2, 1946, 25-44.

<sup>8</sup> Im Jahre 1153 wird er zum ersten Mal als Prior von Saint-Laurent in einer Urkunde des Kapitels von Amiens genannt; vgl. *Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens*, publ. par la Soc. des antiquaires de Picardie, Amiens 1905, I S. 55. In einem Brief Papst Alexanders III. vom 4. März 1172 wird er zum letzten Mal genannt; vgl. PELTIER S. 34; in einer ungedruckten Urkunde von 1174 erscheint sein Nachfolger Simon; vgl. PELTIER S. 34.

<sup>9</sup> PELTIER zählt mehr als 60 Handschriften allein in französischen Bibliotheken, vgl. S. 34 Anm. und S. 41.

<sup>10</sup> ed. MPL 176, 1854, 1017-1182. Neues darüber teilen mit M. DE MARCO, *Codici Vaticani del «De Claustro Animae» di Ugo di Fouillois*,

ist; kürzer sind *De medicina animae*<sup>11</sup>, *De avibus*<sup>12</sup>, *De nuptiis*<sup>13</sup>, *De rota praelationis et de rota simulationis*<sup>14</sup> und *De pastoribus et ovibus*<sup>15</sup>. Von ihm ist auch das Chartular von Saint-Laurent angelegt worden<sup>16</sup>.

Der Brief, den Mabillon in Corbie gefunden hat, ist der einzige, der von Hugo bekannt ist. Mabillon drückt sich über die Handschrift seines Fundes sehr unbestimmt aus: *Sic autem habet<ur> in membrana quadam Corbeiensi*<sup>17</sup>. Auch Pelfier schweigt hierüber. Er muss ihn verloren glauben, denn seine Worte: *des pièces d'archives que Mabillon eut en mains et qui subsistent en partie*<sup>18</sup> können sich nur auf den Brief beziehen, da er die von Mabillon benutzten Urkunden selbst in Händen hatte.

Eine Abschrift des Briefes befindet sich heute in der Collection de Picardie 202 fol. 242<sup>v</sup> der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris<sup>19</sup>. Die Collection de Picardie enthält hauptsächlich den Nachlass des Mauriners Dom Pierre-Nicolas Grenier<sup>20</sup>. Dom Grenier (1725-1789) war in Corbie geboren und aufgewachsen. Ihm und einigen Mitarbeitern wurde im Jahre 1763 die Aufgabe einer Geschichte der Picardie übertragen, eine Arbeit, die von der französischen Revolution unterbrochen worden ist<sup>21</sup>. Eine Geschichte der Stadt und Grafschaft

in: *Sacris Erudiri* 15, 1964, 220-48; R. BARON, *Note sur le De Clau-*  
*stro, ebenda* S. 249-255.

<sup>11</sup> ed. MPL 176, 1854, 1183-1202.

<sup>12</sup> ed. MPL 177, 1854, 13-55.

<sup>13</sup> ed. MPL 176, 1854, 1201-1218. Vgl. dazu MARBODI EP. REDONENSIS *Liber. decem capitulorum* 3, ed. W. Bulst, Heidelberg 1947 (Editiones Heidelbergenses 8); Andreas CAPELLANUS, *De amore libri III*, ed. E. Trojel, 2. Aufl. München 1964.

<sup>14</sup> noch unedierte.

<sup>15</sup> ed. C. de CLERCQ, ALMA 31, 1961, 80-107.

<sup>16</sup> PELTIER S. 28.

<sup>17</sup> MPL 196, 1855, 1553.

<sup>18</sup> PELTIER S. 28.

<sup>19</sup> Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Herrn W. Paravicini.

<sup>20</sup> Der Nachlass umfasst 263 Bände, gezählt von 1 bis 279; vgl. Ph. LAUER, *Collections manuscrites sur l'histoire des provinces de France. Inventaire*, I, Paris 1905, S. XXIV. Das Inventar des Bandes 202 der Sammlung befindet sich ebenda Bd. II, Paris 1911, S. 153.

<sup>21</sup> Über Dom GRENIER vgl. *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le dix-huitième siècle*, I, Paris 1960, S. 524f.; M. LECOMTE, *Les*

Corbie ist aus Dom Greniers Nachlass herausgegeben worden <sup>22</sup>.

Nr. 192 bis 224 (21 Bände) der Sammlung betreffen die historische Topographie der Picardie. Das Material ist alphabetisch nach Orten geordnet. Der Band 202 (Fabertas-Fouilloy) enthält als fol. 236 bis 242<sup>23</sup> sieben Pergamentblätter aus Handschriften der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Die Blätter sind nicht nur in der oberen, sondern auch in der rechten unteren Ecke foliiert, von fol. 127 bis fol. 133, wobei mit fol. 133<sup>r</sup> fol. 242<sup>v</sup> heutiger Zählung bezeichnet ist; das Blatt war also einmal seitenverkehrt eingehftet. Diese Zählung rührt von einer älteren Anordnung der Sammlung her <sup>24</sup>.

Die Fragmente stammen aus drei verschiedenen Handschriften, die vordem der Abtei Corbie gehörten. Alle Blätter sind zweispaltig beschrieben. Fol. 236<sup>r</sup> enthält das Ende eines Traktates über die Verfasser der Lektionen und Episteln der Messe. Nach einem kurzen Epilog folgt ein Stück geistlicher Kunstprosa <sup>25</sup>, merkwürdig dadurch, dass neben bibli-

*Bénédictins et l'histoire des provinces aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé 1928 (Éd. de la Revue Mabillon. Moines et monastères 6) S. 41f.

<sup>22</sup> Dom GRENIER, *Histoire de la ville et du comté de Corbie, des origines à 1400*, publ. par H. Josse, A. de Calonne et Cl. Brunel, Amiens 1910 (Soc. des antiquaires de Picardie. Documents inédits sur Corbie 1).

<sup>23</sup> Foliiert in der rechten oberen Ecke.

<sup>24</sup> Eine Konkordanz der alten und neuen Zählung findet sich bei Lauer I S. XXVff.

<sup>25</sup> Es sind sieben Reimpaare. Die Zahl der Worte oder Silben in den einander entsprechenden Gliedern ist ungleich:

*Ecce filie Ierusalem,*

*Quas delicias vobis preparavi,*

*Quibus gemmis vos ornavi.*

*De thesauro Spiritus Sancti nova et vetera protuli,*

*Insignia ornamenta preciosis lapidibus vernantia vobis contuli.*

*Infaustum ergo Hermiones* (l. Harmonie, cf. Stat. Theb. II 266sq.)  
*monile abdicare,*

*Letales Elisse exuvias refutate* (cf. Verg., Aen. IV 496sqq.),

*His potius ornamentis vos condecorate,*

*His Sponso vestro pre filiis hominum forma specioso ardentibus lampadibus obviate* (Matth. 25,1),

*Quantinus in die leticie mereamini cum eo proce[n]dere*

schen auch zwei mythologische Motive verwendet worden sind. Die beiden Schlussverse

*Liber (sic) finitur, hinc scriptor luce fruatur,  
Et prece Radulfus valeat lectoris adultus.*

beziehen sich auf den Schreiber des Buches, nicht etwa, wie irrtümlich angenommen, auf den Verfasser des vorangegangenen Werkes <sup>26</sup>. Die Schrift ist eine zierliche, stark gebrochene Minuskel des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts mit vielen Kürzungen und grossen Initialen. Die zweite Spalte ist nur zur Hälfte beschrieben. Unter dem Text steht von einer Hand des 17. oder 18. Jahrhunderts: *Ex libris Sti. Petri Corbeiensis.*

Auf den nächsten Seiten folgen von zwei verschiedenen Händen zwei Briefe; der erste fol. 236<sup>v</sup> bis 239<sup>v</sup>, der zweite fol. 239<sup>v</sup> bis 240<sup>r</sup>. Die rechte Spalte von fol. 240<sup>r</sup> ist zum grössten Teil, fol. 240<sup>v</sup> ganz unbeschrieben. Die Zeilenzahl beträgt auf allen diesen Blättern 32. An beiden Briefanfängen sind die Initialen nicht ausgeführt, jedoch ist Raum dafür gelassen. Fol. 236 bis 240 sind offensichtlich die letzten fünf Blätter einer Handschrift theologischen Inhalts, auf deren leere Seiten nachträglich zwei Briefe eingetragen worden sind.

Der erste Brief ist von Thomas, Kanoniker von Saint-Laurent <sup>27</sup> gerichtet an seinen Onkel Bernerus, *Christi ovium sibi commissarum provido pastori*, also wohl dem Säkularklerus angehörend. Thomas will den Onkel, den er besonders durch die Einflüsse der verweltlichten Geistlichkeit gefährdet glaubt,

*Et illum in diademate glorie sue cernere.*

*Compositori quoque nostro manum orationum vobiscum procedendi  
prebete,*

*Invitatori vestro vel ultimum locum in gloria vos videndi obtinete,  
Ut cum ianua tardantibus obcludatur,  
Ipse vestris nuptiis interesse mereatur.*

<sup>26</sup> Unter dem Vers steht von einer Hand des 17. oder 18. Jahrhunderts, kaum lesbar, da es durchgestrichen ist: ... *fortasse iste Radulphus sit prioratus Flaviacensis cuius est opus egregium super Leviticum* ..., und Lauer I 153 übernimmt diese Vermutung. Über Radulphus Flaviacensis vgl. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Latina* VI, 1858, S. 337.

<sup>27</sup> Dass Thomas Kanoniker war, geht aus dem dritten Brief (vgl. unten S. 6) hervor; er bezeichnet sich als *habitu cenobite palliatus*. Im noch ungedruckten Chartular von Saint-Laurent (Amiens, Bibl. de la soc. des antiquaires de Picardie, ms. 62) ist er nicht aufgeführt.



erbauen und zugleich darin bestärken, sich von Weltlichem abzuwenden. In seiner Kritik an Regular- und Säkularklerus ist Thomas dem Prior Hugo ganz ähnlich. Der Briefstil ist sehr kunstvoll, die zweite Briefhälfte ist eine Predigt.

Den zweiten Brief schreibt Radulfus, Mönch in Clairvaux <sup>28</sup>, an Guarinus, Archidiakon in Amiens, und drängt ihn, seinem Versprechen folgend endlich in Clairvaux einzutreten. Im Chartular der Kathedrale von Amiens <sup>29</sup> sind drei Archidiane dieses Namens zu unterscheiden. Der in einer vor dem Jahr 1127 ausgestellten Urkunde genannte Guarinus <sup>30</sup>, seit 1127 Bischof von Amiens <sup>31</sup>, kann es nicht sein, da das in Radulfs Brief erwähnte Zisterzienserkloster Cherlieu erst im Jahr 1131 gegründet worden ist <sup>32</sup>. Die Nennung eines Guarinus zum Jahr 1209 <sup>33</sup> scheint sich auf eine vor dieser Zeit liegende Begebenheit zu beziehen. Er ist nicht Zeuge, und seine Lebenszeit nicht bestimmbar. Es bleibt der in vielen Urkunden der Zeit von 1151 bis 1182 als Zeuge auftretende Guarinus <sup>34</sup>.

Das folgende Blatt dieser kleinen Sammlung, fol. 241<sup>r</sup>, enthält einen zweiten, datierbaren, Brief von Thomas von Saint-Laurent. Es stammt aus einer anderen Handschrift. Fol. 241<sup>r</sup> ist von einer Hand des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts beschrieben, die den Händen der vorhergehenden Seiten ähnlich ist. Die Zahl der Zeilen beträgt 51. Am oberen Rand steht von gleichzeitiger Hand: *Liber Sancti Laurentii*. Da die rechte Spalte nicht ganz beschrieben und fol. 241<sup>v</sup> leer ist <sup>35</sup>, scheint es sich auch hier um das letzte Blatt einer Handschrift zu handeln. Der Besitzvermerk allerdings und der

<sup>28</sup> Es ist nicht gelungen, ihn zu identifizieren.

<sup>29</sup> s. oben Anm. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens I S. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Gams S. 487.

<sup>32</sup> Cottineau I S. 760f.

<sup>33</sup> Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens I S. 168.

<sup>34</sup> Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens I S. 48 und 90 ; für die übrigen Urkunden s. das Register unter Guarinus.

<sup>35</sup> Dieselbe Hand wie fol. 236<sup>r</sup> (s.o.S. 5) hat darauf vermerkt : *Ex libris Sti. Petri Corbeiensis. Hic continentur duae epistolae Thomae canonici regularis, una proliza ad Bernerum avunculum suum, altera ad Lisiardum sodalem, et una Radulfi Clarevall. monachi ad Guarinum archidiac. Ambian.*

etwas faltige rechte Blattrand, dessen Einschnitte vielleicht einmal Heftlöcher waren, lassen auch an ein seitenverkehrt eingeklebtet Anfangsblatt denken.

In diesem Brief an seinen Mitbruder Lisiardus drückt Thomas seine Freude darüber aus, dass dieser einige Zeit zuvor in das Prämonstratenser Kloster Sélincourt<sup>36</sup> eingetreten ist. Lisiardus ist im Chartular von Sélincourt zweimal als Zeuge genannt, in den Jahren 1183<sup>37</sup> und 1185<sup>38</sup>. Thomas wendet sich an Lisiardus als *quondam sodali pari et superiori suo*. Vielleicht waren beide vor ihrem Eintritt in ein Kloster Kleriker an derselben Kirche, etwa der Kathedrale von Amiens<sup>39</sup>, gewesen.

Das letzte Blatt dieser Sammlung, fol. 242, enthält den Schluss des vierten Kapitels von *De claustro animae* des Hugo de Folieto<sup>40</sup>, geschrieben von einer Hand des späten 12. oder frühen 13. Jahrhunderts, die mit keiner der übrigen Hände identisch ist. Das Werk endet fol. 242<sup>va</sup> Z. 6<sup>41</sup>. Von anderer, wenig jüngerer Hand folgt darauf der Brief des Hugo de Folieto. Er ist im Jahre 1149 oder 1150 von Hugo verfasst worden<sup>42</sup>.

Vor nicht langer Zeit hat M. de Marco<sup>43</sup> zwei vatikanische Handschriften von *De claustro animae* mitgeteilt, in denen der Brief dem Werk voransteht<sup>44</sup>. Beide Handschriften sind französischer Herkunft. Auch unter den vielen französischen Handschriften dürfte sich noch manche befinden, die ausser

<sup>36</sup> N. BACKMUND, *Monasticon Praemonstratense* II, Straubing 1952, S. 566-69.

<sup>37</sup> M. G. BEAURAIN, *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sélincourt 1131-1513*, Paris-Amiens 1925 (Mém. de la soc. des antiquaires de Picardie 40) S. 62.

<sup>38</sup> ebenda S. 286.

<sup>39</sup> Im Chartular werden sie nicht genannt.

<sup>40</sup> MPL 176, 1854, 1182B, inc. *Hec requies mea in seculum seculi ... expl. fortitudinem immortalitatis benedictus Deus. Amen.*

<sup>41</sup> Beide Seiten sind zweiseitig beschrieben; fol. 242<sup>r</sup> hat 27 Zeilen, fol. 242<sup>v</sup> mit Beginn des Briefes 47 Zeilen in jeder Spalte.

<sup>42</sup> Es steht nicht fest, ob Ursio von Saint-Denis in Reims, dem Hugo nachfolgen sollte, die Abtswürde bis 1149 oder 1150 innehatte; s. Gallia Christiana IX, S. 291.

<sup>43</sup> s. o. Anm. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Cod. Vat. Chigi C.V 117 saec. XII ex. fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>; cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 119 saec. XII ex. fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-v.

*De claustro animae* den Brief enthält. Es kann jedoch kein Zweifel bestehen, dass Mabillon das Exemplar der Collection de Picardie in Händen gehabt hat. Ein Textvergleich der drei handschriftlichen und des gedruckten Textes ergibt, dass die beiden Vaticani in ihren Varianten zusammengehen, während Mabillon dem Pariser Text folgt. Er gleicht die Namen der herkömmlichen Schreibweise an, verbessert zwei durch Abschreiben entstandene Fehler und übersieht einmal *et*. Und wer seinen Artikel über Hugo de Folieto in den *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti VI* nachliest, bemerkt, dass Migne ihn nicht vollständig abgedruckt hat. Es fehlt der letzte Absatz, in dem es heisst: *In eodem S. Laurentii monasterio tunc vivebat Thomas canonicus regularis, cuius duas epistolas habemus, unam ad avunculum suum Bernerum, cuiusdam ecclesiae pastorem; alteram ad Lisiardum, sodalem quondam suum, qui apud Selincuriam Praemonstratensium habitum induerat* <sup>45</sup>.

Ob Mabillon diese Sammlung so vorgefunden hat, aus welchen Handschriften diese Blätter stammen — diese Fragen müssen vorläufig ungeklärt bleiben <sup>46</sup>.

# 1.

[fol. 236<sup>v</sup>] <V>enerabili domino et avunculo suo Bernero, Christi ovium sibi commissarum provido pastori ac sollicitissimo, Thomas nepos suus in basilica Beati Laurentii, que secundo a Corbeia miliario sita est, contra sathane rugientis acerbis impulsiones continuis orationibus perseveranter agonizans, eternam in Domino salutem, et ad superne vocationis bravium cursionem dirigere.

Eloquii sacri attestatione cognovi, quod sicut boni bonos in eterna regni celestis amenitate, ita mali malos in perpetua mortis amaritudine videbunt, ut videlicet bonis sit augmentum retributionis videre bonos secum in beatitudinis gloria foveri, quos adhuc in carne positos, sibi vinculo pacis et concordie

<sup>45</sup> S. 461.

<sup>46</sup> Wie ich nachträglich feststellen konnte, ist fol. 242 das fehlende letzte Blatt von cod. Paris. lat. 13417 saec. XII ex. (S. Laurentii in Nemore), der *De claustro animae* enthält.

per mellifluam fraternitatis allocutionem connexos per karitatis exhibitionem legisque divine observationem tamquam se ipsos spiritualiter in Christo dilexerunt, malis vero sit incrementum doloris videre malos secum in inferni caligine dentium stridore horribili, flamma fetoris sulphurei inextinguibili, amara lacrimarum effusione irremediabili, multimoda penarum afflictione intolerabili semper novis et inexcogitatis cruciatuum generibus absque ulla tortorum misericordia torqueri, quos in huius mundi vita defectuali ac transitoria rebus terrenis preditos, honoribus quoque potestative sublimitatis elatos, nulla mentis intenta speculatione a visibilibus ad invisibilia sublevatos, nulla vere (-o *cod.*) devotionis sinceritate vilipendende conditionis sue memores effectos, nec etiam per tenorem fidei vel spei in conditoris sui adiutorio aliquantulum confisos per affabilitatis adulative colloquium carnaliter dumtaxat amaverunt.

Ob hanc igitur ratissimam divine pagine assertionem ego karitatis visceribus Dei memor et proximi tam pro tui quam pro mei salvatione fluctuose sollicitudinis turbine penaliter undique flagellatus tibi benignissimam mentis mee erga te habitam devotionem litteris istis presenti pagina a me tibi delegata annotatis, usitata nimirum partium compositione utpote a me imprudente et indiscreto dictatis nulla equidem scrupulosa subtilium allegoriarum indagazione implicita, immo potius animarum ex utraque parte utilitate considerata, reserare disposui.

Cum enim ple [fol. 237<sup>r</sup>] rosque homines intra sinum sancte matris ecclesie consistentes, sacratissimas religionis ecclesiastice sedes sub obtentu regiminis occupantes, non disciplinative allocutionis eloquio, sed inpense dignitatis dominio proprieque austeritatis aculeo sibi subditos arguentes, humiles quosque et deiectos mundicia castitatis, dulcore suavitatis ante Deum redolentes, vulgari hominum iudicio - non equidem vero - pro copiosa rerum opulentia sibi inherente virtutum gradibus excedentes et quasi pro nitore vestium dignos Christi ovium ductores habitos et pastores, a via morum subtili quidem et ardua et a predulci karitatis amore terrenorum ambitionibus ad infima declinare, amfractuosis etiam et indirectis gressibus ab observantia mandatorum Dei et a secta religiosorum omnium vacillando deviare, per incentiva

siquidem viciorum crapulosis commensationibus, immoderatis potationibus, ceterisque multimodis lubricis temeritatibus anhelanter estuare, a divine postmodum veritatis agnitione, cogitationum luxurie, funiculis intrinsecus innexarum impeditio, negotiorum nichilo minus secularium corpus et animam deprimentium libentissima occupatione prope funditus alienari et separari videam, non est utique mirum me pena timoris, angustia meroris, dolore contritionis, iaculo compunctionis incessanter et inconsolabiliter utrobique concuti, ne ego videlicet adolescens, qui ab angelo sathane stimulo carnis mee die noctuque colaphizatus<sup>1</sup>, in agro temptationum sicuti tyro rudis agonitheta collocatus, contra malignum tocus sceleris inventorem pernitiosis intra se munitum deceptionibus dimicare et preliari paratus, in tyrocinii certamine labans adhuc et inconstans, quasi stans in crepidine titubare videor, pedem devote propositionis ab habitu mundo conversionis, procacissimi sathane titillationibus seductoriis irretitus avertam.

Abhorrens etiam et in cordis mei secretiori latibulo vehementer hesitans, ne tu quoque catholice professionis operum munimine septus a puero, michi proculdubio ab infantia mea amoris unitus privilegio, qui hactenus Deo patrocinate licet in carne fragili frequenter occulti hostis perpressus insidias mentis tue naviculam preter huius naufragosissimi pelagi [fol. 237<sup>v</sup>] pyratas et scopulos remigio karitatis, anchora compassionis, velo contemplationis sine aliquo offensionis impetu ruinoso deduxisti, cum huiusmodi incautis et indiscretis supra memoratis hominibus, sancte Dei ecclesie nequaquam magistris, immo persecutoribus, inter procellosissimas syrtes divini penitus adiutorii destitutus remedio lapso pede fractoque remigio naufrageris. Attende igitur, queso, dilectissime, nepotuli tui, licet a te corporis absentia remoti, tibi tamen spiritu et amore presentis, salutare consilium.

Huius obsecro legationis saluberrimam exhortationem non tam patularum corporis aurium auditui quam hominis interioris intelligentie diligenter applicare festina. Quodsi forte ab antiquo generis humani subversore coniectionis alicuius scrupulo perturberis, ut videlicet has litteras me tibi per inanem iactantie presumptionem, non ob aliquam mentis intrinse-

<sup>1</sup> II Cor. 12,7

cus devotionem, transmisisse suspiceris, fraudosum quam-tocius tam frivole suspicionis abice cogitatum, nullatenus dubitans, quin harum perlecta serie litterarum causam potius utilitatis debeas approbare quam timoris improbare.

Cum enim mundi huius iam decrepiti lapsinosam et occiduam prosperitatem voluptuosis rerum speciebus in hoc temporis decursu momentaneo sibi coherentibus fallaciter aridentem pene cuncti seculares et plerique regulares avaritie facibus medullitus estuantes inhianter et insaciabiliter adipisci contendant, te viam veritatis intus ignorantie nubilo per opera nequitiæ exteriora caligatis tam verbo quam exemplo frequenter indicare fideique vallatos operibus fructu theologice consolationis aliquando refocillare debentem ab hac imaginaria rerum paulatim transeuntium specie visibili secessione mentis aliquantulum submoveri, litteris istis etsi minime pompatica partium positione compositis, copioso tamen melliflue karitatis sapore conditis, nequaquam spe favoris, sed amoris commonere decrevi.

Audi ergo non me, sed beatum Paulum, eruditorem fidei Christiane probatissimum, qui nos et rerum ambitus aspernari et celestia contemplari devotus instruit dicens: Fratres, si consurrexistis cum Christo, que sursum sunt querite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens. Que sursum sunt sapite, non que super terram <sup>1</sup>. Ecce congrua predicatio:

Revera enim scitur a nobis et creditur, quod Dominus Iesus Christus ante secula deus invisibilis et eternus per humanitatem carnis assumpte mundo visibiliter [fol. 238<sup>r</sup>] apparuerit quodque pro salute nostra patri per omnia fuerit obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, ut nos in adoptionem filiorum sanguinis sui precio revocaret. Antequam enim moreretur in cruce, mortui iacebamus sub peccati ditione. Completa vero gloriosa eius passione disruptum est vinculum et deletum cyrographum dampnationis nostre. Mortuus est autem ex infirmitate carnis, sed resurrexit ex virtute divinitatis. Quod antequam pateretur, evidenti prenunciavit indicio dicens: Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et iterum sumendi eam <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Col. 3,1

<sup>2</sup> Ioh. 10,18

Et alibi scribis et phariseis signum sibi celitus emissum ab eo fieri postulantibus, nec tamen hoc in oculis suis statim impetrantibus, pro eo, quod in presenti sibi visibiliter exhiberi appetebant, postmodum aliud sibi et omnibus invisibiliter evenire providens ait: Generatio prava et perversa signum querit et signum non dabitur ei nisi signum Ione prophete. Sicut enim fuit Ionas in ventre ceti tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, ita erit filius hominis in corde terre<sup>1</sup>. Et alibi ad Iudeos: Solvite templum hoc et post triduum excitabo illud<sup>2</sup>. Hoc autem de corpore suo dixit, quod ab ipsis post yronicam genuum curvationem, post sputorum invectionem, post alarum altercationem, post corone spinee impositionem, post crucis affixionem, post fellis et aceti porrectam potionem, post clavis et lancea factam perforationem, supremo post spiritus egressionem monumento signatum quatuorque militum custodie subdole deputatum die tercio, sicuti predixerat, virtutis imperio resurgens erexit.

Festinemus igitur cum apostolo vallis huius calamitose sentes et urticas anime gressibus atterentes ad illius amenissime regionis requiem pervenire, quo capud nostrum Dominum Iesum Christum tenebrarum devictis principibus a patre glorificatum, nube candida sublevatum esse profitemur.

Nos enim membra eius consepulti sumus cum eo per baptismum in mortem. Passionis vero eius mysterium sinceris mentibus approbantes cum eo surreximus a morte per fidem. Sed quoniam fidem, que per dilectionem non operatur, inanem a vero et a vita vacuum esse scripture sacre testantur eloquia, necesse est, ut quod ore tenaciter asserendo loquimur, operis exercitio prosequi satagamus. Hinc Iohannes apostolus ait: Qui dicit se nosse Deum et mandata eius non custodit, mendax est<sup>3</sup>. Ipsa etiam Veritas hoc idem per prophetam [fol. 238v] clamat: Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me<sup>4</sup>. Nonne tunc cor pharisei remotum erat a Deo, cum se gementi publicano per elationem pretulit dicens: Gratias tibi ago, Deus, quia non sum sicut ceteri hominum, velud etiam hic publicanus<sup>5</sup>, et cetera. Amen dico tibi, completa est in illis vox Veritatis, qua dixit: Qui se

<sup>1</sup> Matth. 12,39.40<sup>2</sup> Ioh. 2,19<sup>3</sup> I Ioh. 2,4<sup>4</sup> Is. 29,13; Matth. 15,8; Marc. 7,6<sup>5</sup> Luc. 18,11

exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur <sup>1</sup>. Publicanus enim suppliciter Deum sibi propiciari flagitans rivuloque divine misericordie potari sitiens, qui nec oculos ad celum teste evangelista volebat erigere, profecto, quod utiliter petiit, efficaciter impetravit. Phariseus vero tam labiis quam oculis incircuncisus turgido spiritu superbie bona sua iactando replicans vinctus potius ab oratorio quam absolutus abcessit.

Nunc quid iterum nobis beatus Iohannes obiciat, sollerter intueamur. Ait enim : Qui se dicit in Christo manere, debet, sicut ille ambulavit, et ipse ambulare <sup>2</sup>. Vide ergo, quomodo ambulaverit Christus. Perpende, obsecro, inexplicabile donum misericordie eius. Cum nimirum in superni throno domicilii nichil ei deesset ad gloriam, pro nobis habitum servilem latenter indutus visitare nos et pro nobis ad quod venerat torcular passionis subire dignatus est. De quo torculari diu ante dixerat per prophetam : Torcular calcavi solus et de gentibus non est vir mecum <sup>3</sup>. Quod utique iam vera patet ratione.

Totum enim redemptionis nostre misterium, quod a lege et prophetis quasi per enigmata fuerat prenotatum, nutu patris ad nos in carne veniens filius adimplevit. Ideo autem de intemerate virginis Marie visceribus in mundum prodiit incarnatus, ut plasma suum versa vice non carne sed spiritu circumcidi predicaret. Ad hoc etiam quasi sub umbre tegumento veniens exinanitus est, ut ovem videlicet erroneam, que antiquitus ab ovili suo cavillosa serpentis improbi suasionis subtracta diu in hoc calamitatis exilio captiva cum merore deguerat, ad sancte et individue trinitatis fidem promoveret et ita demum per gloriosissime crucis vexillum triumphale depulso ab ea sathane dominio propriis eam humeris ad ovile suum reveheret cetibusque laudisonis angelorum cunitam perpetua paradysi amenitate confoveret.

Nos igitur operum manibus expeditis veterem hominem cum actibus suis exuentes et induentes eum, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iusticia et sanctitate veritatis, in ieiunio et fletu et planctu scindentes corda nostra et non vestimenta nostra, non reddentes malum pro malo vel [fol. 239<sup>r</sup>] maledictum pro maledicto, sed e contrario benedicentes et a nobis

<sup>1</sup> Luc. 18,14

<sup>2</sup> I Ioh. 2,6

<sup>3</sup> Is. 63,3



opera tenebrarum funditus eradicantes tam corde quam corpore secedamus ab Egypto. Qui enim pro animarum nostrarum in peccati rubigine iacentium erectione paulominus ab angelis ultronee voluit minorari, viam nobis iusticie, qua eum imitari debeamus, ostendit. <sup>1</sup>Ait enim in evangelio : Qui vult venire post me, abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me <sup>1</sup>. Si ergo Christi passionibus in hoc corpore corruptibili communicare volumus, ut eius glorie, quam nec erugo nec tinea demolitur, participes effici mereamur, necesse est, ut, quemadmodum Moyses Egypti cahos exitiale fugiens viam trium dierum per solitudinem, priusquam legem Domini mereatur accipere, cum filiis Israel peragravit, et nos similiter animas nostras compunctione, confessione et penitentia declinando a malo, consurgendo ad bonum, de virtute in virtutem pedetentim ascendendo spiritaliter affligamus, quatinus spiritu nostro quantulumcumque divino vacante Spiritu Dominoque sacrificium laudis cum propheta David aliquociens immolante iusticie radius in cordibus nostris oriatur. Quo nisi, dum peregrinamus in corpore, succensi et illuminati cōfigurati Christo et confederati fuerimus, nequaquam nobis per ostium Christum ad supernorum iocunditatem conventum patefiet ingressus.

Cave ergo, ne mole cupiditatis onerosa mentis tue contubernium ab hoc iusticie radio subtrahere videaris. Quod si luci tenebras preferendo dogmatibus evangelicis adquiescere nolueris et ima summis, transitoria permansuris prerogare volueris, impossibile est eo te posse pervenire, quo spretores mundi huius persecutorum iniurias equanimiter sufferentes Christo capite suo subvehente translati sunt. Alienos enim esse scimus a Deo, quibus hoc seculum ad omne commodum prosperatur. Quod in evangelio parabola de divite et Lazaro <sup>2</sup> prolata Dominus patenter innotuit. Dives enim sathane notatus cauterio pro gule voragine, pro tumoris vitio lapsus est in Orcum. Pauper vero Lazarus gravi pressus ulcere, cui trux erat Tartarus egestas in corpore, vite tenet portum.

Non ergo te gloria fallat ista labilis, mobilis ut folia rotaque volubilis trahens excecatos. Hanc tibi suspiria faciant viles-cere, quatinus in patria dignus sis inspicere cives candidatos.

<sup>1</sup> Matth. 16,24

<sup>2</sup> Luc. 16,19-31

Largus esto [fol. 239<sup>v</sup>] pauperi, karitatis animo Christi nudos operi, nam quod uni minimo feceris, hoc Christo <sup>1</sup>. Heu, quid in hac infula prodest opum cumulus, cum senectus emula propinquet et tumulus succedat pro isto? Quicquid ament inscii, Deum prefer omnibus, ut stellati solii te locet in sedibus ereptum peccatis, quorum, queso, nexibus te dignetur solvere celorumque civibus dignanter inserere dono pietatis. Amen. Vale.

## 2.

<D>ilectissimo domino et fratri suo Guarino Ambianensis ecclesie archidiacono frater Radulfus omnium minimus Clarevallensium salus et omne bonum.

Experimento vestri, frater dulcissime, dominicum illud problema verissimum esse probavi: non potest oblivisci mulier infantem suum, ut non misereatur filio uteri sui <sup>2</sup>. Testis enim michi est Deus, quante caritatis visceribus vestri memoriam conceperim, quanta supplicationum instantia cotidie coram partu virginis vestra peccata parturiam, quanto denique desiderio vestram salvationem etiam cum quolibet meo dolore parere semper sim paratus. Sed iuxta sapientis sententiam desiderium, quod differtur, et meam affligit animam <sup>3</sup>, et vestram ipsa dilatio plus elidit quam erigat, que quibusdam pravis transitoribus, immo traditoribus, qui dixerunt ei propheticum illud: incurvare ut transeamus <sup>4</sup>, eam et inclinat spontaneam et illectam incurvat. Vana namque, et que testante Paulo preterit, figura huius mundi <sup>5</sup> quasi avi vobis illudit <sup>6</sup>, et secundum Ysaïam: qui beatum vos dicunt, ipsi vos decipiunt <sup>7</sup>, et vita vestra, que Iacobi iudicio vapor est ad modicum parens <sup>8</sup>, falsam et fallacem diuturnitatem sui vobis pollicetur. Mors vero certo certior veniens et velocior accurrens cursore non tardat, et adversarius vester vobis quasi leo in spelunca sua insidiatur ut rapiat, et horrendum Dei iudicium instat, iudicium utique nullum iniustorum iustificans, sed iuste iudicans omnem etiam iustorum iusticiam,

<sup>1</sup> Matth. 25,40<sup>2</sup> Is. 49,15<sup>3</sup> Prov. 13,12<sup>4</sup> Is. 51,23<sup>5</sup> I Cor. 7,31<sup>6</sup> Iob 40,24<sup>7</sup> Is. 3,12<sup>8</sup> Iac. 4,15

iudicium, inquam, tam severum quam verum et sine misericordia ei, qui non fecerit misericordiam.

Tu autem, homo Dei, qui tot a Deo patre misericordiarum misericordias gratis accepisti, saltem unam repende, immo vende, misericordiam miseratori tuo, videlicet prope Deum, iuxta iusti cuiusdam consilium, miserere anime tue placens Deo. Per ipsum te convenio, frater karissime, qui tam fraterne tam karitative suo sanguine te redemit, qui cum dives esset, et propter te factus est pauper et suis divitiis te ditavit, qui quantò tibi dulcior est effundendo bona sua, tanto durior erit exigendo singula cum usuris usque ad novissimum quadrantem<sup>8</sup>, ne tardes amplius converti ad Dominum et ne differas de die in diem.

Domnus abbas Cari Loci<sup>9</sup> dixerat michi, quod vos disposueratis in Claramvallem venire circa festum Sancti Iohannis<sup>10</sup>, ideo de consilio dilatus fueram tam ad vos ascendere quam aliquid scribere vobis. Nunc [fol. 240<sup>r</sup>] autem tante more factus impatiens utpote plurimum diligens et precipue timens, ne quid forte vobis intercidisset adversi, continuo venire, visitare fratrem meum, confortare manus eius in Domino quoquomodo possem proposui premissis non tam nostris quam eorum, qui mecum vos diligunt, diligendis et dignis omni acceptione litteris. Fateor enim vobis, quod in tantam amaritudinem animi tantamque sollicitudinem vestri devolutus sim, quantam vel calamo scribere vel lingua loqui vel etiam corde capere vix possim. Unde post Deum, vos solus solum unum si velitis, valetis ferre remedium, qui solus universarum estis occasio, quas inpresentiarum patior, passionum.

Interim que circa vos vel in voluntate vestra sunt, vel quid super his, que scripta sunt vobis, vestro corde sedeant, eis qui vobis diligenter scripserunt et certissime vos diligunt, certum et cito rescribite, et cum odore bone spei, quem de vobis utcumque nos sentire fecistis, bone nichilominus actionis, quod et maius est et melius, indilato gustu nos talium famelicos reficiendo, vos vobis, quod et maximum est et optimum, celeste scilicet centuplum et vitam eternam terrena temporali-que commutatione comparete.

Rescriptum vestrum vel responsum multum desidero, sed presentiam vestram multo magis, salutem vero vestram, que vera non vana sit, quam maxime.

Iesus Christus, qui semper et omnibus eum invocantibus in veritate presto est, orationes Clarevallensium pro vobis ad eum clamantium exaudiat et me, minimum servorum suorum, non confundat ab expectatione mea. Utinam non tam verbo sive lingua quam opere et veritate respondeatis. Amen, idest vere, fideliter, fiat. Valete.

3<sup>1</sup>.

[fol. 241<sup>ra</sup>] Lisiardo quondam sodali pari et superiori suo, nunc autem confratri et commilitoni suo in Domino, Thomas amicorum eius amicissimus, omnium Christi servulorum manuum remissione novissimus, vultu dumtaxat et habitu cenobite palliatus, perseverantiam in conflictu cum salute tenoremque propositum cum vigore.

Valde michi conversio tua, dilecte mi, in admirationem versa est et gaudium. Cum enim michi a quodam fratre relatum fuisset, quod tu sarcina gibbose cupiditatis abiecta, pompa mundi cum flore feni virtuose mentis tue pedibus substrata diabolo et operibus eius spontanea deliberatione secundo renuntians, furtiva quodammodo et approbabili fuga Christum humilem imitans cum benignis et Deo dignis fratribus de Selincurt humilitatis habitum suscepisses, primo quidem cor meum stupendo et hesitando dirigit, et quasi in sublimi credulitatis scilicet et dubietatis statutus crepidine vix credere poteram, quod relatus obiecerat, donec iterum fama crebrescente et quod intulerat revolvende michi ad liquidum rei patefieret certitudo et ita demum nocte dubietatis luce cognitionis exclusa nichilominus inter merorem et gaudium pietatis impulsione fluctuabam.

Quis enim cor carneum habens, tam perspicuum super homines divini respectus intuens indicium tante Dei providentie sacrificium laudis, etsi non lingua, pro modulo saltem devotionis intime non rependat? Quis iterum iuvenes cereos

<sup>1</sup> Liber Sancti Laurentii *cod.* Prioratus Corbei. abbatiæ *add. manus sæc. XVII.*

in viciū flecti et ad lascivie molliciem declinari, plerisque senibus iumentis ut ita dicam stabuli secularis in stercore suo putrescentibus iugum Domini arripere, castimoniam devovere et diligere contuens in excessum mentis per stuporem admirationis non concidat?

Ecce nunc liquet quod primus ecclesie pastor credentibus intimavit, quia non est personarum acceptor Deus <sup>1</sup>, sed in omni gente, in omni sexu, in omni etate qui timet Deum et operatur iusticiam acceptus est illi.

Nam cum regem subicit, servum probum adicit,  
Et cum senem illicit, iuvenem non abicit.  
Cumque trahit equitem, prestolatur peditem.  
Nec cum probat nobilem, reprobat ignobilem.  
Cum Iudeos subiugat, gentes eque coniugat.  
Nec adest distinctio, ubi est adoptio.

Per sanguinem enim redemptionis non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes filii effecti sunt adoptionis. Scio utique, quia nisi ei, quem nichil fugit, cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur, cui submoto caliginis obice nuda et aperta sunt omnia, cordis tui benivoli patuisset humilitas, nequaquam te de seculi cenulenta rubigine ad fornacem ignis conflantis et examinantis tam repente transtulisset. Memento igitur queso, dilecte mi, et memoriter retine, quod scriptum est : in malivolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec in corpore corruptioni subiecto <sup>2</sup>, et e contra : Bonum est homini cum iugum Domini ab adolescentia sua ferre inchoaverit <sup>3</sup>, et illud poeticum :

Sincerum nisi vas quodcumque infundis acescit <sup>4</sup> et illud :  
Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem  
Testa diu <sup>5</sup>.

Quibus respectis animoque retentis in timore Domini, qui est initium sapientie <sup>6</sup>, qui prospera facit non diligi et adversa non timeri, te vigilanter exerceas. Quid enim cum Christo vivere cupienti, visibilia respuenti beatius esse potest quam timere Dominum? Unde David : Beatus vir qui timet Domi-

<sup>1</sup> Act. 10,34.35

<sup>2</sup> Sap. 1,4

<sup>3</sup> Thren. 3,27

<sup>4</sup> Horat., ep. I 2,54

<sup>5</sup> Horat., ep. I 2,69sq.

<sup>6</sup> Eccles. 1,16

num <sup>1</sup>. Et Salomon : Timentibus Deum nichil deest. Et alibi : Timor Domini malum non operatur <sup>2</sup>. Qui enim timet Deum, faciet bona <sup>3</sup>. Quid v̄ro inter adversa et prospera titubanti pudico Domini timorē securius? Unde sub persona iusti timore dominico solidati scriptum reperimus : Leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pavebit occursum <sup>4</sup>. Et alibi : Iustus quasi leo confidens absque terrore erit <sup>5</sup>. Et iterum : Non contristabit iustum quicquid ei acciderit <sup>6</sup>. Unde quadratō lapidi, qui in quocumque ceciderit latere rectus stat, non incongrue comparatur.

Cave ergo, ne torpore dissolutus gremium mentis tue lubrico serpenti aperias, cuius primum capud nisi sagittis conpunctionis et orationis attriveris, totus ad interiora tui sine difficultate pertransiet, et tunc ve tibi erit templum Dei vivi tenebrarum receptaculum facienti. Tu autem versutiis eius repugnare contendens gemendo expergiscere, confitendo surge, orando corroborare, viriliter agendo et confortando cor tuum prepara animam tuam ad temptationes et perturbationes mundi, quousque locum in te Domino Deo tuo invenias, et quousque parvulis tuis ad petram, que Christus est, <a>llis <sup>7</sup> virtutum in te germina oriantur.

Vale, et valeant, qui te valere desiderant. Gratia et pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi tibi et prelatiis tuis et omnibus tecum digne Deo militantibus. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. 111,1

<sup>2</sup> Prov. 10,29

<sup>3</sup> Ecclus. 15,1

<sup>4</sup> Prov. 30,30

<sup>5</sup> Prov. 28,1

<sup>6</sup> Prov. 12,21

<sup>7</sup> Ps. 136,9

## О НОВГОРОДСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЕ XII ВЕКА

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Древнерусская письменность начинала складываться в эпоху, когда западная средневековая культура уже прошла долгий путь развития и имела на своем счету немало выдающихся достижений. Молодые побеги русской культуры не могли бы развиваться так бурно, если бы их корни не имели широкие разветвления — значительно более широкие, чем этого хотелось константинопольской администрации, назначавшей своих ставленников на епископские кафедры русской земли.

Особенно благоприятным для развития древнерусской литературы был период княжения Ярослава Мудрого (1014-1054). По оценке летописца Начальной летописи, историческая роль этого государственного деятеля заключается в том, что после того как его отец Владимир Святой вспахал и умягчил землю принятием христианства, Ярослав посеял книжные словесы, «а мы пожинаем, ученье приемлюще книжное». Здесь, на страницах ученого бенедиктинского журнала, особенно хочется процитировать киевского монаха, записавшего в древней летописи, что при Ярославе Мудром на Руси «нача вера хрестьяньска плодитися и раширяти, и черноризьци почаша множитися, и монастыреве починаху быти»<sup>1</sup>. Как хорошо подходит к этим одухотворенным словам «Лик черноризцев» на фреске Страшного суда в церкви Спас-Нередица под Новгородом, расписанной в 1199 году! Мы воспроизводим ее по негативу 1903 года из фотоархива

<sup>1</sup> Полное собрание русских летописей, т. I, Москва 1962, стлб. 151 (статья 1037 года).

Института археологии Академии наук СССР, сама церковь расстреляна немцами в Отечественную войну.

Ярослав организовал в Новгороде школу для трехсот детей <sup>2</sup>, а в Киеве — скрипторий, осуществлявший переводы книг на русский язык; он основал большую библиотеку в построенном им киевском соборе св. Софии. Предполагается, что он же учредил русское летописание. Любимым занятием князя было чтение. Характерный штрих: когда дочь Ярослава Мудрого Анна стала французской королевой, она, в отличие от других королей и даже королев Европы, по неграмотности скреплявших документы жирным крестом, подписывалась полным именем и титулом <sup>3</sup>.

Ярослав Мудрый, заимствуя византийскую культуру, исходил отнюдь не из интересов самой Византии. История его взаимоотношений с Константинополем является непрерывной пробой сил. Настойчивая постановка Ярославом вопроса о церковной автономии увенчалась учреждением в 1037 г. киевской митрополии и даже назначением в 1051 году митрополита из русских, Илариона, выдвинувшегося благодаря своему знаменитому «Слову о законе и благодати», направленному против греческих притязаний и проникнутому патриотическим воодушевлением <sup>4</sup>.

Ярослав Мудрый умер на 77 году жизни, 20 февраля 1054 г. Пять месяцев спустя прогремели взаимные анафемы Рима и Константинополя. Давно назревавший раскол церкви стал совершившимся фактом <sup>5</sup>.

Киевское летописание предпочло «не заметить» этого события. Русь не пожелала связывать себя занятием каких-либо определенных позиций и избрала тактику выжи-

<sup>2</sup> Н. К. Гудзий, История древней русской литературы, Москва 1966, стр. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Е. И. Мельников, О языке и графике подписи Анны Ярославны 1063 года, В сб.: Славянское языкознание, Москва 1959, стр. 113-119. J. DIONDT, *Sept femmes et un trio de rois*. Contributions à l'Histoire économique et sociale, t. 3, Bruxelles 1965, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Н. Н. Розов, Синодальный список сочинений Илариона, Slavia, t. 32, Praha 1963, p. 141-175.

<sup>5</sup> G.-H. BORNAND, *Le schisme de 1054*, Paris 1963.



дания. Папские легаты, оформившие раскол в константинопольском соборе св. Софии, сочли нужным возвращаться в Рим окольным путем, через Киев, и были приняты здесь вежливо<sup>6</sup>. Константинополь отомстил внесением Киева в список византийских митрополий на 62 место<sup>7</sup>.

При митрополите Георгии (1062-1072) Киев должен был уступить византийскому нажиму и включиться в «стяжание с латиною»<sup>8</sup>, но добиться полного пресечения западных связей русской культуры Константинополь не сумел, и не сумел бы даже в том случае, если бы в русских верхах искренне захотели пойти навстречу таким пожеланиям Византии. Фактически же торговля с «погаными латинянами» продолжала развиваться<sup>9</sup>, наперекор прямому церковному запрещению многие русские князья заключали династические браки с западными феодалами<sup>10</sup>. Говорилось одно, а делалось другое, этим дипломатическим приемом правители Киевской Руси владели не хуже своих партнеров.

Татаро-монгольский ураган стер с лица земли сокровищницы русской книжной культуры, и начальный этап русского летописания является сейчас объектом чисто теоретических построений филологов. От созданной Ярославом Мудрым киевской Софийской библиотеки не уцелело ни одного листка пергамена, старший список «Повести временных лет» относится к 1372 году и написан во Владимире<sup>11</sup>. В текстологическом анализе летопи-

<sup>6</sup> P. KOVALEVSKY, *L'Église russe en 1054. Études et travaux offerts à Dom Lambert Beauduin*, t. I, Chevetogne 1954, p. 482.

<sup>7</sup> A. M. AMMANN S.J., *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte*, Wien 1950, S. 31.

<sup>8</sup> Памятники древнерусского канонического права, ч.2, вып. I, под ред. В. Н. Бенешевича, Петроград 1920, стр. 104.

<sup>9</sup> А. П. Новосельцев, В. Т. Пашуто, Внешняя торговля древней Руси (до середины XIII в.), История СССР, № 3, Москва 1967, стр. 81-108.

<sup>10</sup> N. BAUMGARTEN, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Rome 1927.

<sup>11</sup> А. Н. Насонов, Лаврентьевская летопись и владимирское великокняжеское летописание. Проблемы источниковедения, вып. II, Москва 1963, стр. 429-480.

сей достигнуты значительные результаты — достаточно назвать вклад А. А. Шахматова, М. Д. Приселкова, А. Н. Насонова, Д. С. Лихачева — но полной достоверности во всех аспектах реконструкции нет и, естественно, быть не может. В частности, это относится к выявлению хронологической теории, положенной в основу древнерусского летописания. Покажем это на примере работ, по традиции приписываемых автору первой половины XII века Кирику Новгородцу, диакону и domestiku Антониева монастыря.

Имеются указания на то, что из-под его пера вышли хронологический трактат «Учение имже ведати человеку числа всех лет»<sup>12</sup> и памятник канонического права «Вопрошание Кирика»<sup>13</sup>. Кирик являлся также составителем Новгородского летописного свода 1136 года, так называемого Софийского временника<sup>14</sup>. Такова концепция о Кирике Новгородце, прочно вошедшая в настоящие руководства по славистике<sup>15</sup>. К этому следовало бы добавить еще одну — забытую, но немалую — заслугу Кирика перед древнерусской книжной ученостью. Он переписал (или перевел?) Пятикнижие Моисеево специально для князя Святослава Олеговича. К. Ф. Калайдович видел его в копии XV века<sup>16</sup>, впоследствии исчезнувшей<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Публикация Погодинского списка № 76 (начала XVI в.) с примечаниями В. П. Зубова: Историко-математические исследования, вып. 6, под ред. Г. Ф. Рыбкина и А. П. Юшкевича, Москва 1953, стр. 174-212.

<sup>13</sup> Издано по пергаменной Кормчей XIII века: Русская историческая библиотека, т. 6, Петербург 1880, стлб. 21-51.

<sup>14</sup> Д. С. Лихачев, Софийский временник и новгородский политический переворот 1136 г. Исторические записки, т. 25, Москва 1948, стр. 262.

<sup>15</sup> Д. С. Лихачев, Русские летописи и их культурно-историческое значение, Москва-Ленинград 1947, стр. 203, 204, 211, 212, 442; И. У. Будовниц, Словарь русской, украинской, белорусской письменности и литературы до XVIII века, Под ред. Д. С. Лихачева, Москва 1962, стр. 131. Д. С. Лихачев, Текстология, Москва-Ленинград 1962, стр. 349, 372, 373. Советская историческая энциклопедия, т. 7, Москва 1965, стлб. 280.

<sup>16</sup> К. Ф. Калайдович, Иоанн, экзарх болгарский, Москва 1824, стр. 97.

<sup>17</sup> А. В. Михайлов, Опыт изучения текста Книги бытия про-

В таком виде Кирик предстает перед нами как очень разносторонняя личность. При детальном разборе в ней обнаруживаются неразрешимые внутренние противоречия. В самом деле, какими знаниями и качествами обладал гипотетический Кирик Новгородец?

Как domestik (т.е. руководитель хора) церкви св. Богородицы Антониева монастыря он являлся наставником по кондакарному пению, требующему весьма высокой профессиональной выучки и знания сложной системы музыкальной нотации.

В трактате «Учение имже ведати человеку числа всех лет» Кирик обнаруживает знание методов хронологических расчетов, понимание тонкостей астрономической теории календаря.

«Вопрошание», построенное как диалог с архиепископом Нифонтом по вопросам церковного права, характеризует Кирика как человека начитанного в канонистике и имеющего немалый запас непосредственных жизненных наблюдений.

Ведение государственного летописания при Софийском соборе, т.е. почетная и доверительная функция, являющаяся как бы должностью секретаря архиепископа, могла быть возложена только на клирика, обладающего административным опытом, на «своего человека» новгородского Кремля.

Написание Пятикнижия Моисея для подношения князю предполагает в Кирике по меньшей мере каллиграфические способности, а вероятнее всего и филологические познания, необходимые для ответственного отношения к библейскому тексту.

Итак, Кирик Новгородец был диаконом, музыкантом, опытным юристом, первым русским математиком, придворным летописцем, ученым библеистом. Все это, заметим, относится к 24-летнему молодому человеку, прожившему, вероятно, недолго: «худ есмь и болен», пишет он о себе в 6 статье «Вопрошания».

Возникает вопрос, а не является ли Кирик Новгородец наших настоящих руководств фикцией, возникшей из неосмотрительно превращенного в аксиому давно устаревшего мнения митрополита Евгения Болховитинова о том, что автор трактата по хронологии и автор юридического «Вопрошания» есть одно и то же лицо? <sup>18</sup>

Автором хронологического «Учения» является domestic Антониева монастыря диакон Кирик, это документировано колофонами списков трактата. Автором юридического «Вопрошания» является тоже Кирик. Но какой Кирик — об этом рукописи «Вопрошания» не говорят ничего. Полагаем, что молчание источников еще не есть достаточное основание для суммирования качеств всех возможных Кириков и наделения ими одного человека. В Новгороде Великом XII века имелось достаточно образованных людей, чтобы не возлагать бремя стольких важнейших функций на одного слабого здоровьем юношу черноризца.

По монастырским правилам и обычаям духовным отцом и непререкаемым авторитетом для насельников монастыря является игумен. «Der Abt wird Christus gleichgestellt. Man muss ihm nicht nur gehorchen, man muss ihn auch lieben, so wie man Christus liebt. So hat der Abt auch Anspruch auf die *ἐξαγόρευσις* seiner Mönche, keiner ihrer Gedanken soll ihm fremd bleiben. Denn nur so ist er imstande, die Mönche zu Christus zu führen» <sup>19</sup>. Если бы канонист Кирик действительно был диаконом Антониева монастыря, то, аргументируя в диалоге с архиепископом Нифонтом ссылками на памятники права и живые авторитеты, он не мог бы не упомянуть прежде всех своего духовного отца, игумена Антония Римлянина. Но в «Вопрошании» об Антонии Римлянине не говорится ни слова.

<sup>18</sup> Е. Болховитинов, Сведение о Кирике, предлагавшем вопросы Нифонту. Труды и летописи Общества истории и древностей Российских при Московском университете, Часть IV, книга I, Москва 1828, стр. 122. До митрополита Евгения эту мысль высказал, но в более осторожной форме, К. Ф. Калайдович, см. выше, прим. 16. Его труд Болховитинов не читал.

<sup>19</sup> H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, S. 359-360.

Пятикнижие Моисея, согласно колофону рукописи, было написано domestиком Антониева монастыря Кириком для Святослава Олеговича в первый год его княжения, в 1136 г. Это было бурное время установления новгородской вечевой республики, после успешного захвата политической власти и государственного аппарата крупнейшими боярскими фамилиями <sup>20</sup>, когда князь был низведен на положение наемного начальника военной дружины. В результате городского восстания 1136 г. князь Всеволод Мстиславич был изгнан, на новгородский стол пришел из Чернигова Святослав. Хорошо известно, какими были взаимоотношения между новым князем и руководителем вечевой республики архиепископом Нифонтом. Владыка с презрением отозвался о женитьбе Святослава на новгородке: « не достойть ея пояти » и наложил запрет белому и черному духовенству Новгорода на совершение брачного обряда. Святослав не подчинился и « венцяся своими попы у святого Николы », т.е. церемония была совершена в княжеском Николо-Дворищенском соборе попами, прибывшими с князем из Чернигова. Новгород ответил на эту дерзость: « В то же лето стрелиша князя милостьници Всеволожи » <sup>21</sup>. Святослав остался жив, но в апреле 1138 г. новгородцы его выгнали.

Стал ли бы приближенный Нифонта канонист Кирик, хорошо знавший политическую обстановку, трудиться над Пятикнижием для Святослава, да еще писать в колофоне « Бог ему да продолжит лета »?

Приходим к выводу, что во второй половине XII века в Новгороде было два автора, носивших имя Кирик. Первым из них был domestик Антониева монастыря, второй являлся священником из архиепископского окружения.

<sup>20</sup> М. К. Каргер, Новгород Великий, Ленинград-Москва 1966, стр. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Новгородская первая летопись, под ред. А. Н. Насонова, Москва-Ленинград, 1950, стр. 24-25. Старший список опубликован факсимильно: Новгородская харатейная летопись, изд. Археографической комиссии, Москва 1964.

Первый сочинил «Учение имже ведати человеку числа всех лет» и переписал Пятикнижие Моисеево, второй специализировался на каноническом праве. Был ли он причастен к летописанию — неизвестно. Это был начитанный человек, и саркастический Б. А. Романов напрасно был так уверен в том, что Кирик обманывает Нифонта ссылкой на канонический текст, разрешающий замену епитимий заказными литургиями<sup>22</sup>. Надо было прочесть исследование Н. К. Никольского, доказавшее, что такой текст действительно существует<sup>23</sup> — Кирик прочел Нифонту Правило англосакса Бонифатия<sup>24</sup> († 754). Нельзя не отметить, что в так называемой Особой редакции «Вопрошания» Кирика во всех трех ее списках — они относятся к XVI веку — содержится общее отклонение в имени автора, по заглавию текста «Се есть вопрошание Кирилово»<sup>25</sup>. Впрочем, внутри текста два списка указывают имя автора в звательном падеже: «тебе поведаю, К и р е ч е», и лишь третий в этом месте называет его К и р и л е.

Необходимо оценить культурно-исторические условия, явившиеся почвой для появления в стенах новгородского Антониева монастыря хронологического трактата Кирика «Учение имже ведати человеку числа всех лет». Поскольку для изучения истории календаря нужна компетентность как в точных науках, так и в историко-филологических дисциплинах, эта область никогда не страдала от избытка исследователей. В работе Н. Г. Бережкова о древнерусской хронологии «Учение» Кирика даже не упоминается<sup>26</sup>, а известная Н. А. Мещерскому новгород-

<sup>22</sup> Б. А. Романов, Люди и нравы древней Руси, Москва-Ленинград 1966, стр. 193.

<sup>23</sup> Н. К. Никольский, К вопросу о западном влиянии на древнерусское церковное право. Библиографическая летопись Общества любителей древней письменности и искусства, т. 3, Петроград 1917, стр. 110-124.

<sup>24</sup> Ph. LAUER, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, t. 2, Paris 1940, p. 58.

<sup>25</sup> С. Смирнов, Материалы для истории древнерусской покаянной дисциплины, Москва 1913, стр. I, 16.

<sup>26</sup> Н. Г. Бережков, Хронология русского летописания, Москва 1963.

ская Кормчая с трактатом о календах, нонах и идах, приписываемая некоему « великому книжнику Антиохийскому », в указываемой им библиографии, к сожалению, не отыскивается <sup>27</sup>.

Величаявая правильность движения звезд по ночному небу поражала человека еще в доисторические времена. Потребность в точной количественной оценке движения небесных светил развилась в связи с нуждами навигации, в открытом море потеря ориентации вела к неминуемой гибели. Накапливавшийся эмпирический материал тщательно изучался, и звездочеты древнего Вавилона уже умели предвычислять затмения. Однако создание простой, точной и удобной системы счета времени натолкнулось на непреодолимые препятствия, поскольку солнечный год не охватывает целое число лунных месяцев. Один период Луны равен в среднем 29, 53059 дня, а солнечный год составляет около 365, 2422 дней, и дробность этих чисел вводит добавочные трудности в проблему счета времени. К тому же, строго говоря, солнечный год постепенно сокращается, а продолжительность суток увеличивается.

« Любое совершившееся событие навсегда уходит в прошлое, и, чтобы ответить на вопрос когда, необходимо иметь непрерывную систему измерения промежутков времени от некоторого начального события до данных событий » <sup>28</sup>. Утвердившееся на практике решение проблемы нуля шкалы времени принадлежит нашему земляку, скиффу Дионисию Малому (Dionysius Exiguus), жившему в первой половине VI века в Риме <sup>29</sup>. Являясь аббатом монастыря, он разрабатывал вопросы хронологии и выдвинул идею считать началом нашей эры Рождество Христово <sup>30</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Н. А. Мещерский, Проблемы изучения славяно-русской переводной литературы XI-XV веков. Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы Академии наук СССР, т. 20, Москва-Ленинград 1964, стр. 181.

<sup>28</sup> Б. С. Кузьмин, Основы астрономического метода измерения времени, Москва 1954, стр. 22.

<sup>29</sup> E. DEKKERS-АЕМ. GAAR, *Clavis patrum latinorum*, Steenbrugge 1961, № 2284.

<sup>30</sup> Существует мнение, что вифлеемская звезда волхвов пред-

День Пасхи, центральный праздник христианского календаря, не имеет фиксированной календарной даты, а относится на первое воскресенье после первого весеннего полнолуния, причем согласно постановлению Никейского собора (325 г.), началом весны считается 21 марта, т.е. день весеннего равноденствия. Компютистика, или искусство вычислять таблицу дат Пасхи на целые столетия вперед, является коллективным созданием лучших математических умов поздней античности. Это был, по образному выражению А. Паннекука, тонкий ручеек науки, бежавший сквозь ночь европейской цивилизации — раннее средневековье <sup>31</sup>.

Теория календаря получила новый импульс для своего развития в XI-XII веках, когда Европа ознакомилась с достижениями арабской математики и астрономии <sup>32</sup>. Почти одновременно в ряде стран латинского Запада появляется ряд работ по компютистике. Трактат Кирика «Учение имже ведати человеку числа всех лет» мы считаем необходимым отнести к этому ансамблю, вопреки тому, что до сих пор его обычно рассматривали либо изолированно, как чисто русское явление <sup>33</sup>, либо считали основанным на данных византийской науки <sup>34</sup>.

Основанием для такой переоценки труда Кирика должно быть, разумеется, нечто более убедительное чем простой факт одновременности с западными сочинениями по хронологии. Оно находится в специфической роли Антоние-

ставляет собой феномен соединения Юпитера и Сатурна в созвездии Рыб, имевший место в 6 г. до нашей эры: *Astronomischer Jahresbericht*, hg. vom astronomischen Recheninstitut in Heidelberg, 65. Bd. Berlin 1967, S. 14-15.

<sup>31</sup> А. Паннекук, История астрономии, Москва 1966, 187.

<sup>32</sup> R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *España y la introduccion de la ciencia árabe en Occidente*. Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, t. 3, Madrid 1955, p. 13-34. H. SCHIFFERGES, *Assimilations-Zentren arabischer Wissenschaft im 12. Jahrhundert*. Centaurus, t. 4. Copenhagen 1956, S. 325-350.

<sup>33</sup> Д. О. Святский, Очерки истории астрономии в древней Руси, ч. I, В сб.: Историко-астрономические исследования, вып. 7, Москва 1961, стр. 97-101.

<sup>34</sup> A. M. AMMANN, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte*, Wien 1950, S. 44.



ва монастыря как форпоста латинской церкви на Востоке, умело замаскированного под православную обитель. Антониев монастырь основан в начале XII века, когда orbis terrarum christianus уже пережил процесс поляризации сил, и Западу нужна была в Новгороде такая разведка, которая имела бы доступ не только на рыночную площадь, но и под епитрахиль исповедника.

В один прекрасный день 1106 года простодушные новгородцы обнаружили на пустынном берегу Волхова человека, молившегося на камне. По русски он не понимал, но очень скоро с языком освоился, назвался Антонием и, явившись к епископу новгородскому Никите, рассказал ему под условием соблюдения строжайшей тайны о своем чудесном прибытии на камне по морю из Рима. Никита, «никако же можаше насытитися сладких и медоточных словес от преподобного», охотно разрешил Антонию построить монастырь на том месте, где остановился его камень. Как раз в это время Волхов принес сверхъестественным образом бочку с ценностями и церковной утварью, пущенными Антонием в море перед отбытием из Рима, была оформлена купчая на земельный участок, приобретенный Антонием «у Смехна и Прохна Ивановых детей»<sup>35</sup>, и закипела работа по сооружению монастыря, вскоре ставшего крупным хозяйством. Первоначальная деревянная церковь Рождества Богородицы, поставленная Антонием в память своего прибытия в Новгород в этот праздник, сменилась огромным каменным собором, освященным в 1119 г. и расписанным фресками в 1125 г.<sup>36</sup>

По единодушному мнению советских историков живописи, не склонных преувеличивать роль западного влияния в русской культуре, Фрески Антониева монастыря принадлежат западному искусству<sup>37</sup>. М. К. Наргер указывает на их стилистическую близость к миниатюрам

<sup>35</sup> Грамоты Великого Новгорода и Пскова, под ред. С. Н. Валка, Москва-Ленинград 1949, стр. 159-161.

<sup>36</sup> Новгородская первая летопись... стр. 21.

<sup>37</sup> В. Н. Лазарев, Живопись и скульптура Новгорода, История русского искусства, т. 2, Москва 1954, стр. 78-82.

Рейхенау и Регенсбурга, а также к романо-византийской монументальной живописи Италии XII века <sup>38</sup>.

Если у Антония Римлянина хватило размаха на импорт церковной утвари и приглашение западных фрескистов, то на приобретение рукописей, необходимых для интеллектуальной работы монастыря, средства должны были найтись и подавно. До нас не дошло ничего из латинской библиотеки Антония, ее не существовало уже по монастырской описи 1696 года <sup>39</sup>: что произошло с новгородскими монастырями в январе 1570 г., когда сюда прибыла из Москвы карательная экспедиция во главе с Иваном Грозным и Малютой Скуратовым, к сожалению, слишком хорошо известно <sup>40</sup>.

Церковно-политическая сущность Антониева монастыря всегда тщательно камуфлировалась, официальная легенда рассказывает о происхождении Антония от православных родителей, терпевших притеснения в католическом Риме <sup>41</sup>. Мы полагаем, что далеко не случайна общность

<sup>38</sup> М. К. Каргер, Древнерусская монументальная живопись. Москва-Ленинград 1964, стр. 8. О романо-византийском искусстве см. K. WEITZMANN, *Various aspects of Byzantine influence on the Latin countries from the VI to the XII century*. E. KITZINGER, *The Byzantine contribution to Western art*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 2, Washington 1966, p. 3-47.

<sup>39</sup> Опись Антониева монастыря за 1696 г. Труды XV Археологического съезда в Новгороде (1911 г.), т. I, Москва 1914, стр. 250-282.

<sup>40</sup> Ср. теперь Р. Г. Скрынников, Опричный разгром Новгорода. В сборнике: Крестьянство и классовая борьба в феодальной России, Ленинград 1967, стр. 157-171.

<sup>41</sup> Житие Антония Римлянина сохранилось в списках не ранее XVI века, утраченная первоначальная редакция принадлежит перу игумена Андрея († 1157), непосредственного преемника Антония. См. Архиепископ Филарет (Гумилевский). Обзор русской духовной литературы. Петербург 1844, стр. 34. Н. Барсуков, Источники русской агиографии. Петербург 1882, стлб. 48-51. Житие опубликовано дважды, в Православном собеседнике, изд. Казанской Духовной академии, ч. 2 за 1858 г., стр. 157-171, 310-324 (по рукописи № 834 Соловецкой библиотеки), и Н. И. Костомаровым: Памятники старинной русской литературы, изд. графом Г. Кушелевым-Безбородко, вып. I, Петербург 1860, стр. 263-270 (по рукописи № 154 Румянцевского музея).

патроциния главных храмов Антониева монастыря и Киево-Печерской лавры — оба посвящены Богородице (ее Рождеству и Успению). Этим, как и совпадением имен Антония Римлянина и Антония Печерского, латинские лазутчики явно хотели создать видимость духовной близости обоих центров монастырской культуры. Однако их выдает аггиографическая типология, мотив плавания на камне по морю является несомненным заимствованием из кельтской аггиографии <sup>42</sup>. Как раз в этот период англосаксонские связи Новгорода были настолько интенсивными, что пенни вышли на второе место по численности в древнерусских кладах, уступая первенство только немецким денариям <sup>43</sup>. Все это вполне объяснимо, в Новгороде в это время княжил Мстислав Владимирович, англосакс по матери <sup>44</sup>.

Создается однако впечатление, что инородность Антониевой обители в православном Новгороде как-то чувствовалась окружающими. Несмотря на богатое хозяйство и впечатляющую красоту собора, Антоний долго оставался без людей, над которыми можно было бы принять игуменство. Архиепископ Нифонт совершил поставление Антония во игумены лишь в 1131 году, через 25 лет после его прибытия на новгородскую землю <sup>45</sup>. По мнению Е. Е. Голубинского, «это может значить, что охотники идти в монахи выискивались весьма туго» <sup>46</sup>. Но почему-то для Киево-Печерской лавры они находились очень легко. С другой стороны, следует считаться с возможностью того, что кворум черноризцев сложился у Антония

<sup>42</sup> I. SNIEDERS, *L'influence de l'hagiographie irlandaise sur les vitae des saints*. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, t. 24, Louvain 1928, p. 617.

<sup>43</sup> В. М. Потин, Редкие английские денарии X-XI вв. Нумизматика и эпиграфика, т. 5, Москва 1965, стр. 161-171.

<sup>44</sup> Подробнее об этом см. М. П. Алексеев, Англосаксонская параллель к Поучению Владимира Мономаха, Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы ИРЛИ АН СССР, т. 2, Москва-Ленинград 1935, стр. 39-80.

<sup>45</sup> Новгородская первая летопись... стр. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Е. Е. Голубинский, История русской церкви, Чтения в Обществе истории и древностей Российских при Московском университете, т. 210, Москва 1904, стр. 594.

своевременно, а заминка с игуменством *de jure* произошла из-за оппозиции архиепископа, видевшего в Антонии — и не без основания, как это доказывают здравицы в колофонах домостика Кирика — сторонника княжеской власти и, к тому же, нежелательного чужеземца из латинского мира. Поразительно, что, являясь фактическим хозяином богатой обители, Антоний не только что не имел игуменской власти, но был с церковно-правовой точки зрения рядовым черноризцем. Как сообщает его житие, после избрания Антония в 1131 году монахи всем миром отправились к Нифонту на утверждение, и архиепископ за один раз посвятил Антония в диаконы, рукоположил в священники и поставил во игумены.

Через пять лет после поставления Антония в Новгороде установился республиканский строй. В 1147 г. Антоний умер и его монастырь стал быстро хиреть, придя через несколько десятилетий почти в совершенное запустение <sup>47</sup>. В конце XII века, когда на новгородском столе находился князь Ярослав Владимирович, по заказу которого была построена знаменитая своими фресками церковь Спаса на Нередицком холме, дела Антониева монастыря существенно поправились, и это было обусловлено западной ориентацией князя Ярослава Владимировича, венгра по матери.

В последующие века политический характер Антониева монастыря, по всей вероятности, сохранялся. Далеко не случайно Антоний Римлянин не был причислен к лику святых на соборах 1547 г. и 1549 г., проходивших под председательством митрополита Макария, в прошлом архиепископа Новгородского. В Макарьевских Минеях, первом систематическом своде русских житий святых, составлявшемся в этот период в Новгороде, Антония Римлянина нет. В этом вопросе русское церковное руководство проявило максимальную осторожность и дальновидность, подрыв авторитета столь древнего монастыря в глазах простого народа был нецелесообразен.

<sup>47</sup> Жизнь преподобного Антония Римлянина новгородского чудотворца, с приложением краткой истории Антониева монастыря, Новгород 1913, стр. 31.

При царе Федоре Иоанновиче в 1589 г. была учреждена Московская патриархия, что положило конец формальной подчиненности русской церкви Константинополю. По делам канонизации уже не нужно было испрашивать чьих-либо разрешений, а по соображениям государственного престижа номенклатуру национальных святых следовало расширить. При первом патриархе Московском и всея Руси Иове в 1597 г. состоялось обретение мощей преподобного Антония Римлянина<sup>48</sup>, положившее начало местному новгородскому культу. Приблизительно в 1634 г. «Устав церковных обрядов» главного храма русского государства, Успенского собора московского Кремля, предписал: «Августа в 3 день Антонию Римлянину благовест в Лебедь, трезвон средний»<sup>49</sup>. Тем замыслу натурализация Антония завершилась, и в XIX веке, когда стали появляться серьезные исследования по новгородике, выискивание латинских компонентов в наследии Антониева монастыря противоречило официальной триединой формуле православия, самодержавия, народности и уже было бы воспринято как признак дурного тона.

Все, кто анализировал хронологический трактат Кирика, обращали внимание на странный, единственный в своем роде способ деления часа, предлагаемый «Учением имже ведати человеку числа всех лет». Кирик делит час, т.е. двенадцатую часть дня, на пять частей, одну пятую часть часа снова на пять частей, и так далее до получения  $(1/5)^6$  часа. По его словам, дальнейшее деление времени невозможно,

Существует мнение, что столь малые доли часа не имели никакого прикладного значения и являлись не более чем плодом наивного числолюбия автора трактата<sup>50</sup>. В самом деле, не исключено, что для Кирика это было

<sup>48</sup> Е. Е. Голубинский, История канонизации русских святых, Москва 1903, стр. 119.

<sup>49</sup> Русская историческая библиотека, т. 3, Петербург 1876, ст. 101.

<sup>50</sup> Н. В. Степанов, Заметка о хронологической статье Кирика. Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности имп. Академии наук, т. 15, кн. 3, Петербург 1910, стр. 129-150.

такой же печальной игрой ума, как и для авторов латинских эпитафий, высчитывавших, что дорогой для них покойник прожил на этом свете столько-то лет, месяцев, дней, часов и скрупулов<sup>51</sup>.

В. П. Зубов указал на вероятность того, что дробные доли часа, предложенные Кириком, представляют определенные удобства при астрономических вычислениях, связанных с Метоновым циклом<sup>52</sup>. Считаясь с правдоподобием этой догадки, мы все же хотели бы предложить еще одно возможное объяснение счета времени по системе Кирика.

Старожилы до сих пор помнят колокольный звон храмов Новгорода Великого. Он начинался с удара колокола кафедрального Софийского собора, по его благовесту начинался, как это сказано у Томаса Манна о Риме времен папы Григория Великого, «*Glockenschall, Glockenschwall supra urbem, über der ganzen Stadt, in ihren von Klang überfüllten Lüften*». Звоном возвещалось начало вечернего, утреннего и дневного богослужения.

Нельзя себе представить, что из года в год, изо дня в день, с утра до вечера пономари и клир всех церквей средневекового города томились в ожидании удара колокола св. Софии, не имея собственного устройства для счета времени по мелким долям часа, в нем нуждался прежде всего сам софийский пономарь. Если в 1404 г. в Москве были установлены часы с автоматическим боем, поразившие воображение летописца Троицкой летописи<sup>53</sup>, то в домонгольскую эпоху должны были существовать простейшие водяные или песочные часы, так как в климатических условиях Новгорода солнечные часы будут в большинстве случаев бесполезны. При градуировке водяных или песочных резервуаров были безусловно необходимы такие дробные доли часа как  $1/5$ ,

<sup>51</sup> *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, t. 6, Paris 1925, col. 2370.

<sup>52</sup> В. П. Зубов, Кирик Новгородец и древнерусские деления часа. Историко-математические исследования, вып. 6, Москва 1953, стр. 196-212.

<sup>53</sup> М. Д. Приселков, Троицкая летопись. Реконструкция текста, Москва-Ленинград 1950, стр. 457.

$1/25$ , а может быть и  $1/125$ . Для единиц меньших порядков, указанных у Кирика, вряд ли имелись физические приборы с визуальным отсчетом, но они, вплоть до  $1/15625$  часа, вполне воспринимались акустически, как музыкальный интервал, и для Кирика, дирижировавшего хором, представляли самый непосредственный интерес. Лишь мельчайшая единица времени,  $1/78125$  часа (приблизительно  $1/22$  секунды) являлась в известной мере умоглядной величиной, поскольку не поддавалась чувственному восприятию безошибочно. Дальнейшее дробление времени не имело никакого практического смысла, в этом Кирик вполне прав.

В том, что касается выбора числа 5 как делителя часа (без последующего дробления на более мелкие доли), то у Кирика были предшественники — например, Беда Достопочтенный († 735) <sup>54</sup>. Среди доступной нам литературы обнаружили две аналогии и среди современников Кирика, час делят на пять частей domestik английского бенедиктинского аббатства св. Кутберта в Дареме монах Симеон <sup>55</sup> и Гонорий Отенский, который, как известно, тоже некоторое время жил в Англии <sup>56</sup>. Сходство расчетов Кирика с работами английских средневековых компутистов подметил и астроном Б. А. Воронцов-Вельяминов <sup>57</sup>, но, к сожалению, он не указал, что именно имеет в виду.

Делением часа на 5 частей сходство новгородских монахов с их английскими коллегами во всяком случае не исчерпывается. В 1911 г. ученый библиотекарь петербургской придворной Певческой капеллы А. В. Преображенский констатировал чрезвычайно любопытное и нео-

<sup>54</sup> BEDA VENERABILIS, *De temporum ratione*. Migne, Patrologia latina, t. 90, Paris 1850, col. 303.

<sup>55</sup> SIMEON MONACHUS DUNELMENSIS, *Historia de gestis regum Anglorum*. Historiae anglicanae scriptores X, London 1652, p. 112. P. H. BLAIR, *Symeon's History of the kings*. Archaeologia Aeliana, t. 16, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1939, p. 87-100.

<sup>56</sup> HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS, *De imagine mundi lib. II*, cap. IV. Migne, Patrologia latina, t. 172, Paris 1854, col. 147.

<sup>57</sup> Б. А. Воронцов-Вельяминов, Очерки истории астрономии в России, Москва 1956, стр. 13-14.

бъяснимое совпадение способов звона русских и английских колоколов. И те и другие давали звук не посредством раскачивания самого колокола вместе с языком, как это принято в континентальной Европе, а ударом подвижного языка в неподвижный колокол<sup>58</sup>. Неподвижность корпуса колокола давала возможность значительно увеличить его вес и мощность звука.

Необходимо подчеркнуть, что колокола как предмет церковного обихода являются для Руси заимствованием из Запада, а не из Византии. В греческой церкви колокольный звон стал применяться лишь с XIII века, после занятия Константинополя крестоносцами<sup>59</sup>, в то время как в Киеве найдено три колокола при раскопках Десятинной церкви конца X века<sup>60</sup> и по одному колоколу XI/XII века на Подоле в Киеве и в Городеске на Житомирщине<sup>61</sup>. Все они являются бронзовыми отливками весом примерно 20 кг, западной работы. На колоколе из Городеска есть даже рельефная надпись: GODEFRIDVS ISTVT VAS TITVLAVIT. Мнений о датировке колоколов Десятинной церкви, насколько знаем, никто не высказывал, но они вполне могли принадлежать к первоначальному инвентарю, поскольку в самой архитектуре этого храма, открывшегося благодаря археологическому таланту М. К. Каргера, опознаны специфически романские черты<sup>62</sup>.

Колокола имелись и в Софийском соборе Новгорода. В 1066 году полоцкий князь-оборотень Всеслав Брячиславич враспloh ворвался со своей ратью в Новгород и занялся грабежом. Летописец словно плачет: «И коло-

<sup>58</sup> А. В. Преображенский, Колокольный звон. Православная богословская энциклопедия, т. 12, Петербург 1911, столб. 350-353.

<sup>59</sup> До этого в Византии пользовались металлическими билами: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, t. 3, Paris 1914, col. 1970-1976.

<sup>60</sup> М. К. Каргер, Древний Киев, т. I, Москва-Ленинград 1958, табл. XLIII.

<sup>61</sup> В. П. Даркевич, Произведения западного художественного ремесла в Восточной Европе (X-XIV в.), Москва 1966, стр. 10, 14.

<sup>62</sup> М. В. Холостенко, З історії зодчества древньої Русі X ст Археологія т. 19 Київ 1965, стр. 68-85.



колы съима у святых Софие. О, велика бяше беда в час тыи; и понекадила съима»<sup>63</sup>. А в 1106 году, в момент прибытия на камне Антония Римлянина в Новгород, слышен был, как сообщает его житие, «великий звон» утрени праздника Рождества Богородицы. В Новгородском музее хранится бронзовый литой колокол западной работы, происходящий из Антониева монастыря. Он весит 20 кг и датируется первой половиной XIII века<sup>64</sup>.

Русские мастера успешно осваивали технологию литья колоколов и затем поразили мир колоколами небывалого веса. Во второй половине XVI века Николай Немчин отлил в Москве колокол весом 16000 кг, в 1622 г. Андрей Чохов сработал для колокольной Ивана Великого в московском Кремле колокол весом 32000 кг<sup>65</sup>. Изготовленный в 1733-1735 гг. мастерами И. Ф. и М. И. Моторными Царь-колокол весит 200 тонн<sup>66</sup>.

Изобретение огнестрельного оружия имело самое непосредственное влияние на судьбу колоколов. Несмотря на совершенно исключительное благоговение, которым окружают колокола церковь и фольклор<sup>67</sup> — русские любовно называли свои тяжелые колокола личными именами, например, Сысой, Реут (от глагола реветь), Медведь, Голодарь (звонивший в дни поста), Полиелейный, Лебедь — в трудные времена колокола не раз служили сырьем для отливки пушек. Зато в мирное время это заставляло думать об акустических, конструктивных и технологических улучшениях колоколов, заказывавшихся в больших количествах, и довело их до высокой степени совершенства.

Такой круговорот колокольной бронзы привел к полному исчезновению древних колоколов большого разме-

<sup>63</sup> Новгородская первая летопись... стр. 17.

<sup>64</sup> В. П. Даркевич, Произведения... стр. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Н. Н. Рубцов, Знаменитый литец Андрей Чохов. Литейное производство, № 4, Москва 1951, стр. 22-25.

<sup>66</sup> Н. Оловянишников, История колоколов и колоколотейное искусство, Москва 1912.

<sup>67</sup> *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, hg. von E. E. Hoffmann-Krayer und H. Bächtold-Stäubli. 3. Bd. Berlin-Leipzig 1930, Sp. 868-876.

ра, и сейчас не представляется возможным проследить на фактическом материале, как развивалось и откуда берет свое начало сходство русского и английского способов звона. Но в связи с тем, что репутация английских колоколов была с древнейших времен самой высокой<sup>68</sup> — небесным патроном колокольных мастеров Европы являлся ирландский святой Форкери († 490) — и островные миссионеры были главными распространителями колокольной музыки на континенте<sup>69</sup>, мы все же вправе допустить возможность того, что обычай пользоваться колоколами и техника производства колоколов пришли на Русь не только через Германию, как это принято считать, а и непосредственно из Англии. Этимологически русское *колокол* может происходить как из древненемецкого *glocke*, так и непосредственно от его предшественника, древнеирландского *closs*<sup>70</sup>. Еще во времена Ярослава Мудрого англосаксы бывали на Руси<sup>71</sup> и, конечно, привозили сюда дары своей родины. В их числе вполне могли найти свое место такие произведения прикладного искусства как колокола. Их язык не нуждался в переводе и обладал свойством нравиться всем.

Английские связи Новгорода ждут своего дальнейшего изучения. Древняя и утонченная культура Британии, давшая Европе импульс для Каролингского возрождения, принесла молодой христианской культуре Новгорода новые жизненные соки. Для этого имелись исключительно благоприятные условия — могучие силы всасывания древней Руси и небывалые масштабы исхода англосаксов, покидавших завоеванную норманнами родину.

<sup>68</sup> E. MORRIS, *Towers and Bells of Britain*, London 1955.

<sup>69</sup> Ch. MAHRENHOLZ. GLOCKEN, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 5. Bd. Kassel-Basel 1956, Sp. 276-291.

<sup>70</sup> J. DUFT, *Die Bregenzer St. Gallus-Glocke in St. Gallen*, Montfort, Heft 3/1966 (Sonderdruck).

<sup>71</sup> М. П. Алексеев, К вопросу об англо-русских отношениях при Ярославе Мудром. Научный бюллетень Ленинградского университета № 4. Ленинград 1945, стр. 31-33.



LES MOINES NOIRS DANS LA FRESQUE « LE JUGEMENT DERNIER ».  
Église du Sauveur à Nerediza près Novgorod, 1199.

*(Archives de l'Institut de l'archéologie  
de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS, Léninegrad).*

## SUMMARIUM

### A PROPOS DE LA CULTURE À NOVGOROD AU XII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE.

*La culture occidentale était déjà largement répandue quand naquit la littérature russe; l'influence de l'Occident relégua rapidement au second plan celle de Constantinople, dont le rôle se limitera bientôt aux relations officielles et administratives.*

*Le grand-duc Jarislav le Sage (1014-1054) joua un rôle important, créant à Novgorod une école, et à Kiev un « scriptorium » et une bibliothèque. On peut le considérer comme le promoteur des plus anciennes chroniques russes. Il meurt quelques mois seulement avant le début du schisme de Michel Cérulaire. Ses successeurs, malgré leur dépendance de Constantinople, entretenirent cependant dès 1070 de bonnes relations avec l'Occident. Malheureusement plusieurs parmi les premières œuvres littéraires disparurent dans les invasions tartare et mongole, ce qui explique que pour toute datation remontante au delà de 1372 nous sommes à peu près réduits à des hypothèses.*

\* \* \*

*A Novgorod vécut au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle un certain Kirik ou Cirgues, diacre et maître de chœur du monastère Saint-Antoine-le-Romain. C'était un homme très versé en musique, en astronomie et en droit. « Maigre et maladif », selon ses propres aveux, il meurt à l'âge de 24 ans.*

*On lui attribue :*

- a) un traité de comput ecclésiastique : « Enseignement comment on peut connaître les jours pour chaque année »;*
- b) un traité de droit canonique sous forme de questionnaire avec réponses : « Interrogatoire de Kirik »;*
- c) la rédaction des « Annales novgorodiennes » de 1136;*
- d) enfin une traduction des « Cinq Livres de Moïse », travail aujourd'hui perdu, mais dont une copie au moins existait jusqu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.*

*Toutefois une étude plus approfondie de la situation politique et religieuse à cette époque, montre qu'il s'agit de deux auteurs différents, un pour le comput ecclésiastique et la traduction du Pentateuque, et un pour le traité de droit canonique; il reste indécis, lequel des deux serait l'un, ou un des rédacteurs des Annales.*

\* \* \*

*On peut se demander comment pareil traité de comput aurait été rédigé à Novgorod? L'inspiration ne peut venir de Byzance, où l'on connut un comput différent; un comput basé sur l'astronomie arabe serait plutôt, à cette époque, une importation occidentale. Ceci invite à préciser l'origine du monastère de Cirgues, le couvent Saint-Antoine-le-Romain de Novgorod. C'était une fondation latine « claustrine », entreprise aux environs de 1106 par Antoine le Romain († 1147), probablement moine bénédictin anglo-saxon, ce qui n'a rien de surprenant, vu les relations économiques fréquentes des anglo-saxons avec Novgorod.*

*A remarquer la division des heures dans le comput, division à la façon anglo-saxonne, en cinq parties, comme l'ont fait Bède le Vénérable et Siméon de Durham. De plus, en Europe continentale on sonnait les cloches à la volée; en Russie, au contraire, seul le battant frappait la cloche, à la manière anglo-saxonne.*

*Les fresques de l'église trahissent l'influence de Reichenau et de Ratisbonne, et aussi de la peinture romano-byzantine de l'Italie du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Des fouilles archéologiques effectuées au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle démontrent également l'influence latine.*

*L'expatriation des anglo-saxons chassés de leur pays par les normands et leur grande facilité d'assimilation du russe, favorisèrent le développement de la culture chrétienne à Novgorod.*

# Sacres épiscopaux à Rome de 1566 à 1602

## I

Sacres épiscopaux conférés par le  
cardinal Giulio Antonio SANTORI  
d'après son « Autobiographie » de 1566 à 1592  
(Ms. « Armadio LII, 17-22 »)

## II

Listes complémentaires de sacres épiscopaux  
à Rome de 1566 à 1602

par

F. COMBALUZIER

(Paris)

## AVANT-PROPOS <sup>1</sup>

Analysant un manuscrit des Archives Vaticanes, le Répertoire des « sacres épiscopaux romains de 1565 à 1662 » <sup>2</sup> offre, malgré des défaillances <sup>3</sup>, une ample collection de 750 sacres

<sup>1</sup> Suivent, après l'Avant-propos :

- I. Fiche biographique du cardinal Giulio Antonio SANTORI (1532-1602) ;
- II. Liste des sacres conférés par le cardinal SANTORI ;
- III. Liste complémentaire de sacres épiscopaux conférés à Rome de 1566 à 1602 ;
- IV. Liste supplémentaire des sacres épiscopaux à Rome de 1567 à 1602 ;
- V. Index alphabétique des consécrateurs ;
- VI. Table alphabétique des évêques consacrés ;
- VII. Index topographique des titres épiscopaux.

<sup>2</sup> F. COMBALUZIER, *Sacres épiscopaux à Rome de 1565 à 1662* (*Analyse intégrale du Ms. « Miscellanea XIII, 33 » des Archives Vaticanes*), dans *Sacris Erudiri*, xviii (1967-68), p. 120-305.

<sup>3</sup> Corrections et compléments à l'article cité ci-dessus : En dehors

avec 920 évêques. Mais il est demeuré évident que, dans une telle suite d'années, il en manque plus d'un quart.

A combler cette carence, à 'boucher ces trous', d'autres documents doivent contribuer : Mémoires, Diaires de cérémoniaires, Correspondances, etc. On ne peut perdre de vue les

d'une dizaine de menues corrections de chiffres (inversions, etc.), que le lecteur avisé corrigera aisément grâce aux renvois à la *Hierarchia Catholica* (= HC), il convient de grouper ici de plus importantes rectifications et des compléments :

— p. 127, n° 8 : le sacre de Gabriel PALEOTTI eut lieu le mardi 10 fév. 1566 à Sainte-Marie-Majeure. La même année, le lundi 9 fév., PALEOTTI fut ordonné prêtre. Le lendemain il y était sacré [sur ces faits, voir les renvois documentaires dans Paolo PRODI, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597)*, Rome, 1959, 236 p.] ;

— p. 129, n° 19 : le 21 sept. 1566, avec Franciscus RUSTICUCCIUS, év. de Venosa, fut aussi sacré Archangelus DE BLANCA O.P. év. de Teano, préconisé le 16 sept. 1566 (HC, III, p. 311) [Mss. Vat. lat. 12283, f. 130 ; Vat. lat. 12312, f. 38] ;

— p. 135, n° 57 : Scipio card. REBIBA était card. de Pise, et non év. d'Augsbourg ;

— p. 142, n° 100 : sacre du 21 sept. 1585 : le consécrateur fut Giulio Antonio SANTORI [voir sacre n° 778] ;

— p. 145, n° 119 : le sacre du 12 juil. 1587 eut lieu à Saint-Barthélémy-en-l'Île [voir sacre n° 784] ;

— p. 147, n° 131 : l'év. coconsécrateur de Camillus GALANDUS év. de Cesena, est Marius (et non Agapitus) DE BELLOHOMO év. de Caserta [voir sacre n° 786] ;

— p. 147, n° 132 : le sacre du 28 août 1588 eut lieu à Chiesa del Popolo (Santa Maria del Popolo) [Ms. Urbin. lat. 1056, f. 424] ;

— p. 167, n° 266 : le sacre eut lieu le dimanche 5 sept. 1610 et non le mercredi 8 sept. d'après Urbinate lat. 1078 f. 636r.

— p. 215 : le 21 décembre 1634, à Rome, le card. Cosmas TORRES, sacre Zacharias NOWOSKI arch. tit. de Nicopolis (HC, IV p. 259) d'après la *Gazette de France*, 1635, p. 34.

— p. 225, n° 643 : Joannes Jacobus PANCIOLO fut consacré le 12 janv. 1642 ; patr. de CP (et non de Jérusalem) [l'erreur est corrigée implicitement par le renvoi exact à la p. 162 de la HC, IV] ;

— p. 235, n° 710 : le 18 janv. 1654, avec Dominicus CAMPANELLA, fut aussi sacré Benedictus SANCHEZ DE HERRERA év. de Monopoli, préconisé le 12 janv. 1654 (HC, IV, p. 246) [*Gazette de France*, 1654, p. 169] ;

— p. 238, n° 725 : le 10 sept. 1656 : le sacre de Franciscus RINUCCINI eut lieu à Saint-Jean-des-Florentins [Ms. Arch. Caer. 452, non folioté] ;

— p. 240, n° 740 : Carolus card. Pio de Savoie était év. de Ferrare (et non de Ferriere) [coquille].

*Avvisi*, ces journaux manuscrits dont la Bibliothèque Vaticane et plusieurs autres possèdent des collections qui attendent, en ce secteur comme en d'autres, des lecteurs patients et attentifs. En effet, en marge des informations politiques, plusieurs de ces pages relatent les événements du jour, des cérémonies, et donc des sacres, etc.

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\* \* \*

Parmi d'autres sources de compléments éventuels, on possède pour la période de 1566 à 1592, l'*Autobiographie* du cardinal Giulio Antonio SANTORI. Le texte en est bien connu : il a été utilisé maintes fois, surtout depuis 1889-1890, où l'on eut l'édition de Giuseppe CUGNONI <sup>4</sup>. Dans cette présentation, les pages sont denses et sans aération. Le texte est donné sans la moindre note ou explication. De loin en loin, on y trouve seulement les variantes des deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Corsini, qui ont servi à établir l'édition. Annoter ces pages, avec leurs multiples événements personnels, familiaux, politiques et ecclésiastiques, etc., exigerait savoir, documentation et amples recherches.

Dans cette vue, mais pour un secteur très limité et incontestablement mineur, ces quelques pages s'efforcent de présenter, d'une façon systématique, la suite des sacres épiscopaux, conférés par le cardinal SANTORI. Chose curieuse : même jusqu'en 1592, date extrême de ce Journal, les sacres conférés par ledit cardinal n'y sont pas tous mentionnés <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Dans l'*Archivio della Reale Società romana di storia patria*, XII, p. 327-372 ; XIII, p. 151-206.

<sup>5</sup> En comparant les sacres donnés par le Ms. *Armarium XIII*, 33 (dans *Sacris Erudiri*, XVIII, 1967-68, p. 120-305), avec les trente-cinq sacres signalés par l'*Autobiographie* du cardinal SANTORI (ci-après, n° 755 à 789), on constate que douze sacres sont signalés des deux côtés ; ce sont :

n° 10 et 755 : SANTORI G.A.	n° 100 et 778 : GALLUS
n° 30 et 756 : CAMPANILIS	n° 106 et 780 : CINUS
n° 44 et 758 : SANTORI J.B.	n° 119 et 784 : BELLEMUS
n° 48 et 759 : FORTIBRACCIA	n° 131 et 786 : GALLANDUS
n° 53 et 760 : VITALIANUS	n° 142 et 788 : SPINA
n° 96 et 776 : GESUALDUS	n° 147 et 789 : COMITOLUS.



D'autre part, comme le texte du *Diaire* de SANTORI apporte des détails intéressants sur ces ordinations épiscopales, nous reproduisons, après l'indication de chaque sacre, les quelques lignes de l'*Autobiographie*. Ces notations posent en divers endroits des problèmes, que la présente analyse ne peut prétendre éclaircir : date précise, coconsécrateurs, etc. Mais dans l'ensemble, ces données enrichissent notre connaissance des sacres romains de ce temps.

Cela justifie et caractérise ces notes, sans prétention aucune.

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En supplément, et dans la tranche chronologique 1566-1602, on trouvera ici des données de plusieurs autres sacres conférés à Rome. Essayer d'établir une liste quasi complète fait surgir maintes difficultés : cela exigerait d'atteindre une documentation fort dispersée et réclamerait des recherches prolongées...

Donc au total le *Journal* de SANTORI nous apporte 23 sacres nouveaux entre 1566 et 1591, à savoir :

en 1568 : 1 (n° 757)	en 1580 : 2 (n° 772-773)
en 1572 : 2 (n° 761-762)	en 1582 : 2 (n° 774-775)
en 1573 : 1 (n° 763)	en 1585 : 2 (n° 777 et 779)
en 1574 : 2 (n° 764-765)	en 1586 : 3 (n° 781-783)
en 1576 : 3 (n° 766-768)	en 1588 : 1 (n° 785)
en 1577 : 1 (n° 769)	en 1591 : 1 (n° 787).
en 1579 : 2 (n° 770-771)	

Pour cette même période, diverses sources nous indiquent encore 7 nouveaux sacres, notamment :

en 1566 : 1 (n° 790)	en 1586 : 1 (n° 794)
en 1567 : 2 (n° 791-792)	en 1587 : 1 (n° 795)
en 1572 : 1 (n° 793)	en 1591 : 1 (n° 796).

Dans les dix années qui suivent, ce sont 19 autres sacres que nous possédons ici de par diverses sources, à savoir :

en 1592 : 4 (n° 797-800)	en 1599 : 3 (n° 807-809)
en 1594 : 2 (n° 801-802)	en 1600 : 1 (n° 810)
en 1595 : 3 (n° 803-805)	en 1601 : 2 (n° 811-812)
en 1596 : 1 (n° 806)	en 1602 : 3 (n° 813-815).

## I

FICHE BIOGRAPHIQUE DU CARDINAL  
GIULIO ANTONIO SANTORI (1532-1602)

Dès la première page, l'*Autobiographie* s'ouvre par de minutieux détails sur les jeunes années.

Fils de Leonardo (‘Nardo’, suivant l’affectueux diminutif usité en famille), ‘dottor di legi’, et de Carmosina BARATIUCIA, Giulio naît à Caserta (paroisse San Vito d’Ercole), le 6 juin 1532. Il est baptisé huit jours plus tard. Désormais veillent sur lui ses deux marraines : Anna GAMBACORTA duchesse d’ATRI, et Virginia COLONNA baronesse DE LIMOTELA.

Agé de huit ans, Giulio est tonsuré à Tiano le 26 décembre 1540 par Leone Leonico DI SESSA, évêque de Castro, Acquapendente <sup>6</sup>. Douze ans après, le 21 décembre 1552, à Naples (Casa santa de l’Annuntiata), il reçoit les quatre mineurs par Oratio Greco DI TROIA, évêque de Lesina <sup>7</sup>. A Rome enfin, le 9 décembre 1556, Giulio est ordonné sous-diacre par Portius (Borsius) DE MERLIS, évêque de Bobbio <sup>8</sup>. Le 31 décembre suivant, il est diacre, et le lendemain 1 janvier 1557, il reçoit la prêtrise. Trois ans plus tard, il devient vicaire à Caserta, son pays natal, et peu après se voit choisi comme vicaire général par le cardinal Alfonso CARAFA, archevêque de Naples.

Le 15 février 1566, à Rome, décède Jean-Baptiste ORSINO, archevêque de Santa Severina. Dès le consistoire du 6 mars suivant, Giulio SANTORI reçoit cet archevêché de Calabre, tandis que le dimanche 12 mars 1566, au Vatican, en la chapelle Pauline, le cardinal Scipion REBIBA lui confère l’épiscopat <sup>9</sup>. Le 8 avril suivant, le pallium lui est imposé par les mains du cardinal DEL MONTE. Et ce sont tout aussitôt quatre années de ministère et de dévouement dans son archevêché de Santa Severina.

<sup>6</sup> HC, III, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> HC, III, p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> HC, III, p. 136.

<sup>9</sup> C’est le sacre n° 10 (dans *Sacris Erudiri*, XVIII, 1967-68, p. 127) ; c’est par ce sacre également que s’ouvre la série des ordinations épiscopales, mentionnées dans l’*Autobiographie* (ci-après : sacre n° 755).

Le 17 mai 1570, SANTORI est créé cardinal et se voit alors retenu à Rome, dans divers services de la Curie. Il s'y dépense, trente-deux ans durant, jusqu'à sa mort, le 9 mai 1602.

\* \* \*

Homme de vaste culture, dûment équilibré, d'une nette dignité de vie, il reste le consulteur écouté de sept papes successifs. A deux reprises, lors des conclaves, il se trouve parmi ceux que certains envisagent comme 'papabile'. Mais le jeu et la lutte des influences, et en définitive le choix de l'Esprit, aboutirent aux élections de SIXTE QUINT (24 avril 1585) et de CLÉMENT VIII (30 janvier 1592). Lors de cette élection, c'est par un chaleureux témoignage d'affection et d'estime papale, que se termine l'*Autobiographie* du cardinal SANTORI. Ce texte en est fourni plus loin.

Il restait pourtant au cardinal, dix ans de vie et de dévouement. Si sa pensée, pour certaines tendances de notre temps, demeure inquisitoriale et intolérante, son sentiment religieux s'avère profond et agissant. Cette générosité le soutient en ses diverses activités.

Tout à son labeur curialiste, SANTORI étudiait et suivait les questions, traitées lors des consistoires hebdomadaires. De l'ensemble de ses notes, une notable quantité a survécu : elles constituent les six volumes 17-22 de l'actuel *Armadio LII*, aux Archives Vaticanes, au total quelque 2387 folios <sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Sur cet *Armadio LII* voir *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Louvain, 1969, p. 679. — A plusieurs reprises, ces textes ont attiré l'attention. Pour les années 1570-1576, le P. Tacchi VENTURINI en a reproduit nombre de pages dans *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, xxiii, 1902, p. 297-346 ; xxiv, 1903, p. 73-143, 205-275 ; xxv, 1904, p. 89-135. D'autres passages des susdites Notes ont été à leur tour vues et transcrites par Cyril KOROLEWSKI, qui a étudié, dans *Stoudion*, v, 1928 et viii, 1931, diverses affaires se référant aux questions orientales. C'est encore sous cet angle oriental que l'on trouve nombre d'extraits dans John KRAJCAR S.I., *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East. Santoro's Audience and Consistorial Acts* (dans *Orientalia Christiana*, CLXXVII), Roma, 1966. Ces études, comme les

Le présent travail se borne à l'aspect secondaire de l'activité ecclésiastique du cardinal Giulio Antonio SANTORI : comme consécrateur.

## II

LISTE DES SACRES CONFÉRÉS  
PAR LE CARDINAL SANTORI <sup>11</sup>

HC, III

755	(cf. 10) Mardi 12 mars 1566. (Chapelle Pauline au Vatican).	
	Scipion card. REBIBA, Pisanus,	35
	asst. de Hannibal CARACCIOLI év. d'Isola	213
	et de Caesar JACOMELLIS év. de Belcastro,	130
	sacre Giulio Antonio SANTORI arch. de Santa Severina.	298
	p. 330 : <i>Alli 6 di marzo, di mercoledì 1566, le quattro tempora dopo le ceneri, fui fatto arcivescovo di S. Severina. Alli 12 dell'istesso messe fui consecrato dal cardinal di Pisa di martedì, assistendovi li miei suffraganei, li vescovi di dell'Isola e di Belcastro.</i>	
756	(cf. 30) (Dimanche 30 août 1567). Chapelle Sixtine.	
	Giulio Antonio SANTORI arch. de Santa Severina,	298
	asst. de Thomas GOLDWELL év. de Saint-Asaph	120
	et de Aegidius VALENTI év. de Sutri et Penni,	306
	sacre Joannes Augustinus CAMPANILIS év. de Minori.	246

notices que fournissent notamment le *Dictionnaire de Théologie* (J. MERCIER) et l'*Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Gr. HOFFMAN), etc., permettent le renvoi à d'autres essais et études.

<sup>11</sup> Outre les abréviations des mois, sont encore employées :

adm.	= administrateur,
anc.	= ancien,
arch.	= archevêque,
asst.	= assisté,
aux.	= auxiliaire,
card.	= cardinal,
coadj.	= coadjuteur,
év.	= évêque,
patr.	= patriarche,
suffr.	= suffragant,
tit.	= titulaire.

p. 344 : *Et consecrai monsignor Giovanni Agostino Campanile, eletto a mia instantia, vescovo de' Minori, in palazzo, nella cappella de Sisto, essendo assistenti gli vescovi Asafense e di Sutri, persone di semplicissimi costumi et antica bontà.*

- 757 Dimanche 15 fév. 1568. Sacristie papale.  
 Giulio Antonio SANTORI arch. de Santa Severina, 298  
 asst. de Hieronymus SAVORGNANUS év. de Sebenico 299  
 et de Galesius REGARDUS év. de Bagnorea, 128  
 sacre Andreas MINUTIUS arch. de Zara. 215  
 p. 345 : *Intrato l'anno 1568, alli 15 di febraro, nella sacristia del papa, consacrai monsignor Andrea Minutio eletto arcivescovo di Zara, assistendovi i vescovi di Sebenico e Bagnorea.*
- 758 (cf. 44) Lundi 13 déc. 1568. Chapelle Sixtine.  
 Giulio Antonio SANTORI arch. de Santa Severina, 298  
 asst. de Galesius REGARDUS év. de Bagnorea 128  
 et de Felix PERETTI év. de Ste-Agathe-des-Goths, 97  
 sacre Joannes Baptista SANTORI év. d'Alife. 104  
 p. 347 : *Alli 2 di agosto (1568) dal vespro comminciai a dire l'officio del breviario novo, riformato per ordine di Sua Beatitudine, la quale a mia instantia diede il vescovato d'Alife a Gio. Battista Santorio, arciprete di Gravina, che poi nella cappella di Sisto, alli 13 di dicembre, fu consacrato da me, con l'assistenza del vescovo di Bagnorea e quello di Sant' Agata.*  
 N.B. Galesius REGARDUS, démissionnaire du siège de Bagnorea au début de 1568, n'en conserve pas moins le titre et dénomination d'évêque de Bagnorea, comme le note expressement la HC, III, p. 128.  
 Santori, pour le sacre du 13 février 1569, mentionne Locatus, comme évêque de Bagnorea ; son sacre, le 25 avril 1568 (n° 40).
- 759 (cf. 48) Dimanche 13 fév. 1569. Chapelle Sixtine.  
 Giulio Antonio SANTORI arch. de Santa Severina, 298  
 asst. de Joannes Augustinus CAMPANILIS év. de Minori 246  
 et de Umbertus LOCATUS O.P. év. de Bagnorea, 128  
 sacre Serafino (FORTIBRACCIA) O.P. arch. de Nemosia (Chypre). 259

p. 348-349 : *E consacrai il padre maestro Serafino dell'ordine de' Predicatori, arcivescovo di Nicosia (sic) in Cipro, con l'assistenza di mons. Camponile vescovo di Minori e di mons. frà Uberto Locato, vescovo di Bagnorea e commisario del Sant'Officio.*

(cf. 53) Mardi 3 mai 1569. Chapelle Sixtine.

Giulio Antonio SANTORI arch. de Santa Severina,	298
asst. de Umbertus LOCATUS év. de Bagnorea	128
et de Cesar FERRANTIUS év. de Termoli,	312
sacre Prosper VITALIANUS év. de Bisignano.	134

p. 347-348 : *Com'anco nell'istessa cappella di Sisto, a'3 di maggio, consacrai mons. Prospero Vitagliano, eletto vescovo di Bisignano a mia instantia, persona molto pia e affaticata in servitio della santa fede contra gl'heretici nel regno di Napoli, assistendovi monsignor di Bagnorea e mons. Stefano Ferracci, vescovo di Termoli (variante : Tremoli).*

(Dimanche 27) janv. 1572 [Dimanche suivant préconisation du 23 janv.]. Chapelle Sixtine.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Thomas GOLDWELL év. de Saint-Asaph	120
et de Joseph PAMFILI év. de Segni,	300
sacre Gregorio FORBICINI év. de Strongoli.	305

p. 352 : *Essendo intrato l'anno 1752 (sic) consecrai, nella cappella di Sisto, mons. Gregorio Formicino eletto vescovo di Strongoli, con l'assistenza del vescovo Asafense e di mons. Gioseppe Pamfilo vescovo di Segno (sic).*

Lundi 8 déc. 1572. Chapelle Sixtine.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Thomas GOLDWELL év. de Saint-Asaph	120
et de Joseph PAMFILI év. de Segni,	300
sacre Octavius MIRTHAEUS év. de Caiazzo.	145

p. 355 : *Et io agl' 8 di decembre (1572) consacrai, nella cappella di Sisto, mons. Ottavio Mirto eletto di Caiazza, con l'assistenza dei vescovi Asafense e di Segna.*

Début (dimanche 1 ou 8) de mars. Abbaye de Carboni (diocèse d'Anglona).

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI (?),	44
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- asst. de ...(?)  
et de ...(?),  
sacre Francesco Antonio SANTORI arch. de Santa Severina,  
préconisé le 13 janv. 1573. 398  
p. 355 : *Nell'anno 1573, il signor cardinale Acquaviva in cambio del signor Carrafa, ch'era a Grottoferata a diporto, propose la chiesa di Santa Severina, alli 10 di genaro, di venerdì, per mio fratello, con la riservatione dell'indulto par me, non senza mia gran malinconia, professando io di non essere tirato della carne o del sangue per à miei. E interrogando il papa del canonicato ch'aveva in Napoli, io risposi che non era bisogno di ritenerlo. Egli poi s'invio alla sua chiesa verso il principio di marzo, accio fosse consecrato ivi, passando della mia abbazia di Carboni*<sup>12</sup>.
- 764 Vendredi 12 mars 1574 (St. Grégoire). Chapelle Sixtine.  
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
asst. de Joannes Baptista SANTORI év. d'Alife 104  
et de Joseph PAMFILI év. de Segni, 300  
sacre 1<sup>o</sup> Gaspar CENCI év. de Melfi 241  
et 2<sup>o</sup> (Dermittus O'CLIERA év. de Mayo) en Irlande. 232  
p. 357 : *Consacrai alla cappella di Sisto, a' 12 di marzo, monsignor di Cenci, eletto vescovo di Melfi, e un altro frate zocolante iberno, con l'assistenza di monsignor d'Alife e monsignor di Segna.*
- 765 (Vendredi 26 nov.) 1574. (église St. François ad ripam Tiberis, Rome)<sup>13</sup>.  
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
asst. de Joannes Andreas CRUCIUS év. de Tivoli 313  
et de Alphonsus BINARINI év. de Rieti, 283  
sacre Maximilianus DE PALOMBARA arch. de Bénévent. 132  
p. 357 : *A' 17 di luglio (1574) me ne passai a Tivoli per diporto, ove già haveva studiata in parte la causa Toletana, e vi stetti in sino a' 26 di novembre, non lasciando pero le mie solite fatighe degli studi. E consacrai ivi, nel-*

<sup>12</sup> Paulus Aemilius SANTORI Casertanus. — *Historia monasterii Carbonensis Ordinis Sancti Basilii*, Romae, 1961, 230 p.

<sup>13</sup> D'après F. UGHELLI, *Italia Sacra*, VIII, CLXXI.

*la chiesa di S. Francesco de' Zoccolanti, monsignor Massimiano di Palombara romano, eletto arcivescovo di Benevento per cessione del signor cardinal Savello, con l'assistenza di monsignor vescovo di Tivoli e monsignor Alfonso Binarini vescovo di Rieti, stando anco presente alla cerimonia monsignor arcivescovo di Sans (card. Pellevé), insieme Marc' Antonio Piccolomini canonico di S. Maria Maggiore. E poco appresso vi venne l'illustrissimo signor principe Ernesto di Baviera, cameriere d'honore di Sua Beatitudine, com'anco vi venne il signor cardinale di S. Croce.*

766 Début (dimanche 4 ou 11) de mars. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI <sup>14</sup> ,	44
asst. de Joannes Antonius FACCHINETTI anc. év. de Nicastro	256
et de Joannes PLACIDUS év. de Sessa Aurunca,	305
sacre Joannes Paulus MARINCOLA év. de Teano <sup>15</sup> .	311

*p. 358-359 : Venne di marzo mia madre in Roma, havendo presa habitazione vicino S. Biaso a Montecitorio, e con essa vennero molti miei amici, parenti e signori a vedermi, havendo messi al seminario de' padri gesuiti duo miei nepoti. E consacrai in S. Bartolomeo mio titolo, in presenza del signor cardinale Carrafa, mons. Gio. Paolo Marincola, eletto vescovo di Tiano, auditore già di esso Carrafa, et furono assistenti mons. Gio. Antonio Facchinetti vescovo di Nicastro et mons. vescovo di Sessa.*

767 Dimanche 2 sept. 1576. Chapelle Sixtine.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Gaspar VIVIANUS év. tit. de Sitia	301
et de Joannes Antonius FACCHINETTI anc. év. de Nicastro,	256
sacre Joannes Baptista SURIANUS, carme, év. de Bisceglie.	334

*p. 361 : Alli 2 di settembre (1576), di domenica, nella cappella di Sisto, consacrai il padre frà Gio. Batt. Suriano, napoletano, dell'ordine del Carmine, procuratore*

<sup>14</sup> En mai 1576 le cardinal SANTORI part à Lorette et autres pèlerinages.

<sup>15</sup> Giovanni Paulo MARINCOLA fut préconisé le 18 septembre 1575.



*generale e maestro in theologia, eletto vescovo di Bisceglia, con l'assistenza del vescovo di Scithia e di mons. Facchinetti vescovo di Nicastro.*

- 768 Dimanche 4 nov. 1576. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Cesar JACOMELLIS év. de Belcastro 130  
 et de Thomas GOLDWELL év. de Saint-Asaph 120  
 et de Gaspar VIVIANUS év. tit. de Sitia, 301  
 sacre 1<sup>o</sup> Joannes Baptista ANSALDUS év. de Cariati et Cerenza 202  
 et 2<sup>o</sup> Bernardinus GRANDOPULUS év. de Lettere. 227  
 p. 361-362 : *E io alli 21 d'ottobre, di domenica, comunicai tutta la famiglia mia, e anco gli altri, nel mio titolo di S. Bartolomeo, essendo intervenuto alla messa solenne, et resi gratie a Sua Santità del' elettione fatta in persona di mons. Gio. Batt. Ansaldi, di S. Miniato, nostro primo auditore e poi majordomo alla chiesa di Cariati e di Cerentia, vacata per morte di mons. Sebastiano Maffa (variante : Maffei). E poi di novembre, il giorno di tutti i santi, ordinai prete il detto mons. Ansaldi ; ed agli 4 di novembre, nel mio titolo di S. Bartolomeo, consacrai lui e don Bernardino (variante : Bernardo). Grandopolo, eletto vescovo di Lettre, assistendovi mons. Cesare Iacomelli vescovo di Belcastro, il vescovo Asafense e quel di Scithia.*
- 769 Dimanche 24 nov. 1577. N.-D.-de-Montserrat, Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Thomas GOLDWELL év. de Saint-Asaph 120  
 et de Gaspar VIVIANUS év. tit. de Sitia, 301  
 sacre Michael THOMASIVS (TAXAQUET) év. de Lérida. 212  
 p. 362-363 : *Alli 24 di novembre (1577), di domenica, nella chiesa della Madonna di Monserrato della nazione catalana, consacrai il detto Michel Tomasi eletto vescovo di Lerida, con l'assistenza di mons. Asafense e di Scithia, essendovi presente l'eccellentissimo signor don Gio. di Zuniga, ambasciatore del re Cattolico, con gran quantità di persone nobili della natione spagnola ed altre.*
- 770 (Dimanche 5 ou 12 juil. 1579 ; après préconisation du vendredi 3 juillet 1579). San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44

- asst. de Fabius MIRTHAEUS FRANGIPANI arch. tit. de Nazareth 254  
 et de Gaspar VIVIANUS év. tit. de Sitia, 301  
 sacre Marius BOLOGNINUS DI CAIAZZA arch. de Lanciano. 218  
 p. 365 : *E nel mio titolo di S. Bartolomeo consacrai mons. Mario Bolognino di Caiazza per arcivescovo di Lanciano, nipote di mons. Fabio Mirto archivescovo di Nazareth, che v'assiste col vescovo di Scithia.*
- 771 Mardi 8 déc. 1579. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Fabius MIRTHAEUS FRANGIPANI arch. tit. de Nazareth 254  
 et de Maximilianus DE PALOMBARA arch. de Bénévent 132  
 et de Joannes Baptista SANTORI év. d'Alife, 104  
 sacre Flaminus FILONARDI év. d'Aquino. 114  
 p. 365 : *E a' 8 di dicembre (1579), di martedì, giorno della concezione della beatissima Vergine, nel mio titolo, consacrai Flaminio Filonardi per il vescovato d'Aquino, mio familiare et segretario, ancorchè non avesse grado di dottorato, con l'assistenza dell'arcivescovo di Nazareth e di quel di Benevento, del vescovo di Alife, col maestro di ceremonie, suddiacono e accoliti apostolici.*
- 772 (Dimanche après préconisation : 17 avr. 1580). Chapelle Sixtine.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Paulus ODESCALCHUS anc. év. de Penne et Atri 271  
 et de Ludovicus TAVERNA év. de Lodi, 220  
 sacre Petrus DE ORSINIS év. tit. de Bona (Hippone), coadj. 211  
 de Spolète.  
 p. 367 : *Così anco nella cappella di Sisto in palazzo, consacrai mons. don Pietro Orsino vescovo di Bona e coadjutore del vescovato di Spoleto, con l'assistenza di mons. Odescalco già vescovo di Civita di Penna, e di monsignor Lodovico Taverna Vescovo di Lodi.*
- Dimanche 13 nov. 1580. San Silvestro in Monte Cavallo, Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Thomas GOLDWELL év. de Saint-Asaph 120  
 et de Philippus SPINOLA év. de Nola 260

- et de Paulus ODESCALCHUS anc. ev. de Penne et Atri, 271  
sacre 1° Hieronymus BENTIVOLIUS DI GUBBIO ev. de Montefiascone. 249  
et 2° Julius MONACHUS év. de Lucera in Puglia. 229  
p. 367-368 : *E a' 13 di novembre (1580), in San Silvestro in Monte Cavallo, consacrai il conte Geronimo Bentivoglio di Gubbio, eletto vescovo di Montefiascone, e mons. Giulio Monaco, napolitano, canonico lateranense per la chiesa di Lucera in Puglia, assistendovi il vescovo Assafense, quel di Nola, e mons. Odescalco, e Francesco Moncato (variante : Moscita) maestro di cerimonie, alle presenza delli signori cardinali Alessandrino e Carrafa, con altri prelati, signori e signore.*
- 774 Dimanche 17 juin 1582. San Biasio di Montecitorio, Rome.  
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
asst. de Joannes Baptista SANTORI év. d'Alife 104  
et de Augustinus QUINCTIUS DE SPALATO, O.P., év.  
de Kurzol 183  
et de Marcellus MAJORANA év. d'Acerra, 93  
sacre 1° Dominicus PETRUCIUS év. de Strongoli 305  
et 2° Nicolaus STRIDONIUS év. tit. de Mylopotamos. 244  
p. 151 : *Et alli 17, nella chiesa di S. Biaso di Montecitorio, consacrai Domenico Petrucci per il vescovato di Strongoli, e frà Nicolo Stridone, venetiano dell'ordine de' Crociferi, per la chiesa di Milopotamo in Candia, assistendovi il vescovo d'Alife, il vescovo di Corsola, e quello dell'Acerra.*
- 775 Dimanche 19 août 1582. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.  
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
asst. de Joannes Baptista SANTORI év. d'Alife 104  
et de Antonius (POLI) DE' MATHEIS év. de Boscina Argentina (= Bosnia Hungaria) 138  
et de Vincentius CULTELLUS év. de Catania, 159  
sacre Leonardus ABEL év. tit. de Sidon. 299  
p. 151 : *Alli 19 d'agosto, di domenica, nel mio titolo, consacrai Leonardo Abel, prete maltese, interprete e confessore per la lingua arabica, e suddiacono della cap-*

*pella apostolica, nostro familiare, per vescovo titolare di Sidonia in Finicia, con disegno di mandarsi in Soria e Oriente, alli patriarchi di quei paesi e agli vescovi orientali, con l'assistenza del vescovo d'Alife e di frà Antonio de' Matteis, vescovo di Boscina Argentina, e monsignor Vincenzo Cottello, vescovo di Catania.*

(cf. 96) Dimanche 13 janv. 1585. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Maximilianus DE PALOMBARA arch. de Bénévent	132
et de Flaminius FILONARDUS év. d'Aquino,	114
sacre Scipio GESUALDUS arch. de Conza.	175

p. 162-163 : *Consacrai, nel mio titolo di San Bartolomeo, con l'assistenza dell'arcivescovo di Benevento e del vescovo d'Aquino monsignor abbate Scipione Gesualdo, per la chiesa di Conza, essendovi anco intervenuto per honoranza monsignor Lelio Brancazzi (variante : Brancaccio), arcivescovo di Taranto.*

Dimanche 11 août 1585. Chapelle Sixtine.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Maximilianus DE PALOMBARA arch. de Bénévent	132
et de Annibal DE CAPUA arch. de Naples	255
et de Gulielmus LINDANUS év. de Ruremonde,	288
sacre Henricus GAETANUS patr. d'Alexandrie.	102

p. 168 : *Alli 11 d'agosto, di domenica, consacrai, nella cappella di Sisto, il signor abbate Henrico Caetano per il patriarchato d'Alessandria, dopo ch'hebbi lodato molto la sua persona et elettione a Sua Beatitudine, con l'assistenza degl'arcivescovi di Benevento e di Napoli e del vescovo di Rorimonda.*

778 (cf. 100) Samedi 21 sept. 1585. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, <sup>16</sup>	44
asst. de (Angelus Calepius CYPRIUS év. de Santorin) <sup>17</sup>	281

<sup>16</sup> Le Ms. *Armarius XIII*, 33 (dans *Sacris Erudiri*, XVIII, 1967-68, p. 142, sacre n° 100) attribue le sacre à J.B. SANTORI évêque d'Alife.

<sup>17</sup> L'*Autobiographie* du cardinal SANTORI ne donne pas le nom des assistants.

- et de (Marcus Antonius DEL TUFFO év. de San Marco), 255  
sacre Fabritius GALLO év. de Nola. 260  
p. 167 : *Consacrai in questi giorni* <sup>18</sup>, *l'abbate Fabri-*  
*tio Gallo, eletto vescovo di Nola, essendo stato d'accordo*  
*col cardinale Spinola che ce lo renuntio.*
- 779 (Dimanche 13 [?]) oct. 1585. Rome.  
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
asst. de ...  
et de ...,  
sacre Julius MASETTUS év. de Reggio Emilia <sup>19</sup>.  
p. 171 : *Consacrai dopo alcuni giorni, monsignore eletto*  
*vescovo di Reggio in Lombardia.*
- 780 (cf. 106) Dimanche 19 janv. 1586. Douze-Apôtres,  
Rome.  
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
asst. de Prosper REBIBA patr. de Constantinople 177  
et de Raphael BONELLUS arch. de Raguse, 281  
sacre Henricus CINUS év. d'Alife. 104  
p. 175 : *E volse Sua Santità ch'io consacrassi, per la*  
*chiesa d'Alife in S.S. Apostoli, frà Henrico Cino di Si-*  
*racusa de' Conventuali* (variante : *Minori Conventuali*),  
*che faceva professione d'astrologo et in Constantinopoli*  
*havea fatte molte stravaganze, etiam con celebrare in*  
*pontificalibus, assistendomi i monsignori Prospero Re-*  
*biba patriarcha di Constantinopoli, et Rafaele Bonello ar-*  
*civescovo di Ragusa, con altri preti e clerici.*
- 781 (Dimanche 30 mars [?]) 1586. Saint-Louis-des-Fran-  
çais, Rome.  
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
asst. de Philippus MOCENIUS arch. de Nicosia 258  
et de Joannes DONCELLUS, O. P., év. de Sorrento, 306  
sacre Joannes Baptista ALBANUS patr. tit. d'Alexandrie 102  
(préconisé le 24 mars 1586).

<sup>18</sup> Cet extrait est placé avant le mois d'août.

<sup>19</sup> Le sacre peut avoir eu lieu un des dimanches (13, 20, etc.) après que MASETTUS fut préconisé, le lundi 7 octobre 1585.

p. 174 : *Consacrai in S. Luigi de' Francesi, il novo patriarcha d'Alessandria, ch'era il figlio, ma legitimo, del signor cardinal Albano, con l'assistenza degl'arcivescovi di Nicosia e di Sorrento...*, (suite au n° 782).

(Dimanche [?] avr.) 1586. Saint-Jacques-des-Espagnols, Rome.

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Marcus Antonius MARSILIUS arch. de Salerne	289
et de Scipio DE TOLPHA arch. de Trani,	317
sacre Joseph STEFANUS év. de Viesti (Italie) <sup>20</sup> .	332

p. 174-175 : *...come poco appresso (voir au n° 781), consacrai, in S. Iacomo de' Spagnoli, Gioseppe Stefano, canonico di Ligovia (sic), eletto vescovo di Viesti, ad istanza del signor duca di Frias (variante : Feria) ambasciatore straordinario del re Cattolico, essendo venuto a dare l'obbedienza (e v'assisterono gl'arcivescovi di Salerno e di Trani) <sup>21</sup>, con essere intervenuti alle consecratione (variante : funtione) detto signor duca e detto signor conte d'Olivares con molti signori e baroni.*

(Dimanche 14 septembre) 1586. Rome (XII Apôtres).

Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Julius MASETTUS év. de Reggio Emilia	284
et de Octavianus PARAVICINUS év. d'Alessandria	102
sacre Hieronymus BERNIER év. d'Ascoli Picano (préconisé le 22 août 1586).	120

N.B. Les coconsécréteurs et la date du sacre sont établis d'après *Urbinate lat. 1054*, f. 447, 451.

p. 175-176 : *Consacrai, in S.S. Apostoli, frà Geronimo Bernerio (variante : Benerio), priore di Santa Sabina, per la chiesa d'Ascoli, che diceva ché havea devotione in me, e n'havea pregata Sua Beatitudine che me lo comandasse, come poi fece.*

(cf. 119) Dimanche 12 juil. 1587. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph STEFANUS fut préconisé le 17 mars 1586.

<sup>21</sup> Manque dans le Ms. B.

- Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Ladislaus DE AQUINO év. de Venafro 328  
 et de Leonardus ABEL év. tit. de Sidon, 299  
 sacre Bonaventura BELLEMUS év. d'Andros. 109  
 p. 180 : *Consacrai, nel mio titolo di San Bartolomeo, frà Bonaventura, frate di San Francesco, fatto vescovo d'Andri, con l'assistenza di mons. Ladislao d'Aquino vescovo di Venafro, e del vescovo di Sidonia.*
- 785 (Dimanche [?] mars/avr.)<sup>22</sup> 1588. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de ...  
 et de ...,  
 sacre Antonius DE MARCHIS év. de Santorin (préconisé le 16 mars 1588). 291  
 p. 182 : *In questi giorni (mars/avr. 1588) mi senti alquanto debole con in poco di febretta; e, rihavutomi, consacrai il vescovo di Santa Trina (sic)<sup>23</sup>... (suite au n° 786).*
- 786 (cf. 131) Lundi 25 avr. 1588. San Bartolomeo in Isola, Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Marius DE BELLOHOMO év. de Caserta 156  
 et de Petrus RIDOLFI DE TAUSIGNANO év. de Venosa, 330  
 sacre Camillus GALANDUS (GUALANNI) év. de Cesena. 144  
 (p. 182 : ... (voir au n° 785) *come anco nel mio titolo di San Bartolomeo, consacrai monsignor Gualanni (variante : Galeani, manque chez Gams) vescovo di Cesena, con l'assistenza delli vescovi di Caserta e di Venosa.*
- 787 Dimanche 21 avr. 1591. San Biasio in Montecitorio (clercs réguliers somasques), Rome.  
 Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI, 44  
 asst. de Leonardus ABEL év. tit. de Sidon 299

<sup>22</sup> Pâques était le 17 avril en 1588.

<sup>23</sup> Le texte de CUGNONI donne *Santa Trina*. Lecture difficile. De cette graphie il faut rapprocher la graphie apparentée *S. Erine* (pour *Santorin*) dans les 'Notes d'audience dudit cardinal SANTORI', analysées par John KRAJCAR S.I., *o.c.*, p. 191.

et de Petrus DE ORSINIS év. d'Aversa	126
et de Joannes Baptista SANTORI év. de Tricarico,	318
sacre Joannes Baptista CONSTANTIUS arch. de Cosenza (préconisé le 5 avr. 1591).	184
p. 198 : <i>Poco appresso, consacrai il signor Gio. Battista di Costanzo, per arcivescovo di Cosenza, ad instantia del signor cardinal Borromeo, in San Biaso a Monte Citorio, con l'assistenza delli vescovi di Sidonia, di Aversa (sic) e di Tricarico</i> <sup>24</sup> ... (suite au n° 788).	
(cf. 142) Lundi de Pentecôte 3 juin 1591. San Biasio in Montecitorio, Rome.	
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Flaminius FILONARDUS év. d'Aquino,	114
et de Leonardus ABEL év. tit. de Sidon,	299
sacre Scipio SPINA év. de Lecce.	225
p. 198 : <i>...com'anco, nell'istessa chiesa</i> (voir au n° 787), <i>consacrai Scipione Spina, mio familiare, vescovo di Lecce, con l'assistenza del vescovo d'Aquino e di quello di Sidonia...</i> (suite au n° 789).	
(cf. 147) Dimanche 11 août 1591. San Marcello, Rome.	
Giulio Antonio card. SANTORI,	44
asst. de Ludovicus DE TORRES arch. de Monreale, Sicile	250
et de Flaminius FILONARDUS év. d'Aquino	114
et de Leonardus ABEL év. tit. de Sidon,	299
sacre Neapolio COMITOLUS év. de Pérouse.	272
p. 198 <i>...(voir au n° 788), e in S. Marcello</i> (consacrai) <i>monsignor Napoleone Comitolo, auditore di Rota, gia familiare dal cardinal Carrafa (per la chiesa di Perugia)</i> <sup>25</sup> .	

\* \*

L'*Autobiographie* du cardinal SANTORI se termine, avec l'élection de Clément VIII le 30 janvier 1592, sur cette scène d'estime à l'endroit du cardinal : *Fu eletto il signor cardinale*

<sup>24</sup> Le Ms. *Vat.lat.12316*, f. 331<sup>v</sup>-332, donne pour assistants *Tricarico, Aversa, Sidon*.

<sup>25</sup> Manque dans le Ms. *B*.



*Aldobrandino, sommo penitentiere, chiamato Clemente octavo. ... Non volse il papa partire (variante : uscire) di cella, se non v'arrivavo io, havendomi abbracciato con molto affetto e con qualche riverenza et pietà del caso occorso (fin : p. 205).*

## III

LISTE COMPLÉMENTAIRE DE SACRES ÉPISCOPAUX  
CONFÉRÉS À ROME DE 1566 À 1602

(790-815)

- 790 Dimanche 5 mai 1566. Sainte-Sabine, Rome.  
 Hieronymus GALIMBERTUS anc. év. de Gallese <sup>26</sup>, 200  
 asst. de Hippolytus ARRIVABENE év. de Hierapetra  
 (Crète) 209  
 et de Vincentius LAUREUS év. de Mondovi, 250  
 sacre Gabriel DE ALEXANDRIS, O.P., év. de Gallese (pré-  
 conisé le 26 avr. 1566). 200  
 (Vat. lat. 12312, f. 273-274 ; Vat. lat. 12283, f. 86<sup>v</sup>).
- 791 Dimanche 9 fév. 1567. Chapelle Sixtine.  
 Aegidius VALENTI év. de Sutri et Nepi, sacriste de S.S., 306  
 asst. de Hippolytus ARRIVABENE év. de Hierapetra (Crète) 209  
 et de Adrianus FUSCONIUS év. d'Aquino, 114  
 sacre 1<sup>o</sup> Matthaeus GUERRA év. de Fondi (préconisé le  
 24 janv. 1567) 200  
 2<sup>o</sup> Hieronymus DE LEONIBUS év. de Sagone (Corse)  
 (préconisé le 24 janv. 1567).  
 (Vat. lat. 12312, f. 450<sup>v</sup>).
- 792 Lundi 24 fév. 1567. Rome (Chapelle sixtine).  
 Marcus Antonius DE MAFFEIS arch. de Chieti, 311  
 asst. de Antonius FLOREBELLUS év. de Lavello 221  
 et de Aegidius VALENTI év. de Sutri et Nepi, 306  
 sacre Paulus DE UBERTIS, O.P., év. de Venosa (préconisé  
 le 17 fév. 1567). 330  
 (Vat. lat. 12312, f. 476<sup>v</sup> ; Vat. lat. 12283, f. 161).

<sup>26</sup> La HC, III, 200 note que Hieronymus GALIMBERTUS est mort le 29 novembre 1565. Voir cependant sacres n° 14 et 72.

Dimanche 23 nov. 1572. Saint-Louis-des-Français,  
Rome.

Nicolas card. PELLEVÉ arc. de Sens, 44,298  
asst. de ...  
et de ...,  
sacre Arnaud DE PONTAC év. de Bazas (préconisé le 19  
nov. 1572). 327  
(TAMIZEY DE LARROQUE, *Arnauld de Pontac*, Bordeaux,  
1883).

Dimanche 6 juil. 1586. (Chapelle Sixtine).

Scipio GONZAGA A BOZZOLO patr. de Jérusalem, 210  
asst. de Julius MASETTUS év. de Reggio d'Émilie 284  
et de (Claudius BORGESIIUS) év. de Grossetto <sup>27</sup>, 206  
sacre Sebastianus BREUNING év. tit. d'Adramyttus (aux.  
d'Augsbourg ; preconisé le 23 juin 1586). 95  
(*Vat. lat. 1054*, f. 314).

N.B. Ce jour-là, deuxième sacre en la chapelle Sixtine  
(6 juillet 1586) cf. sacre n° 111.

795 Dimanche 27 sept. 1587. Saint-Louis-des-Français,  
Rome.

François card. DE JOYEUSE arch. de Narbonne, 253  
asst. de Joannes Baptista ALBANUS part. tit. d'Alexandrie 102  
et de Joannes Evangelista PALLOTTUS év. de Cosenza, 184  
sacre Pierre DE DONNAUD, O.S.B., év. de Mirepoix (France)  
(préconisé le 11 sept. 1587). 246  
(F. ROBERT, *Histoire des évêques de Mirepoix*, dans *Bulletin historique des diocèses de Pamirs, Couserans et Mirepoix*, 1913, p. 117).

796 Mardi 2 avr. 1591. Religieuses dominicaines Magnanapoli, Rome.

Hieronymus card. BERNIER, O.P., év. d'Ascoli Piceno, 51, 120  
asst. de Vincentius CASALIUS év. de Massa Maritima 237  
et de Vincentius BONARDUS év. de Gerace (Italie), 209  
sacre Michel card. BONELLI, neveu de Pie V, év. d'Albano  
(préconisé le 20 mars 1591). 43, 56  
(*Arch. Caer.* 449, f. 213-214 ; *Vat. lat.* 12294, f. 147).

<sup>27</sup> Grossetto est barré dans le Ms.

## 797 Dimanche 2 fév. 1592. Chapelle Sixtine.

Alphonsus card. GESUALDUS év. d'Ostie, 38, 56  
 asst. de Ptolomaeus card. GALLI év. de Tusculanum 40, 59  
 et de Gabriel card. PALEOTTUS év. de Sabine, 41-42, 58  
 sacre Hippolytus card. AEDOBANDINI, pape CLÉMENT  
 VIII (élu le 30 janv. 1592). iv, 3  
 (*Arch. Caer.* 449, f. 293-298; *Vat. lat.* 12294, f. 198<sup>v</sup>-199<sup>v</sup>).

Mardi 25 fév. 1592 (St. Mathias). Saint-Pierre-aux-  
 liens, Rome.

Alexander card. DE MEDICIS arch. de Florence, iii, 46, 197  
 asst. de Dominique GRIMALDI arch. d'Avignon 127  
 et de Ludovicus DE TORRES arch. de Monreale (Sicile), 250  
 sacre Jean François BORDINI év. de Cavaillon (France)  
 (préconisé le 17 fév. 1592). 161  
 (*Vat. lat.* 12291, f. 19<sup>v</sup>-20).

Jeudi 12 mars 1592. Chapelle privée du card. consécra-  
 teur, Rome.

Joannes Franciscus card. MOROSINI év. de Brescia, 52, 140  
 asst. de Joannes Franciscus GERINUS év. de Bagnorea 128  
 et de Antonius Maria GRAZIANUS év. d'Amelia (Italie), 106  
 sacre Roberto PIERBENEDETTI év. de Nocera Umbra (Ita-  
 lie) (préconisé le 4 mars 1592). iv, 262  
 (*Vat. lat.* 12291, f. 23).

Mardi 22 déc. 1592. Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome.

Alexander card. DE MEDICIS arch. de Florence, iii, 46, 197  
 asst. de ...<sup>28</sup>  
 et de ...  
 et de ...  
 et de ...,  
 sacre 1<sup>o</sup> Lucius SANSEVERINÓ arch. de Rossano (préco-  
 nisé le 2 déc. 1592) iv, 297  
 et 2<sup>o</sup> Franciscus Maria TARUGI arch. d'Avignon (pré-  
 conisé le 9 déc. 1592). 105  
 (*Vat. lat.* 12317, f. 397; *Vat. lat.* 12291, f. 123).

<sup>28</sup> Quatre évêques non identifiés : deux pour chacun des sacrés  
 (protestation du cérémoniaire pontifical). Voir *Ami du Clergé*,  
 1966, p. 175-176.

Dimanche 6 fév. 1594. Saint-Sylvestre au Quirinal, Rome.

Alphonsus card. GESUALDUS év. d'Ostie,	36
asst. de Scipio DE TOLFA arch. d'Acerenza et Matera	67
et de Octavius ABBIOSUS év. de Pistoia,	III, 275
sacre Benedictus MANDINA, théatin, év. de Caserta (pré-	
conisé le 31 janv. 1594).	IV, 138
( <i>Vat. lat. 12318</i> , f. 14 <sup>v</sup> -15).	

802 Samedi 2 avr. 1594. Trinité des Monts au Pincio, Rome.

François card. DE JOYEUSE arch. de Toulouse,	47, 315
asst. de Guillaume d'AVANCON arch. d'Embrun	190
et de Sylvie DE SAINTECROIX arch. d'Arles,	116
sacre Honoré DE LASCARIS, O.C.S. Aug., év. d'Aoste (pré-	
conisé le 23 mars 1594).	IV, 100
( <i>Vat. lat. 12318</i> , f. 66 <sup>v</sup> ).	

Mardi de Pentecôte 16 mai 1595. Saint-Sylvestre au Quirinal, Rome.

Marianus card. PIERBENEDETTI,	III, 53
asst. de Melchior PELLETTA év. tit. de Chrysopolis	167
et de Fabritius PERUGINI év. de Terracina,	310
sacre Bartolomaeus FERRERIO év. d'Aoste (préconisé le	
5 mai 1595).	IV, 100
(Amedeo FRUTAZ, <i>Le Fonte... per la storia della Valle</i>	
<i>d'Aosta</i> , p. 316).	

804 Dimanche 11 juin 1595. Sainte-Marie-des-Anges (in Thermis), Rome.

Le pape CLÉMENT VIII,	3-4
asst. de Odoardus card. FARNESE	III, 54
et de Cinthius card. ALDOBRANDINI,	IV, 4
sacre Federicus BORROMAEUS arch. de Milan (préconisé	
le 24 avr. 1595).	237
( <i>Vat. lat. 12294</i> , f. 339 <sup>v</sup> -341; <i>Vat. lat. 12291</i> , f. 269 <sup>v</sup> -270 ;	
<i>Vat. lat. 12318</i> , f. 216 <sup>v</sup> -219 <sup>v</sup> ).	

Dimanche 11 juin 1595. N.D.-de-Montserrat, Rome.

Alphonsus PISANUS arch. de Santa Severina,	III, 298
asst. de Leonardus ABEL év. tit. de Sidon	299
et de Christiphorus SENMANAT Y ROBUSTER anc. év.	
d'Orihuela,	263

- sacre Joannes LOPEZ, O.P., év. de Cotrone (Italie) (préconisé le 5 juin 1595). iv, 166  
*(Vat. lat. 12291, f. 270<sup>v</sup>-271).*
- 806 Dimanche 27 octobre 1596, Saint-Marc, Rome.  
 Augustinus card. VALIER, év. de Vérone, III, 47, 331  
 asst. de Guillaume d'AVANCON, arch. d'Embrun 190  
 et de Joannes Franciscus GERINI, év. de Bagnorea 128  
 sacre Arnaud d'OSSAT, év. de Rennes (France) préconisé le 9 sept. 1596 ; card. le 3 mars 1599 ; mort à Rome 14 mai 1604. iv, 293  
*(Urbinate lat. 1064, f. 107 recto).*
- 807 Dimanche 1 août 1599. Saint-Louis-des-Français, Rome.  
 François card. DE JOYEUSE arch. de Toulouse, III, 47, 315  
 asst. de ...  
 et de ...,  
 sacre François DE DONADIEU év. d'Auxerre (préconisé le 4 juin 1599). iv, 87
- 808 Mercredi 8 sept. 1599. Sainte-Marie-des-Anges (in Thermis), Rome.  
 Le pape CLÉMENT VIII, 3-4  
 asst. de Camillus card. BORGHESE anc. év. d'Iesi 5, 71  
 et de Bonifatius card. BEVILACQUA, 5  
 sacre Franciscus card. DIETRISTHEIN év. d'Olmütz (préconisé le 1 sept. 1599). 264  
*(Vat. lat. 12319, f. 3<sup>v</sup>-6 ; Vat. lat. 12295, f. 5<sup>v</sup>-6 ; Arch. Caer. 450, f. 670 ; Urbinate lat. 1067, f. 580r.)*
- 809 Dimanche 10 oct. 1599. Sainte-Marie-des-Anges (in Thermis), Rome.  
 Le pape CLÉMENT VIII, 3-4  
 asst. de Camillus card. BORGHESE anc. év. d'Iesi 5, 71  
 et de Alphonsus card. VISCONTI év. de Cervia, 6, 146  
 sacre Ferdinandus card. NINO DE GUEVARA év. tit. de Philippes (préconisé le 27 sept. 1599). 279  
*(Vat. lat. 12319, f. 7<sup>v</sup>-9 ; Vat. lat. 12295, f. 8<sup>v</sup>-9 ; Arch. Caer. 450, f. 674).*
- 810 Dimanche 18 juin 1600. Basilique Saint-Pierre, Rome.  
 Le pape CLÉMENT VIII, 3-4

- asst. de Dominicus card. PINELLUS anc. év. de Fermo  
 III, 51, 197  
 et de Camillus card. BORGHESE anc. év. d'Iesi, IV, 3  
 sacre Petrus card. DE DEZA, év. d'Albano (préconisé le  
 24 avr. 1600. — Mort le 26 août 1600). III, 46 ; IV, 36  
 (*Vat. lat. 12295*, f. 58<sup>v</sup> ; *Vat. lat. 12319*, f. 83-84 ; *Urb. lat. 1068*, f. 369 ; *Arch. Caer. 451*, f. 41-42).
811. Dimanche 27 mai 1601. Saint-Jean-de-Latran, Rome.  
 Le pape CLÉMENT VIII, IV, 3-4  
 asst. de Camillus card. BORGHESE anc. év. d'Iesi 5, 71  
 et de Dominicus card. TOSCHI év. de Tivoli, 6, 337  
 sacre Paulus Emilius card. ZACCHIA év. de Montefiascone  
 (préconisé le 14 mai 1601. — Mort le 31 mai 1605).  
 20, 247  
 (*Vat. lat. 12295*, f. 133 ; *Vat. lat. 12319*, f. 196<sup>v</sup>-198<sup>v</sup> ;  
*Arch. Caer. 451*, f. 130-131).
812. Dimanche 28 oct. 1601. Saint-Sylvestre au Quirinal,  
 Rome.  
 Le pape CLÉMENT VIII, 3-4  
 asst. de Camillus CAETANI patr. tit. d'Alexandrie  
 III 102 ; IV, 76  
 et de Fabius BLONDUS patr. tit. de Jérusalem, III, 210  
 sacre Matthaeus ZANE patr. de Venise (préconisé le 27  
 août 1601 —)<sup>29</sup>. IV, 362  
 (*Vat. lat. 12295*, f. 145-147<sup>v</sup> ; *Vat. lat. 12319*, f. 213<sup>v</sup>-216<sup>v</sup> ;  
*Arch. Caer. 451*, f. 145-146 ; *Urbinate lat. 1069*, f. 657).
813. Dimanche 25 novembre 1601. Saint-Louis des Fran-  
 çais, Rome. Arnaud card. d'OSSAT, év. de Bayeux  
 (France), IV, 107  
 asst. de Joseph FERRERI, arch. d'Urbino (Italie) 353  
 et de Jérôme CENTELLES, év. de Cavaillon (France), 143  
 sacre Antoine ROSE év. de Senlis (France), préconisé  
 le 12 novembre 1601. 316  
 (*Urbinate lat. 1069*, f. 751 r.).
814. Dimanche 21 avr. 1602. Chapelle Sixtine.  
 Le pape CLÉMENT VIII, 3-4

<sup>29</sup> La HC. IV, 76 dit CAETANI mort le 13 décembre 1599.

- asst. de Camillus card. BORGHESE anc. év. d'Iesi 5, 71  
 et de Alphonsus card. VISCONTI év. de Spolète, 6, 321  
 sacre 1<sup>o</sup> Robert BELLARMINO arch. de Capoue (préconisé  
 le 18 mars 1602) 133  
 et 2<sup>o</sup> Bonvisus card. BONVISI arch. de Bari (préconisé  
 le 18 mars 1602). 110  
 (*Vat. lat. 12295*, f. 170<sup>v</sup>-171 ; *Vat. lat. 12319*, f. 251-258 ;  
*Arch. Caer. 451*, f. 177<sup>v</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>).
- 815 Lundi 24 juin 1602. Saint-Louis-des-Français, Rome.  
 Armand card. D'OSSAT év. de Bayeux, 6, 107  
 asst. de Joseph FERRERI arch. d'Urbino 353  
 et de Jérôme CENTELLES év. de Cavaillon, 143  
 sacre 1<sup>o</sup> François LARCHIVER év. de Rennes (préconisé le  
 17 juin 1602) 293  
 et 2<sup>o</sup> Salvat DIHARSE év. de Tarbes (préconisé le 3  
 juin 1602). 326  
 (*Urb. lat. 1070*, f. 371<sup>v</sup> et 394<sup>v</sup>).

## IV

LISTE SUPPLÉMENTAIRE DES SACRES ÉPISCOPAUX  
 À ROME DE 1567 À 1602

(816-834)

- 816 Samedi, St. Luc, 18 octobre 1567. Rome (Chapelle  
 Sixtine).  
 Bernardinus DE CRUCE, ancien évêque de Como, III, 182  
 asst. d'Antonius HELIUS, patr. de Jérusalem 210  
 et Adrianus FUSCONIUS év. d'Aquino, 114  
 sacre Joannes Marius ALEXANDRI év. d'Oppido (pré-  
 conisé le 19 sept. 1567). 263  
 (*Vat. lat. 12283*, f. 199 ; *Vat. lat. 12312*, f. 576-577)
- 817 Samedi 28 août 1568. Rome.  
 Otto TRUCHSESS card. év. d'Augsbourg, 29, 122  
 sacre Franciscus BOSIUS év. de Gravina (préconisé le  
 2 août 1568). 205  
 (*Vat. lat. 12312*, f. 711 v.).

- 818 Mardi, St. Mathias, 24 février 1587. Rome (San Marco).  
 Augustin card. VALIER év. de Vérone, 47, 331  
 asst. de Scipion GONZAGA patr. de Jérusalem 210  
 et de Julius MASETTI év. de Reggio Emilia, 284  
 sacre Fulvio TEOFILI év. de Forli (préconisé le 7 jan-  
 vier 1587). 198  
*(Urbinate lat. 1055, f. 70 r.)*.

- Dimanche 12 juillet 1587. Rome (Saint Pierre in Montorio).  
 Hieronymus BERNIER card. év. d'Ascoli-Piceno, 51, 120  
 asst. de Joannes Baptista ALBANUS patr. d'Alexandrie 102  
 et Augustinus QUINCTIUS DE SPALATO év. de Kurzol, 183  
 sacre Constantius card. DE SARNANO 51, 68  
*(Urbinate lat. 1055, f. 294 v. : Avisi di Roma du 15 juillet 1587)*.

- 820 Dimanche 17 janvier 1588. Rome (Sainte Marie majeure).  
 Scipio card. GONZAGA junior, 52  
 asst. Joannes Baptista ALBANUS patr. d'Alexandrie 102  
 et Hieronymus BEVILACQUA év. tit. de Nazareth, 254  
 sacre Fabius BLONDUS DE MONTEALTO patr. de Jérusalem (préconisé 8 janvier 1588). 210  
*(Urbinate lat. 1056, f. 32)*.

- Dimanche 17 juillet 1588. Rome (Trinité des Monts).  
 François cardinal DE JOYEUSE év. de Narbonne, 47, 253  
 asst. de Marius Antonius MARSILIUS arch. de Salerno 289  
 et de Augustinus QUINCTIUS DE SPALATO év. de Kurzol, 183  
 sacre Pierre LE SAULNIER év. d'Atton = Autun (préconisé le 4 juillet 1588). 96  
*(Urbinate lat. 1056, f. 341 r.)*.

N.B. Le texte (lecture difficile) de arch. de *Sauernano* ne donne pas un titre épiscopal. Cette graphie évoque *Salerno*. Ledit arch. de Salerno participe à Rome aux sacres du 18 novembre 1586 et du 28 août 1588. Sacres 115 et 132.

Dimanche in Albis 31 avril 1591. Rome : quatre sacres.

- 823 Après avoir fourni les données du sacre 787 (arch. de Cosenza sacré par le card. Santorio) dans *Vat.lat.*



12316, f. 331-332, le cérémoniaire consigne dans son journal : *Consecrationes accesserunt nam hac ipsa die* (31 avril 1591) *ut mihi relatum est. Rmus D.card. Scipio GONZAÇA* (HC, III, p. 52) *duos episcopos consecravit, et alios duos consecravit Rmus D.card. de Camerino* (id est Marianus PIERBENEDETTI, HC, III, p. 53).

Mardi 25 février 1592. Rome (San Marco).

Sacre de François SADOLET év. tit. de Nicomédie, coadjuteur de Jacques SACRATI évêque de Carpentras † 1 janvier 1593.

(*Vatican lat. 12317*, f. 103 « Nescio a quo vel quibus praesentibus »).

N.B. Dans les sources manuscrites romaines ce sacre se présente dans une confusion qui a été soulignée, notamment dans *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, (1967) t. LIII, p. 88-91.

Voir, en ce 25 février 1592, le sacre de BORDINI évêque de Cavaillon n° 798.

Mardi 25 février 1592. Rome (Chapelle Sixtine).

Antonius cardinal SAULI, ancien arch. à Gênes, 52

sacre Antonius Maria GRAZIANI év. d'Amelia (préconisé le 17 février 1592). 81

(*Vat. lat. 12317*, f. 102-103).

826 Dimanche de la Passion, 31 mars 1596. Rome (sacristie du Pape).

Octavianus PARAVICINUS, cardinal (Pallavicinus), 54

sacre Eugenius SAVINI év. de Telese (préconisé le 27 mars 1596). iv, 333

(*Urbinate lat. 1064*, f. 204).

827 Vendredi 3 mai 1596. Rome (Saint Pierre).

Antonius card. SAULI ancien arch. de Gênes, III, 52

sacre Matthias RIVAROLA archev. de Gênes (préconisé le 29 avril 1596). iv, 201

(*Urbinate lat. 1064*).

Dimanche 25 août 1596. Rome.

Silvius cardinal SAVELLI (card. 5 juin 1596) ancien patr. de CP, iv, 4

sacre Hercules TASSONI patriarche de C.P. (préconisé  
29 juillet 1596). 162  
(*Urbinate lat. 1064, f. 537 r.*).

829 Lundi 28 octobre 1596. Rome (Saint Jean des Florentins).

Octavius card. BANDINI arch. de Fermo, iv, 4, 188  
sacre Horace CAPPONI év. de Carpentras (préconisé le  
23 septembre 1596). iv, 136  
(*Urbinate lat. 1064, f. 707 r.*).

830 Mardi Pentecôte 27 mai 1597. Rome (Chapelle Sixtine).

Le pape CLÉMENT VIII,  
assisté des cardinaux Silvius SAVELLI 4  
Cinthius ALDOBRANDINI card. St. Georges 4  
Bartholomeus CESI 5  
sacre card. Camillus BORGHESE év. de Iesi (préconisé  
le 14 avril 1597). 5, 71  
(*Urbinate lat. 1065, f. 314 r.*).

Vendredi, St. Grégoire, 12 mars 1599. Rome (Saint-Pierre).

Card. de Camerino, Marianus PIERBENEDETTI,  
assisté du Vice gérant et d'altri Prelati  
sacre « un des nouveaux évêques français du dernier  
consistoire ».

N.B. Au Consistoire du 10 mars 1599, on trouve deux  
évêques de France : Paul HURAUT, arch. d'Aix en Pro-  
vence (*HC, iv, 89*) et Raymond SOUCHON, évêque de  
Saint-Flour (*HC, iv, 189*).  
(*Urbinate lat. 1067, f. 159 r.*).

Dimanche 14 mars 1599. Rome (église St. François ;  
Mineurs Observants).

Alexander card. DE MEDICIS, arch. de Florence iii, 197  
asst. Fabius BLONDUS patriarche de Jérusalem iii, 210  
et Dominicus BOLANUS év. de Canée iii, 98 et iv, 72  
sacre Bonaventure SECUSIUS, ministre général des Ob-  
servants, patr. de CP. (préconisé 10 mars 1599).  
iv, 162

(*Urbinate lat. 1067, f. 170 v.*).

- 833 Dimanche 28 avril 1602. Rome (XII Apôtres).  
 Alphonsus card. VISCONTI arch. de Spolète iv, 6, 321  
 sacre Philippus GESUALDI, ministre général des Conventuels, év. de Cariati (préconisé 15 avril 1602). iv, 135  
 (*Urbinate lat. 1070*, f. 272 : *Avisi* du 1 mai 1602).
- 834 Dimanche 21 juillet 1602. Rome (St. Jean de Latran).  
 Le pape CLÉMENT VIII,  
 asst. des cardinaux Hieronymus BERNIER év. d'Ascoli  
 Piceno iii, 51, 120  
 et Camillus BORGHESE év. de Iesi, iv, 71  
 sacre Simon card. DE TAGLIAVIA év. d'Albano iii, 47  
 (*Urbinate lat. 1070*, f. 423 et 488 ; *Vat. lat. 12293*,  
 f. 180-182).

## V

INDEX DES CONSÉCRATEURS <sup>30</sup>

ABBIOUS Octavius	c. 801.
ABEL Leonardus	b. 787. 805.
	c. 784. 788. 789.
ALBANUS Joannes Baptista	b. 795. 819. 820.
ALDOBRANDINI Cinthius, card.	c. 804. 830.
AQUINO Ladislaus	b. 784.
ARRIVABENE Hippolytus	b. 790. 791.
AVANCON Guillaume d'—	b. 802. 806.
BANDINI Octavius, card.	a. 829.
BELLOHOMO Marius DE —	b. 786.
BERNIER Hieronymus	a. 796. 819.
	b. 834.
BEVILACQUA Bonifatius, card.	c. 808.

<sup>30</sup> Après le nom des évêques, suivent les matricules des sacres  
 a. où l'évêque fut le consacrant ;  
 b. où il fut premier coconsécrateur ;  
 c. où il fut second coconsécrateur.

BEVILACQUA Hieronymus	c. 820.
BINARINI Alphonsus	c. 765.
BLONDUS Fabius	b. 832.
	c. 812.
BOLANUS Dominicus	c. 832.
BONARDUS Vincentius	c. 796.
BONELLUS Raphael	c. 780.
BORGHESE Camillus, card.	b. 808. 809. 811. 814.
	c. 810. 834.
BORGHESE Claudius	c. 794.
CAETANI Camillus	b. 812.
CAMPANILIS Joannes Augustinus	b. 759.
CAPUA Annibal	c. 777.
CARACCIOLI Annibal	b. 755.
CASALIUS Vincentius	b. 796.
CENTELLES Jérôme	c. 813. 815.
CESI Bartholomeus card.	c. 830.
CLÉMENT VIII, pape	a. 804. 808. 809. 810.
	811. 812. 814.
CRUCE Bernardinus DE	a. 816.
CRUCIUS Joannes Andreas	b. 765.
CULTELLUS Vincentius	c. 775.
CYPRIUS Angelus	b. 778.
DONCELLIUS Joannes	c. 781.
FACHINETTI Joannes Antonius	b. 766.
	c. 767.
FARNESE Odoardus, card.	b. 804.
FERRANTIUS Caesar	c. 760.
FERRERI Joseph	b. 813. 815.
FILONARDUS Flaminius	b. 788.
	c. 776. 789.
FLOREBELLUS Antonius	b. 792.
FUSCONIUS Adrianus	c. 791.
GALIMBERTUS Hieronymus	a. 790.
GALLI Ptolomaeus, card.	b. 797.
GERINUS Joannes Franciscus	b. 799.
GESUALDUS Alphonsus, card.	a. 797. 801.
GOLDWELL Thomas	b. 756. 761. 762. 768.
	769. 773.
GONZAGA A BOZZOLO Scipio	a. 794. 820. 822.

	b. 818.
GRAZIANUS Antonius Maria	c. 799.
GRIMALDI Dominique	b. 798.
HELIUS Antonius	b. 816.
JACOMELLIS Caesar	b. 768.
	c. 755.
JOYEUSE François, card. DE —	a. 795. 802. 807. 821.
LAUREUS Vincentius	c. 790.
LINDANUS Gulielmus	c. 777.
LOCATUS Humbertus	b. 760.
	c. 759.
MAFFEIS Marcus Antonius DE —	a. 792.
MAJORANA Marcellus	c. 774.
MARSILIUS Marcus Antonius	b. 782. 821.
MASETTUS Julius	b. 783. 794.
	c. 818.
MEDICIS Alexander, card. DE —	a. 798. 800. 832.
MIRTAËUS FRANGIPANI Fabius	b. 770. 771.
MOENIUS Philippus	b. 781.
MOROSINI Joannes Franciscus, card.	a. 799.
ODESCALCHUS Paulus	b. 772.
	c. 773.
ORSINIS Arnauld, card. DE —	c. 787.
OSSAT Arnaud, card. D'—	a. 813. 815.
PALEOTTUS Gabriel, card.	c. 797.
PALEOTTUS Joannes Evangelista	c. 795.
PALOMBARA Maximilianus DE —	b. 776. 777.
	c. 771.
PAMFILI Joseph	c. 761. 762. 764.
PARAVICINUS Octavianus, card.	a. 826.
	c. 783.
PELLETTA Melchior	b. 803.
PELLEVÉ Nicolas, card.	a. 793.
PERETTI Felix	c. 758.
PERUGINI Fabritius	c. 803.
PIERBENEDETTI Marianus	a. 803. 823. 831.
PINELLUS Dominicus, card.	b. 810.
PISANUS Alphonsus	a. 805.
PLACIDUS Joannes	c. 766.
POLI DE'MATHEIS Antonius	c. 775.

QUINCTIUS DE SPALATO Augustinus	c. 774. 819. 821.
REBIBA Prosper	b. 780.
REBIBA Scipio, card.	a. 755.
REGARDUS Galesius	b. 758.
	c. 757.
RIDOLFI Petrus	c. 786.
SAINTECROIX Sylvie DE —	c. 802.
SANTORI Joannes Baptista	b. 764. 774. 775.
	c. 771. 787.
SANTORI Julius Antonius, card.	a. 756 à 789.
SAULI Antonius card.	a. 825. 827.
SAVELLI Silvius card.	a. 828.
	b. 830.
SAVORGNANUS Hieronymus	b. 757.
SENMANAT Y ROBUSTER Christophorus	c. 805.
SPINOLA Hippolytus	c. 773.
TAVERNA Ludovicus	c. 772.
TOLFA Scipio de	b. 801.
TOLPHA Scipio DE —	c. 782.
TORRES Ludovicus DE —	b. 789.
	c. 798.
TOSCHI Dominicus, card.	c. 811.
TRUCHSESS Otto card.	a. 817.
TUFFO Marcus Antonius DEL —	c. 778.
VALENTI Aegidius	a. 791.
	c. 756. 792.
VALIER Augustinus, card.	a. 806. 818.
VISCONTI Alphonsus, card.	c. 809. 814. 833.
VIVIANUS Gaspar	b. 767.
	c. 768. 769. 770.

## VI

LISTE DES ÉVÊQUES CONSACRÉS <sup>31</sup>

ABEL Leonardus, év. tit. de Sidon, 19 août 1582	775
ALBANUS Joannes Baptista, patr. tit. d'Alexandrie, 30 mars 1586	781
ALDOBRANDINI Hippolytus ; CLÉMENT VIII, pape, 2 fév. 1592	797

<sup>31</sup> Après les nom et prénom, suivent les indications du siège, de la date du sacre, et la matricule du sacre.

ALEXANDRI Joannes Marius, év. d'Oppido, 18 oct. 1567	816
ALEXANDRIS Gabriel DE —, év. de Gallese, 5 mai 1566	790
ANSALDUS Joannes Baptista, év. de Cariati, 4 nov. 1576	768
BELLARMINO Robert, arch. de Capoue, 21 avr. 1602	814
BELLEMUS Bonaventura, év. d'Andros, 12 juil. 1587	784
BENTIVOLIUS DE GUBBIO Hieronymus, év. de Montefiascone, 13 nov. 1580	773
BERNIER Hieronymus, év. d'Ascoli Piceno, 24 août 1586	783
BLANCA Archangelus, O.P., év. de Teano, 21 sept. 1566 (note 3)	19
BLONDUS Fabius, patr. de Jérusalem, 17 janv. 1588	820
BOLOGNINUS DI CAIAZZA Marius, arch. de Lanciano, .. juil. 1579	770
BONELLI Michel, card. év. d'Albano, 2 avril 1591	796
BONVISI Bonvisus card., arch. de Bari, 21 avr. 1602	814
BORDINI Jean François, év. de Cavaillon, 25 fév. 1592	798
BORGHESE card. Camillus, év. de Iesi, 27 mai 1597	830
BORROMAEUS Federicus, arch. de Milan, 11 juin 1595	804
BOSIUS Franciscus, év. de Gravina, 28 août 1568	817
BRUNING Sebastianus, év. tit. d'Adramyttus, 6 juil. 1586	794
CAMPANILIS Joannes Augustinus, év. de Minori, 30 août 1567	756
CAPPONI Horace, év. de Carpentras, 28 oct. 1596	829
CENCI Gaspar, év. de Melfi, 12 mars 1574	764
CINUS Henricus, év. d'Alife, 19 janv. 1586	780
COMITOLUS Neapolio, év. de Pérouse, 11 août 1591	789
CONSTANTIUS Joannes Baptista, arch. de Cosenza, 21 avr. 1591	787
DEZA Petrus card., év. d'Albano, 18 juin 1600	810
DIETRISTHEIN Franciscus card., év. d'Olmütz, 8 sept. 1599	808
DIHARSE Salvat, év. de Tarbes, 24 juin 1602	815
DONADIEU François DE —, év. d'Auxerre, 1 août 1599	807
DONNAUD Pierre DE —, év. de Mirepoix, 27 sept. 1587	795
FERRERIO Bartolomaeus, év. d'Aoste, 16 mai 1595	777
FILONARDI Flaminius, év. d'Aquino, 8 déc. 1579	771
FORBICINI Gregorius, év. de Strongoli, 27 janv. 1572	761
FORTIBRACCIA Serafinus, arch. de Nemosia, 13 fév. 1569	759
GAETANUS Henricus, patr. tit. d'Alexandrie, 11 août 1585	777
GALANDUS Camillus, év. de Cesana, 25 avr. 1588	786
GALLO Fabritius, év. de Nola, 21 sept. 1585	778
GESUALDI Philippus, év. de Cariati, 28 avril 1602	833
GESUALDUS Scipio, arch. de Conza, 13 janv. 1585	776
GRANDOPULUS Bernardinus, év. de Lettere, 4 nov. 1576	768

GRAZIANI Antonius Maria, év. d'Amelia, 25 février 1592	825
GUERRA Matthaeus, év. de Fondi, 9 fév. 1567	791
HURULT Paul, arch. d'Aix, 12 mars 1599	831
LARCHIVER François, év. de Rennes, 24 juin 1602	815
LASCARIS Honoré DE —, év. d'Aoste, 2 avr. 1594	802
LEONIBUS Hieronymus DE —, év. de Sagone (Corse), 9 fév. 1567	791
LE SAULNIER Pierre, év. d'Autun, 17 juillet 1588	821
LOPEZ Joannes, O.P., év. de Cotrone, 11 juin 1595	805
MANDINA Benedictus, év. de Caserta, 6 fév. 1594	801
MARCHIS Antonius DE —, év. de Santorin, (.. avr.) 1588	785
MARINCOLA Joannes Paulus, év. de Teano, .. mars 1576	766
MASETTUS Julius, év. de Reggio Emilia, 13 oct. 1585	773
MINUTIUS Andreas, arch. de Zara, 15 fév. 1568	757
MIRTHAEUS Octavius, év. de Cajazzo, 8 déc. 1572	762
MONACHUS Julius, év. de Lucera in Puglia, 13 nov. 1580	773
NINO DE GUEVARA Ferdinandus, card. év. tit. de Philippes, 10 oct. 1599	809
O'CLIERA Dermitius, év. de Mayo (Irlande), 12 mars 1574	764
ORSINIS Petrus DE —, év. tit. de Boña (Hipponna), 17 avr. 1580	772
OSSAT Arnaud D'—, év. de Rennes, 27 oct. 1596	606
PALOMBARA Maximilianus DE —, arch. de Bénévent, 26 nov. 1574	765
PETRUCIUS Dominicus, év. de Strongoli, 17 juin 1582	774
PIERBENEDETTI Robertus, év. de Nocera Umbra, 12 mars 1592	799
PONTAC Arnould DE —, év. de Bazas, 23 nov. 1572	793
RIVAROLA Matthias, arch. de Gênes, 3 mai 1596	827
ROSE Antoine, év. de Senlis, 30 nov. 1601	813
SADOLET François, év. tit. de Nicomédie, 25 fév. 1592	824
SANCHEZ DE HERRERA Benedictus, év. de Monopoli, 18 janv. 1654 (note 3)	710
SANSEVERINO Lucius, arch. de Rossano, 22 déc. 1592	800
SANTORI Franciscus Antonius, arch. de Santa Severina, .. mars 1573	763
SANTORI Joannes Baptista, év. d'Alife, 13 déc. 1568	758
SANTORI Julius Antonius, arch. de Santa Severina, 12 mars 1566	755
SARNANO Constantius DE —, card., 12 juillet 1587	819
SAVINI Eugenio, év. de Telese, 31 mars 1596	826
SECUSIUS Bonaventure, patr. de CP., 14 mars 1599	832
SOUCHON Raymond, év. de Saint-Flour, 12 mars 1599	831



SPINA Scipio, év. de Lecce, 3 juin 1591	788
STEFANUS Joseph, év. de Viesti, .. avr. 1586	782
STRIDONIUS Nicolaus, év. tit. de Mylopotamos, 17 juin 1582	774
SURIANUS Joannes Baptista, év. de Bisceglie, 2 sept. 1576	767
TAGLIAVIA card. Simon, év. d'Albano, 21 juillet 1602	834
TARUGI Franciscus Maria, arch. d'Avignon, 22 déc. 1592	800
TASSONI Hercules, patr. de CP., 25 août 1596	828
TEOFILI Fulvio, év. de Forli, 24 février 1587	818
THOMASIUS (TAXAQUET) Michael, év. de Lérida, 24 nov. 1577	769
UBERTIS Paulus DE —, év. de Venosa, 24 fév. 1567	792
VITALIANUS Prosper, év. de Bisignano, 3 mai 1569	760
ZACCHIA Paulus Emilius card., év. de Montefiascone, 27 mai 1601	811
ZANE Matthaeus, patr. de Venise, 28 oct. 1601	812

## VII

INDEX TOPOGRAPHIQUE  
DES  
TITRES ÉPISCOPAUX

<i>titres</i> <sup>32</sup>	<i>consécrateurs</i> <sup>33</sup>	<i>consacrés</i>
Acerenza	801.	
Acerra	774.	
Adramyttus (tit.)		794.
Aix-en-Provence		831.
Albano		796, 810, 834.
Alexandria	783.	
Alexandrie	795, 812, 819, 820.	777, 781.
Alife	764, 771, 774, 775.	758, 780.
Amelia	799.	825.
Andros		784.
Aoste		802, 803.

<sup>32</sup> Les titres sont donnés dans la langue actuelle, telle qu'on la trouve aux pages 390-394 du tome iv de la *Hierarchia Catholica* (Münster, 1935).

<sup>33</sup> Les chiffres renvoient aux matricules de la présente Liste de sacres épiscopaux à Rome de 1566 à 1602.

<i>titres</i>	<i>consécrateurs</i>	<i>consacrés</i>
Aquino	776, 788, 789, 791, 816.	771
Arles	802.	
Ascoli Piceno	796, 819, 834.	783.
Augsbourg	817.	794.
Autun		821.
Auxerre		807.
Aversa	787.	
Avignon	798.	800.
 Bagnorea	 757, 758, 759, 760, 799, 806.	
Bari		814.
Bayeux	813, 815.	
Bazas		793.
Belcastro	755, 768.	
Bénévent	771, 776, 777.	765.
Bisceglie		767.
Bisignano		760.
Bona (Hippone)		772.
Bosnia (Hongrie)	775.	
Brescia	799.	
 Gaiazzo		 762.
Canée	832.	
Capoue		814.
Cariati		768, 833.
Carpentras		824, 829.
Caserta	786.	801.
Catania	775.	
Cavaillon	813, 815.	798.
Cervia	809.	
Cesena		786.
Chieti	792.	
Chrysopolis (tit.)	803.	
Como	816.	
Constantinople	780, 828.	828-832.
Conza		776.
Cosenza	795.	787.

<i>titres</i>	<i>consécrateurs</i>	<i>consacrés</i>
Cotrone		805.
Curzola	774, 819, 821.	
<b>Embrun</b>	802, 806.	
<b>Fermo</b>	810, 829.	
Florence	798, 800.	
Forli		818.
Fondi		791.
<b>Gallese</b>	790.	790.
Gênes	825, 827.	827.
Gerace	796.	
Gravina		
Grossetto	794.	
<b>Hierapetra (Crète)</b>	790, 791.	
Hippona (Bona)		772.
<b>Isola</b>	755.	
<b>Jérusalem</b>	794, 812.	
Jesi	808, 809, 810, 811, 814, 834.	
<b>Kurzol</b>	774, 819, 821.	
<b>Lanciano</b>		
Lavello	792.	
Lecce		788.
Lérída		769.
Lettere		768.
Lodi	772.	
Lucera in Puglia		773.
<b>Massa Maritima</b>	796.	
Mayo (Irlande)		764.
Melfi		764.
Milan		804.

<i>titres</i>	<i>consécrateurs</i>	<i>consacrés</i>
Minori	759.	756.
Mirepoix (France)		795.
Mondovi		
Monopoli	(note <sup>3</sup> )	710.
Monreale (Sicile)	789, 798.	
Montefiascone		773, 811.
Mylopotamos (tit.)		774.
<b>Naples</b>	777.	
Narbonne	795, 821.	
Nazareth (tit.)	770, 771, 820.	
Nemosia (Chypre)		759.
Nicastro	766, 767.	
Nicomédie (tit.)	824.	
Nicosia	781.	
Nocera Umbra		799.
Nola	773.	778.
<b>Olmütz</b>		808.
Oppido		816.
Orihuela	805.	
Ostie	797, 801.	
<b>Penne et Atri</b>	772, 773.	
Pérouse		789.
Philippes (tit.)		809.
Pise	755.	
Pistoia	801.	
<b>Raguse</b>	780.	
Reggio Emilia	783, 794, 818.	779.
Rennes		806, 815.
Rieti	765.	
Rome — papes	804, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 814, 834.	797.
— cardinaux	755 à 789, 803, 804, 808, 820, 826, 830, 831.	

<i>titres</i>	<i>consécrateurs</i>	<i>consacrés</i>
Rossano		800.
Ruremonde	777.	
 Sabine	 797.	
Sagone (Corse)		791.
Saint-Asaph (Irlande)	756, 761, 762, 768, 769, 773.	
Saint-Flour		831.
Sainte-Agathe-des-Goths	758.	
Salerne	782, 821.	
San Marco	778.	
Santa Severina	756 à 789, 805.	755, 763.
Santorin	778.	785.
Sebenico	757.	
Segni	761, 762, 764.	
Senlis (France)		813.
Sens (France)	793.	
Sessa Aurunca	766.	
Sidon (tit.)	784, 787, 788, 789, 805.	775.
Sitia (tit.)	767, 768, 769, 770.	
Sorrento	781.	
Spolète	814, 833.	772.
Strongoli		761, 774.
Sutri et Nepi	756, 791, 792.	
 Tarbes (France)		 815.
Teano	(note <sup>3</sup> )	19, 766.
Telese		826.
Termoli	760.	
Terracina	803.	
Tivoli	765, 811.	
Toulouse (France)	802, 807.	
Trani	782.	
Tricarico	787.	
Tusculanum	797.	
 Urbino	 813, 815.	

<i>titres</i>	<i>consécrateurs</i>	<i>consacrés</i>
Venafro	784.	
Venise	.	812.
Venosa	786. ↓	792.
Vérone	806, 818.	
Viesti		782.
		757.

# Onomásticon

ADEODATUS II 343	AUGUSTINUS CANTUARIEN-	BERNARDUS PRIOR LATE-
AELFRIC 115	sis 151	RANENS. 310, 313
AENEAS 134	AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS	BERNERUS 399, 402
AGIMUNDUS 49	20 s., 50, 67, 115 ss.,	BETZ, J. 11
AGOBARDUS LUGD. 323	365-378	BEUMER, J. 124
ALAND, K. 369	PS.-AUGUSTINUS 54, 65,	BIHLMAYER, K. 10, 19
ALBINUS 313, 341	180	BISCHOFF, B. 130, 234
ALCUINUS 99 ss., 148, 269	AURELIUS CARTHAGINEN-	BLAIR, P. H. 431
ALEXANDER III 396	sis 372	BLOOMFIELD, M. W. 134
ALFONSO, P. 321		BLUME, F. 301
ALLATIVUS, L. 36, 64	BACKMUND, N. 401	BOGAERT, M. 299
ALTANER, B. 9, 64	BARATIUCIA, C. 441	S. BONIFATIUS 95 s., 390
AMALARIUS METENSIS	BARDENHEWER, O. 9, 64	BONIFATIUS I 372
262-363	BARDY, G. 97 s., 178 ss.,	BONIFATIUS V 343 s., 358
S. AMANDUS 290	365	BORELLA, P. 264
AMANN, E. 100	BARON, R. 397	BORNAND, G. H. 416
AMBROSIASTER 180 s.	BARROWS, M. P. 134, 136	BOTTE, B. 331
AMBROSIUS MEDIOL. 120,	ss., 140, 160 s.	BOURQUE, E. 224
147, 169, 174, 178, 185,	BASILIUS CAESAR. 120	BRASSICANUS, J. A. 77,
193, 196	BATTIFOL, P. 64	98, 100, 103
AMIET, R. 247	BAUER, A. 195	BREHIER, L. 61
AMMANN, A. M. 417, 424	BAUMGARTEN, N. 417	BROU, L. 200
ANDREAS CAPELLANUS	BAUMSTARK, A. 265, 331	BRUNET, A. 139
397	BEATUS RHENANUS 27	S. BRUNO 119
ANDRIEU, M. 206 s., 268	BEAURAIN, M. G. 401	BRUNO SIGNIENSIS 47 s.
ss.	BECK, H.-G. 64, 420	BUCHERIUS, AEG. 367, 371
ANGELOMUS LUXOVIENSIS	BEDA VENERABILIS 78 ss.,	BULST, W. 395
92, 136	115-198, 431, 436	BURKITT, F. C. 145
ANTONIUS MELISSA 33	BENEDICTUS ANIAN. 269	BUYTAERT, E. 64
APEL, W. 306	BENEDICTUS BISCOP 290	
ARIUS 117	BENEDICTUS NURS. 102,	CAEDMAN 115, 131
ARMELLINI, M. 270	331	CAESARIUS ARELAT. 117,
AUERBACH, E. 131, 134 s.	BENEDICTUS SANCTI PETRI	332
AUGUSTI, I. C. G. 38 s.,	CAN. 313, 341, 347, 355 s.	CAPELLE, B. 118, 124 s.
64, 66	BENTLEY, R. 191	CAPLAN, H. 136

(<sup>1</sup>) Indicem nominum et sedium episcoporum de quibus refertur in elucubratione Fernandi Combaluzier « Sacres épiscopaux à Rome de 1566 à 1602 » invenies in pp. 466-477.

- CAPPELLI, A. 370  
 CARAFA, A. 441  
 CAROLUS MAGNUS 99 s.,  
 265, 269  
 CARROLL, M. T. A. 138,  
 146, 154, 164  
 CASEL, O. 14  
 CASSIANUS 139, 144, 152  
 s., 192  
 CASSIODORUS 125 s., 193,  
 195 s.  
 CAVALLÈRA, F. 368  
 CAVE, G. 37, 64  
 CAYRÉ, F. 64  
 CEILLIER, R. 64  
 CENCIUS DE SABELLIS 313,  
 348, 355  
 CHARISIUS 142  
 CHARLES, R. H. 177  
 CHAVASSE, A. 266, 268,  
 274, 276, 285, 312, 316  
 CHIRAT, H. 64  
 CHRIST, K. 102  
 CHRYSOSTOMOS HIPPOLY-  
 TOS 45, 66  
 CLAUDIUS TAURINENSIS  
 92  
 CLEMENS VIII 442  
 CLEMENS ALEXANDR. 174,  
 178  
 PS.-CLEMENS ALEXANDR.  
 169  
 CLEMENS J. 28, 30 s.  
 CODRINGTON, H. W. 200  
 COEBERGH, C. 268  
 COLOMESIUS, P. 34  
 COLONNA, V. 441  
 COMBALUZIER, F. 437-477  
 CONON 290  
 COTELERIUS, J.-B. 31  
 COURCELLE, P. 61, 65, 71  
 CRAWFORD, S. J. 131  
 CROCKER, R. 149  
 CUNO ABBAS 384, 386  
 CURTI, C. 77 ss.  
 CYPRIANUS CARTHAG. 62,  
 65, 71 s., 148, 178,  
 184  
 CYRILLUS ALEXANDR. 35,  
 45 s., 372  
 DAMASUS 339  
 DANIÉLOU, J. 116, 131,  
 171, 178  
 DANTE 121 s., 134, 177  
 DARROUZÈS, J. 64  
 DARWIN, CH. 115  
 DAVIS, R. 81  
 DE ALDAMA, J. A. 64  
 DE CLERCQ, C. 397  
 DE GHELLINCK, J. 81,  
 99 s., 396  
 DEKKERS, E. 27 s., 30  
 DEL MONTE, CARD. 441  
 DE LUBAC, H. 131, 133,  
 137 ss., 161, 166  
 DE MARCO, M. 396, 401  
 DE MERLIS, P. 441  
 DENIS, M. 77  
 DE PUNNET, P. 273  
 DE RÉGNON, TH. 187  
 DESHUSSES, J. 269  
 DESIDERIUS ABBAS CASI-  
 NENS. 5, 20, 23  
 DEUSDEDIT 343 s.  
 DHONDT, J. 416  
 DHORME, P. 184  
 DICKINSON, F. H. 178  
 DIDYMUS ALEXANDRINUS  
 179  
 DIERCKS, G. F. 27-31  
 PS.-DIONYSIUS 171  
 DIOSCORUS ALEXANDR. 46  
 DI SESSA, L. L. 441  
 DI TROJA, O. G. 441  
 DIX, G. 332  
 DOBSCHÜTZ, E. 47, 64  
 DOLD, A. 234, 239, 270  
 DÖLGER, F. J. 64  
 DONATUS GRAMMATICUS  
 142  
 DRONKE, P. 381-393  
 DUCHESNE, L. 274 ss.  
 DUFT, J. 434  
 DUHEM, P. 176  
 DULCITIUS 365-378  
 DUPRAT, E. 61  
 DURANDUS 310  
 DÜRIG, W. 14  
 EBEL, A. 395-413  
 EBNER, A. 213  
 ECGBERTUS 124, 127  
 EDWARD, B. 38  
 EGERIA 331  
 EHRRHARD, A. J. M. 64  
 EIZENHÖFER, L. 5-25, 234,  
 239  
 ELISABETH SCHONAUG. 387  
 ELZE, R. 274, 292  
 ENDRES, J. A. 95  
 EPIPHANIUS 178  
 ETAIX, R. 78, 87, 92, 95  
 EUCHERIUS LUGDUN. 71,  
 97  
 EUGENIUS III 390  
 EUSEBIUS ALEXANDR. 33-  
 70  
 EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS  
 8, 10 ss., 125 ss.  
 EUSEBIUS EMESENIUS 42  
 PS.-EUSEBIUS EMESENIUS  
 71  
 EUSEBIUS GALLICANUS 33-  
 70, 71 s.  
 EVANGELUS 179  
 FABRE, P. 274 ss.  
 FABRICIUS, J. A. 34, 37,  
 64, 399 s.  
 FAUSSET, X. Y. 30  
 FAUSTUS REIENSIS 65, 71  
 FELIX IV 275, 316  
 FERRARI, G. 327, 330, 343  
 FESSLER, J. 64  
 FIRMINUS 62  
 FISCHER, B. 313  
 FISCHER, J. A. 9  
 FLORUS LUGDUN. 323  
 FÖRSTER, M. 197  
 FROBEN, J. 28  
 FÜHRKÖTTER, A. 381 ss.  
 FULGENTIUS MYTOGRA-  
 PHUS 192 s.



- GALETTI, TH. 35, 66  
 GALLANDUS, A. 38, 64  
 GAMBACORTA, A. 441  
 GAMBER, K. 21, 199-260,  
 262, 265, 269 s., 283,  
 298  
 GANGNEIUS, J. 27, 30  
 GELENIUS, S. 28-31  
 GEISELMANN, J. R. 162  
 GILPAS 126  
 GILES 141  
 GLEASON, T. F. 193  
 GLORIE, F. 33-76, 102  
 GMELCH, J. 381  
 GREGORIUS I 20, 78 ss.,  
 116, 122, 126, 132 s.,  
 149 ss., 156 s., 179, 181,  
 187, 189 ss., 193, 195,  
 207 s., 265, 269 ss.  
 GREGORIUS II 269, 358,  
 360  
 GREGORIUS III 269, 330,  
 341  
 GREGORIUS IV 333  
 GREGORIUS VII 5  
 GREGORIUS NYSSENUS 317  
 GREGORIUS TURONENSIS  
 125  
 GRENIER, P.-N. 397 s.  
 GROSSMANN, U. 166, 171  
 s., 192  
 GUARINUS AMBIANENSIS  
 400  
 GUIDO ARETINUS 310, 355  
 GY, P.-M. 6, 219  
 HAACKE, R. 264  
 HADRIANUS I 265, 330  
 HAGEMEYER, O. 11, 14  
 HADACHER, A. 64  
 HALLINGER, K. 327 s.  
 HALM, C. 141  
 HANNING, R. W. 126  
 HANSON, R. P. C. 133, 136  
 HANSSENS, J. M. 270, 318  
 HARNACK, A. 11, 17  
 HARTEL, G. 72  
 HASTINGS, J. 184, 186  
 HAYMO FAVERSHAMM. 271  
 HEINISCH, P. 178  
 HESBERT, R.-J. 149, 270,  
 281 ss.  
 HEY, O. 48  
 HIERONYMUS 39, 102, 139,  
 155 s., 172, 174 s., 177,  
 179 ss., 193 s., 196, 313,  
 367 s.  
 HILARIUS ARELAT. 71  
 HILARIUS PAPA 270, 282  
 HILARIUS PICTAV. 184,  
 196  
 HILDEGARDIS ABBATISSA  
 381-393  
 HIPPOLYTUS ROMANUS  
 178, 195  
 HOFMANN, F. 21  
 HOLSTE, L. 38  
 HOMERUS 154  
 HOMES DUDDEN, F. 136,  
 185  
 HONORIUS I 269, 270, 275,  
 278, 353, 358, 360  
 HONORIUS III 271  
 HONORIUS AUGUSTODU-  
 NENSIS 95, 138, 431  
 HUCKE, H. 266  
 HUGHES, M. 191  
 HUGLO, M. 278, 281, 284  
 s., 292 ss., 300, 317, 343  
 HUGO DE FOLIETO 395,  
 396, 400 ss.  
 HUGO A S. VICTORE 396  
 HWAETBERT 145  
 IGNATIUS ANTIOCH. 14 s.  
 INGUANEZ, M. 20, 23  
 INNOCENTIUS I 372  
 INNOCENTIUS III 299, 310,  
 316, 328  
 ISACIUS 290  
 ISIDORUS HISPAL. 126,  
 168, 170, 188, 194  
 JACKSON 29, 31  
 JAMES 64  
 JANUS, J. G. 37 s., 66  
 JARISLAV LE SAGE 435  
 JENKINS, C. 116, 138, 146,  
 166  
 JEREMIAS, J. 17  
 JOANNES IV 316, 343 s.  
 JOANNES V 290  
 JOANNES VII 290 s., 354  
 JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS  
 34, 41 ss., 65  
 PS.-JOANNES CHRYSOSTO-  
 MUS 48 s.  
 JOANNES DAMASCENUS 33  
 s.  
 JOANNES NOTARIUS 46  
 JONES, CH. W. 115-198,  
 371  
 JORDANES 126  
 JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS 156,  
 180  
 JOWETT 131  
 JÜLICHER, A. 64  
 JULIANUS AECLAN. 117  
 JULIANUS TOLETAN. 194  
 JULIEN, C. 61  
 JULIUS AFRICANUS 195  
 JUNGSMANN, J. A. 7, 11,  
 15, 18, 21, 314  
 JUNILIUS 132  
 JUSTINIANUS I 314  
 JUSTINUS 178  
 KENDALL, C. 141  
 KETTEL, J. 14  
 KIRIK 435  
 KITZINGER, E. 426  
 KNAUS, H. 239  
 KOROLEWSKI, C. 442  
 KOVALEVSKY, P. 417  
 KRAJCAR, J. 442  
 KRAUTHEIMER, R. 283  
 KROLL 64  
 KRÜGER 64  
 KRUSCH, B. 369 ss.  
 LACTANTIUS 193  
 LAFONTAINE, G. 33, 41,  
 45 ss., 62, 74.  
 LAISTNER, M. L. W. 81,

- 116, 125, 132, 141, 145  
s., 147, 195, 197  
LAKE, K. 192  
LAMBECIUS, P. 37 s.  
LAMBOT, C. 299  
LAMBRECHTS, P. 61  
LANGBAINE, G. 38  
LA PIANA 64  
LAUER, PH. 397, 422  
LAWSON, R. P. 118, 136  
LECLERCQ, H. 195, 395  
LECOMTE, M. 397  
LEHMAN, P. 147  
LEIDRADUS LUGDUN. 100  
LELAND, J. 28  
LEMARIÉ, J. 314  
LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT,  
L. S. 365, 369 s.  
LEO I 116  
LEO IX 342  
LEQUIEN, M. 33, 64  
LEROQUAIS, V. 5 s.  
LEROY, J. 33-70  
LEVISON, W. 125, 127,  
147, 195  
LIEFTINCK, G. I. 28, 30  
LIETZMANN, H. 11 ss.,  
208, 271, 369  
LINDSAY, W. M. 376  
LISIARDUS 400 s.  
LOEWE 139  
LOWE, E. A. 5 s.  
LÖWENBERG, B. 7  
  
MAASSEN, F. 378  
MAASZ, E. 61  
MABILLON, J. 275, 282,  
291, 317, 395, 397, 402  
MAI, A. 36, 40 s., 44,  
49 s., 54, 64, 66 s.  
MANITIUS, M. 99, 101,  
396  
MANSER, A. 210  
MANZ, G. 351  
MARBODUS REDONENSIS  
397  
MARCION 9  
MARGARIN DE LA BIGNE 35  
MARINIANUS RAVENN. 207  
MARIUS PLOTIUS SACER-  
DOS 142  
MARROU, H. I. 166  
MARTÈNE, E. 396  
MARTIN 64  
MARTINUS I 290, 328  
MAURITIUS CARTULAR. 290  
MAURY 64  
MAXIMIANUS EPISCOPUS  
207  
MAXIMUS ABBAS 33  
MAYR, J. 371  
McCLINTOCK 186  
McCULLOCH 64  
MEERSSEMAN, G. G. 274  
MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R. 424  
MESNART, M. 27-31  
MESSIANUS 62  
MICHAEL CAERULARIUS  
435  
MICHEL, A. 317  
MILTON 115  
MOBERG, C. A. 263  
MOHLBERG, K. 206 s., 237,  
265  
MOHRMANN, CHR. 29  
MOMMSEN, TH. 8, 18, 23  
MONE, F. J. 200  
MONTFAUCON, B. 34, 66  
MORIN, G. 49, 55, 62, 64,  
246  
MORRIS, E. 434  
MUNDÓ, A. 276  
MUNIER, CH. 378  
MURJANOFF, M. 415-436  
MUTZENBECHER, A. 365  
MYNORS, R. Á. B. 127  
  
NAU, F. 41, 45, 64, 66  
NICON 33  
NIRSCHL 64  
NORDHAGEN, P. J. 290  
NOVATIANUS 27-30, 187  
  
ODERISIUS CASSINENSIS  
5, 20, 23, 25  
ODO CLUNIACENSIS 136  
ODO SUESSIONENSIS 382  
ORIGENES 132, 136, 139,  
156, 178 s.  
OROSIUS 151  
ORSINI, J. C. 348  
ORSINO, J.-B. 441  
OSWY 127  
OUDIN, R. C. 64  
  
PAMELIUS, J. 27 s., 30  
PAPADOPOULOS-KERA-  
MEUS, CHR. 35, 45 s.  
PARÉ, G. 139  
PASCHASIUS 136  
PATERIUS 78, 80 ss.  
PAULUS LOMBARDUS 125  
PEACOCK, P. 345  
PELAGIUS 117  
PELTIER, H. 101 s., 396 s.  
PERLER, O. 365 ss., 371 s.,  
377 s.  
PETRUS CORBEIENSIS  
395, 413  
PETRUS MALLIUS 341  
PFLIEGER, A. 351  
PHILASTRIUS 178  
PHILLOTT, H. W. 185  
PHILO 120, 178  
PIOLIN, P. 395  
PITRA, J.-B. 382  
PLEGUINUS 195  
PLOTINUS 120, 132  
PLUMMER, C. 117, 125,  
138, 141, 164, 166, 195  
POLYCARPUS SMYRN. 9  
POMPEIUS 142  
PROSPER AQUITANUS 367  
PROTERIOS 46  
PRUDENTIUS TRECENSIS  
176  
  
QUASTEN, J. 9  
  
RÄBER, L. 5  
RADULPHUS CLARAVALL.  
400  
RADULPHUS FLAVIACEN-  
SIS 399

RAHNER, H. 14	SIXTUS V 442	VAN DIJK, S. J. P. 261-363
RAHNER, K. 14	SMALLEY, B. 131, 158	VENTURINI, T. 442
RAND, E. K. 48 s., 64	SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, J. 262 ss.	VERANUS 98 ss.
REBIBA, S. 441	SMORONSKI, K. 174	VERGILIUS 67 s.
REIMMANNUS, J. F. 39	SNIEDERS, I. 427	VERITY 191
REUNING, W. 11	SNOW, R. J. 262	VERZONE, P. 290
RHABANUS MAURUS 92, 101 ss., 139	SOUTER, A. 180	VICTOR III 5
RICHELIEU 395	SPICQ, C. 119, 131, 139	VIGOUROUX, F. 184
RIGHETTI, M. 285 s., 332	STÄBLEIN, B. 261, 266, 301, 306	VILLER, M. 14
RIPHAUS 123	STENZEL, A. 208	VINCENTIUS LERIN. 372
RITSCHER, M. I. 381	STRONG 186	VITALIANUS PAPA 288, 337, 339
ROBERT, M. 330	STRUNZ, F. 119 s., 169	VIVENTIUS 62
ROBERTSON, D. W. 145	STUIBER, A. 9	VOGEL, C. 274, 292, 301
ROBBINS, F. E. 132	SYLBURGUS, F. 38	VON CAMPENHAUSEN, H. 14
ROBINSON, J. A. 11		VON DER GOLTZ, E. 11
ROCHAIS, H. 78		
ROTHEN-HÄUSLER, M. 8	TERTULLIANUS 27, 178, 186 s., 189	WAETZOLDT, S. 316
RUFINUS 8, 10 ss.	Ps.-TERTULLIANUS 178	WAGNER, P. 200
S. RUPERTUS 384, 389 s.	THEODORICUS CASSIN. 341	WALAFRIDUS 139
RUPERTUS TUITIENSIS 92	THEODORUS I 290, 316	WASSELYNCK, R. 92 s.
	THEODOTOS BYZANT. 178	WASZINK, J. H. 392
SALMON, P. 7, 219	THEOPHILUS ANTIOCH. 178, 186	WEISS, J.-P. 77-114
Ps.-SALONIUS 77-114	THILO, J. C. 39 s., 64, 66	WEITZMANN, K. 426
SANTORI, G. A. 437-477	THOMAS AQUINAS 136	WELCHMAN 31
SANTORI, L. 441	THOMAS SANCTI LAURENTII CAN. 399 ss.	WELLESZ 310, 312
SAVILLE, H. 34, 66	THOMPSON, A. H. 116, 138	WEST, E. H. 191
SCHEFFER-BOICHORST 61	THUM, B. 119	WEYER, H. 30 s.
SCHELLENBERG, A. A. 199	TODD 191	WIGHARD 127
SCHILDENBERGER, J. 102	TORRES 66	WILFRIDUS 195
SCHIPPERGES, H. 424	TRAJANUS 122	WILLIS, G. G. 265
SCHMID, J. 371 s., 374	TRAUBE, L. 376	WILLMES 139 s.
SCHMIDT, H. A. P. 312	TREMBLAY, P. 139	WILMART, A. 7 s., 23 s. 30, 64, 78
SCHMITZ, Ph. 5	TURNER, C. 78	WOOLF, R. 173
SCHRADER, M. 381 s.	TURRIANUS, F. 35 s., 64	WORMALD, F. 313
SCHÜTT, M. 116 s., 124	TYCONIUS 145 s.	WOTKE, C. 97
SCHWARTZ, E. 10, 17 s., 369 ss.		WRIGHT 64
SERGIUS I 290, 337, 351	URSIO SANCTI DIONYSII ABBAS 401	ZACHARIAS PAPA 289 ss., 314, 348
SEVERIANUS GABALIT. 45, 50, 67	VACCARI, P. 102	ZAGIBA, F. 200
SEVERINUS PAPA 344	VALESIIUS 31	ZAHN, T. 11, 19, 47, 64
SIEGMUND, A. 23, 48	VALLARSI, D. 102, 180	ZARB, S. 365, 369
SIFFRIN, P. 22	VAN DER MEER, F. 375	ZELLINGER, J. 45, 64, 66
SIMEON DUNELMENSIS 431, 436		
SIMS, J. 191		
SIRMOND, J. 41		

## Conspectus materiae

L. EIZENHÖFER, Das Gebet aus dem Polykarmartyrium als Kommuniionsgebet im « Brevier » des Abtes Oderisius von Monte Cassino . . . . .	5-25
G. F. DIERCKS, Note sur le traité <i>De Trinitate</i> De Novatien . . . . .	27-31
J. LEROY - F. GLORIE, « Eusèbe d'Alexandrie » source d'« Eusèbe de Gaule » . . . . .	33-76
J.-P. WEISS, Essai de datation du Commentaire sur les Proverbes attribué abusivement à Saloniuis . . . . .	77-114
Ch. W. JONES, Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis . . . . .	115-198
K. GAMBER, Fragmenta Liturgica IV . . . . .	199-260
S. J. P. VAN DIJK, The Medieval Easter Vespers of the Roman Clergy . . . . .	261-363
A. MUTZENBECHER, Zur Datierung von Augustinus <i>De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus</i> . . . . .	365-378
P. DRONKE, The Composition of Hildegard of Bingen's <i>Symphonia</i> . . . . .	381-393
A. EBEL, Ex libris sancti Petri Corbeiensis . . . . .	395-413
M. Мурьянов, О НОВГОРОДСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЕ XII ВЕКА (A propos de la culture à Novgorod au XII <sup>e</sup> siècle) . . . . .	415-436
F. COMBALUZIER, Sacres épiscopaux à Rome de 1566 à 1602 . . . . .	437-477
Onomasticon . . . . .	479-483

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